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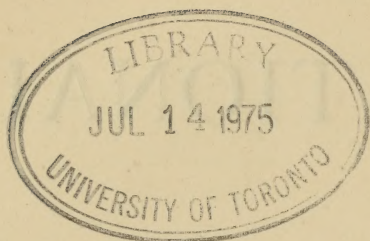


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CONTENTS

OF VOLUME TWO, 1875.

	PAGE
VIENNA AND THE CENTENNIAL	1
John M. Hart, LL.D. \	
BARON LIEBIG	25
Prof. August Vogel, Munich.	
THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE REFORM AND CODIFICATION OF THE LAW OF NATIONS	32
Dr. James B. Miles.	
THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM IN ITALY	44
Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis, Florence, Italy.	
THE GUARANTEE OF ORDER AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE STATES	57
IDEAS IN NATURE OVERLOOKED BY DR. TYNDALL	88
James McCosh, D.D., LL.D.	
EDGAR ALLAN POE	145
John H. Ingram, London, England.	
THE NEW YORK GOLD ROOM	173
Kinahan Cornwallis.	
HEBREW POETRY	187
Philip Schaff, D.D.	
MODERN SPIRITUALISM	204
Henry Reed, Esq., Washington.	
THE SUPERNATURAL AS EVIDENCE	222
R. Payne Smith, D.D., Dean of Canterbury.	
THE MONEY PROBLEM	249
Amasa Walker, LL.D.	
THE PRACTICAL WORK OF PAINTING	289
Philip Gilbert Hamerton.	
THE PRUSSIAN COMPANY COLUMN	302
Major-General Emory Upton, U. S. A.	
MODERN WRITERS ON GREECE AND HER ANTIQUE REMAINS	317
G. W. Leyburn, D.D., Greece.	

	PAGE
THE AGRICULTURE OF PRUSSIA, FROM 1816 TO 1875	339
Hon. Alexander Delmar.	
LIFE INSURANCE	353
Prof. Simon Newcomb, United States Naval Observatory.	
THE DIFFICULTIES OF REPUBLICANISM IN EUROPE	371
Edward A. Freeman, D. C. L., LL.D.	
FREEMAN'S NORMAN CONQUEST, AND OTHER HISTORICAL WORKS .	433
Henry Coppée, LL.D.	
INDIA IN SOME OF ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS . . .	454
A. Phillips, Esq., Calcutta.	
DEAF MUTISM	471
E. M. Gallaudet.	
THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE	488
Walter Bésant, Secretary of Palestine Exploration Fund, London.	
FRENCH LITERATURE UNDER THE FIRST EMPIRE	513
Princess Dora d'Istria, Florence, Italy.	
JOHN STUART MILL AS A RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHER	540
Noah Porter, LL.D.	
CHARLES (TENNYSON) TURNER	577
A. J. Symington, Esq., Glasgow.	
AMERICAN CONSTITUTION IN 1787 AND 1866	604
Henry Reed, Esq.	
THE INFLUENCE OF STEAM AND ELECTRICITY	623
F. B. Thurber, Esq.	
INDUSTRIAL ART EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES . . .	636
E. S. Drone, Esq.	
AN ANCIENT ARABIC PRIZE POEM	651
Prof. E. H. Palmer, Cambridge, England.	
SALMON PORTLAND CHASE	662
E. S. Hamlin, Esq.	
HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW AND HIS WORKS	721
Ray Palmer, D. D.	
ERNST CURTIUS, MÜLLER, AND MOMMSEN	745
Robert P. Keep.	
THE FOURTH CENTENARY OF MICHAEL ANGELO	763
Prof. Angelo de Gubernatis, Florence, Italy.	
SHERMAN AND HIS MEMOIRS	779
THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE	818
Kinahan Cornwallis.	
THE EXCAVATION OF OLYMPIA,	840
Prof. Ernst Curtius.	
REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES,	112, 277, 397, 563, 692, 854

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW.

VOL. II.

NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1875.

No. I.

VIENNA AND THE CENTENNIAL.

WAS the Exhibition at Vienna a failure? To answer the question fairly, it will be necessary to recall its prominent features, and to evoke, so far as may be possible at this late day, their contrasting lights and shadows.

The Exhibition was opened on the first day of May, 1873. As those present will remember, it was a dreary day in every respect. The morning ushered itself in cold and lowering. The pervading simplicity of the ceremonies was oppressive. The air was not enlivened with strains of martial music, there were no long lines of soldiers giving color and impressiveness to the avenues of approach. Nothing but the unwonted crowds in the streets of the Leopoldstadt and around the Praterstern, and the interminable single file of carriages creeping at a snail's pace along the main drive of the Prater toward the southern portal, betokened the proximity of the great event that was to proclaim New Austria the peér, in hopeful enterprise and self-improvement, of her elder sisters, England and France. The chill of the atmosphere was the reminder of winter, rather than the harbinger of summer, and the driving mist was fast degenerating into dismal, unmistakable rain. The Emperor and his suite entered the Rotunda at the appointed hour of noon, with commendable punctuality. A signal gun, fired outside, gave notice of the entry, but the accompanying peal from the imperial band was lost to the spectators seated within. The multitude, at least twenty thousand in number but not filling the vast area under the towering dome, rose to greet the cortège as it moved slowly through the center to take its place on the far side opposite the main portal. The speeches delivered on the occasion were notable for their brevity; no one exceeded five minutes.

This first part of the ceremony was over in less than half an hour. In one respect alone could it be called inspiring: in its music. The singing was superb. The two Vienna Glee Clubs, the Academy of Vocal Music, and the University Glee Club, together many hundreds of voices, supported by Strauss's band and the orchestra of the Imperial Opera, delivered the simple strains of the Austrian national hymn and of Händel's March with wonderful sweetness and strength. Singers and instrumentalists being so remote as to present but a confused mass, their movements did not distract the eye, while the notes, rising to the vault and there commingling into one, descended like the silver-tongued greeting from an invisible choir hovering in mid-air.

The Exhibition was not really opened, that is in readiness for the tourist, until the middle of June. Even for a month longer the labor of putting on the finishing touches continued. The bloom of the enterprise lasted exactly three months, from the middle of July to the middle of October. During that period the visitor could give himself up to undisturbed enjoyment. The chilling showers of May (it rained twenty-five days in the month) had spent themselves, the fiery heat of the early summer had abated; the empty cars and boxes and other unsightly débris of unpacking had been removed, the gravel-walks were well beaten down, the newly laid turf was hardy and green, the parterres put forth their sweet array of living colors, the fountains in front of the Rotunda threw aloft their glittering spray, the swans seemed quite at home in the massive granite basins. Then it was a pleasure to ramble through the grounds in the cool of the evening, to wander slowly past the palm-house, to loiter in front of the Japanese garden, so attractive with its quaint bronze dragons and its dainty wood-work, to cast a glance at the gaudy Moorish villa, bespangled with motley glass from plinth to roof, to enter the Turkish café, where the broad veranda and cushioned sofaleks invited to repose, and nimble red-slippered Greeks from Constantinople dispensed mocha, or passed the fragrant chibouk, while the strains of Thousand and One Nights floated over from the Mozart Place, and the doves whirled through the air on their way to their cotes by the Khedive's palace.

To one who had seen the grounds a twelve-month before, say in September, 1872, when the then future buildings were only a puzzling maze of foundation-wall, when the Rotunda wore the look of a prematurely ruined Coliseum, and the grounds themselves presented to the eye nothing but an ill shapen stretch of puddle and scraggy hil-

lock covered with weed and swamp-bush, the transformation was hardly less marvelous than the story of Aladdin's lamp. The words of the Scripture had been fulfilled, the desert had been made to blossom as the rose. Yet how much of human toil and perseverance had gone to the accomplishment of the result. Day by day, even night by night, thousands upon thousands of men, and women too, had dug and hammered, had staggered under heavy burdens. Providence had been propitious. The winter of 1872-3 was a memorable one in the annals of European climatology. Not for a single night was the ground hardened by frost against the use of pick and shovel, not a single heavy fall of snow came to block the long line of railway from Belgium and North Germany and interfere with the transportation of iron plates and pillars for the Rotunda, there was no ice to choke up the tortuous channels of the Danube and cause the annual overflow of the Upper Prater. Man and the elements worked for once together. As the first of May drew near, the agony of preparation rose to fever-heat. During the week preceding the first, it was almost impossible to thread one's way through the jostling multitudes of laborers. The last load of gravel was not raked down in front of the Rotunda, the last row of sod was not laid, until the afternoon of the thirtieth of April. On that night the scaffolding in front of the southern and western portals was torn down, the flooring finished, and the chairs arranged in the Rotunda. All night long until daybreak could be heard the shrill whistle of the trains removing empty boxes and loose timber, that the Emperor and his suite might at least have unimpeded access. The number of persons of both sexes and all grades at work in the enclosure on the thirtieth of April could not have fallen short of fifteen thousand.

The consequences of this unnatural exertion, this frantic haste, were to manifest themselves in more ways than one. It is not in human nature to endure such pressure without reacting. The first sign of the failing energy of the Austrian General Direction was the delay in putting the Machinery Hall in good running order. The feed pipes connecting the driving engines with the detached boiler-houses outside were flimsy and broke repeatedly, while the leakage of steam was at one time constant. Then the Agricultural Department displayed the most glaring incompetency in its trials of field-machinery. The members of the committee appeared to have no ideas whatever as to the proper way of holding a competitive trial. In the language of the "New Free Press," the one held at Leopoldsdorf in the early part of July was a downright farce.

The organization of the international juries on prizes was tardy and slovenly. Jurymen who should have entered upon their duties in May were not appointed until the end of June. The examinations made by the jurymen were, in a majority of cases, hurried and superficial. What else could have been expected? The objects on exhibition were so numerous, the distances between articles belonging to the same group but displayed by different countries were so great, the working time was so short,—practically less than six weeks,—that one must wonder at the fewness rather than the multitude of blunders in the prize-list. As for such a thing as the scrupulous comparative examination of competing articles, it is safe to say that there was none. It has been stated, for instance, that the jury on drugs and chemicals did not analyze the contents of a single bottle in the American collection. The juries based their verdicts upon the local or the general reputation of the exhibitor, and sought to protect themselves against the charge of injustice by scattering their awards in reckless profusion. The total number of articles exhibited was over 60,000; of awards, over 20,000. The prize-list was not completed and printed until the morning of August 18th, the day on which the ceremony of presentation took place in the Riding School of the Castle. This ceremony—a more appropriate term would be “affair”—was piteously tame. The Emperor himself being absent on his customary summer jaunt, his place was taken by one of the archdukes. Baron Schwarz-Senborn read off the list of diplomas of honor, the archduke merely stood and listened with an air of resigned impatience. A few musicians from one of Strauss’s bands, seated in a corner of the upper gallery, made from time to time a feeble effort to give life to the proceedings. The number of those present, all told, did not exceed three thousand, and the time occupied was forty minutes. The general tone was apathy, not to say heartlessness. But, cold and dispiriting as the eighteenth of August seemed at the time, it was to be outdone by the second of November, the closing day. Six months before, the great Exhibition had been opened with at least a touch of enthusiasm and pomp; it was closed with no more ceremony than if it had been the tawdriest of country shows. There were no valedictory exercises; the multitudes thronged in to the number of 140,000, seeing little, but raising clouds of dust, and roamed aimless and planless through the buildings and over the grounds; at five o’clock the hoarse fog-whistle screeched its dismal note of warning, the two bands struck up the quickstep and marched out at the head of the crowd, the police drew their cordon closer and

closer, until the last straggler had been intercepted and turned back to the gates, and the great show was abandoned to the packers, and—if subsequent oral reports are to be trusted—to Hamlet's "pickers and stealers."

It was a cheerless end for a glorious beginning. Once again was taught the futility of undertaking too much. As a mere exhibition, that is to say, a collection of things useful and beautiful, the one at Vienna surpassed its predecessors in magnitude and in variety. It was in truth a microcosm. No pencil will ever succeed in depicting its beauties, no tongue will give more than a feeble echo of its wonders. Those only who visited it faithfully and systematically day by day for months, keeping their eyes and their hearts conscientiously open to novel impressions, can appreciate the suggestiveness of the latest and the greatest world's-fair. In all probability, mankind will not look upon the like of it again; there will not be another such meeting of the East and the West. Even the visitor who was content to take things as he found them, merely using his senses and keeping his mind free from prejudice, although he might not carry away with him a very clear and definite idea of any one object or set of objects, felt nevertheless his mental horizon extended immeasurably. It was as if he had made the tour of the world in the course of a morning's promenade, had seen a bit of every thing, Japanese idols and American artificial teeth, the richest Turkish and Persian carpets, Russian sables, delicate Belgian laces, and Krupp's grim cannon, sparkling Bohemian glass, Sèvres and Staffordshire porcelain,—as if he had roamed over the Spice Islands or sailed up the Nile, had explored the Elephanta caves of India or the gold-fields of Australia, had chased butterflies and beetles in the forests of Brazil or speared salmon on the banks of the Oby. There was something akin to inspiration in the thought of being able to take in at a glance, as it were, all the kingdoms of the world, their fruits, their woods, many of their flowers even, their grain, their metals, their costumes, their industrial products; of actually seeing with the eye of the flesh an epitome of the wealth of the nations. Yet the tour of the Vienna Exhibition was anything but *dolce far niente*; it was hard work, a tax upon one's powers of locomotion and perception, upon the memory and the judgment. The tourist was ever stumbling upon things strange and wholly unexpected, things that he was unable to gauge by the petty measuring-rod of his previous experience. One object overwhelmed him with its colossal proportions, another puzzled him with its costliness and rarity, a third fascinated him with its artistic

beauty. However strong might be his will, however fixed his purpose of special study, he was at times completely under the domination of the external world; he had to flutter like the butterfly from flower to flower. At all events, he could derive consolation from the consideration of one circumstance: whichever way he might turn his steps, he was certain of making a discovery. It has been said that to know and to love Madame Récamier was equivalent to a liberal education. Not less true is it that the generous, unconditional surrender of self to the teachings of art and science at Vienna was a curriculum transcending that of college or university. None but the hopeless dullard or the inveterate Philistine could behold such masterpieces of painting, such wealth of delicate workmanship in cloisonné, bronze, and porcelain, such array of silks and laces, such marvelous adaptation of science to the practical needs of mankind, without perceiving sooner or latter that his views had been expanded, his sympathies quickened; that he had not only sown in his breast the seed of future culture, but had become possessed of a convenient standard of his own by which to measure the relative value of all things material.

As an Exhibition in the strict sense of the term, then, the Vienna Fair surpassed the expectations of its most sanguine promoters. On the other hand, as an enterprise involving heavy outlay and aiming at practical results, it was a deplorable failure. There can be no doubt on the point. As an effort toward the greater glorification of Austria, the Wiener Ausstellung were better never to have been. To make this perfectly clear, it will be needful to recapitulate the political and financial history of Austria for the past seven or eight years. The war of 1866, apparently a crushing defeat for Austria, was in reality her salvation. Although losing Venice and the hegemony in Germany, she gained in concentration of capital and resources, and—a far greater gain—was compelled to emancipate herself from the political shackles that had made her name a word of reproach throughout Europe. Hungary was reinstated in her autonomy, the burdens that had weighed so long upon trade and the acquisition of real estate were lightened one by one, the press was set at liberty, political exiles returned from banishment, liberal, progressive ideas rolled in upon the country in a mighty flood. Austria was undergoing the process of regeneration. Capital, that had long lain hidden away in corners, awoke at the touch of the wand of confidence and hastened to make up lost time. Every body was jubilant over the new era. The Vienna Stock Exchange, already predisposed to speculation, became

simply delirious. New banks, new railroads, new manufacturing companies were organized, new branches of industry started, public improvements—such as the Semmering Aqueduct and the Danube Regulation Canal—projected with a facility that threw into the shade the wildest extravagance of our own petroleum-fever. For the purposes of the present article, it will suffice to single out one of the many causes that produced the financial “crash” of 1873, not only because it was the feature most characteristic of the times, but because it bore directly upon the Exhibition.

The demolition of the old fortifications that surrounded the inner city of Vienna was begun in 1858. The object of this measure was to relieve the pressure upon the habitable area of the capital by furnishing ground upon which to erect dwelling-houses. At first the work progressed slowly, the building kept pace with the growth of the population. But, stimulated by the dangerous example set in Paris by Baron Haussmann, the spirit of speculation seized upon the new field of operations and vindicated it for its own. Building banks, building associations, *crédit-fonciers*, were soon the order of the day. Vienna was to be beautified and made the worthy rival of Paris. All the available ground was bought up at enhanced prices, old houses were torn down to make room for commercial palaces and sumptuous hotels. From Vienna the infection spread to Pesth and the other towns of the empire, to Berlin, Dresden, and throughout North Germany, until the entire region of Central Europe, from the Alps to the Baltic, was in the hands of the “builders.” It would be no exaggeration to say that in February, 1873, only three months before the “crash,” the new buildings either just completed or rapidly approaching completion in Vienna alone were to be measured by the acre.

It was during this hot-house period that the idea of the Exhibition was broached. New Austria was to show to the world how great she had grown through her recently won freedom; the older capitals, London and Paris, were to be made to see what a formidable rival they had in the metamorphosed residence of the Hapsburgs. The Franco-German war caused serious delay, and even threatened to put an end to the enterprise. But in July, 1871, the Austrian Parliament voted 6,000,000 florins (\$3,000,000), in aid of the 3,000,000 previously guaranteed by the Trades Union of Vienna. This sum was so manifestly inadequate, that in September, 1872, an additional appropriation was made of 6,000,000 florins. From that time the work of construction was pushed with vigor. Indeed it was evident that nothing but the most desperate energy would succeed in carry-

ing out the programme by the appointed time. The Director-in-Chief, Baron Schwarz-Senborn, was invested with almost autocratic powers; laborers were imported by the hundred from Hungary and Italy, the government lent the services of the sappers and miners of the Vienna garrison. But notwithstanding its energy and its lavish outlay of money, the General Direction would have broken down, had it not been aided by the unexpected mildness of the weather. A winter like that of 1870-1 would have necessitated the postponement of the Exhibition until 1874.

Meanwhile the building mania was running its course in the city. In 1871 the Grand Hotel was opened. It contained 300 rooms. In 1872 and 1873 were opened the following: Austria (150), Donau (280 rooms and 45 parlors), Britannia (150 and 40), Metropole (400 and 25), Union, Wimberger, (200), Imperial, (150), Hotel de France. Furthermore, the Golden Lamb and Tauber were remodeled, and their capacity more than doubled. To these new hotels, all of the first class and elegantly furnished, must be added a score of new *hotels garnis*, and new lodging-houses, cafés, and restaurants by the hundred. For a city already well supplied this sudden expansion was something unprecedented.

In less than a fortnight after the opening of the Exhibition came the "crash." This monetary panic, long expected by the more knowing financiers, shook the Vienna Stock Exchange with a fury unparalleled since the days of the South Sea Bubble. On Friday, the ninth of May, the "Black Friday" of the Schotten Ring, one hundred and ten failures were read off at the Board. The Bourse was formally closed, settlements were adjourned until the fifteenth. On that day, one hundred and fifteen fresh victims were buried. Stolid despair seemed to have settled upon every one, business was at a standstill, "fancy" stocks were blotted out of existence, among them most of the building banks and building associations, and even the best stocks, the National Bank alone excepted, dropped thirty and fifty per cent. By the sixteenth of June, the depreciation of values, estimated by price quotations, had reached the enormous figure of \$300,000,000. Even this computation takes no account of stocks not quoted, or of commercial failures and protested notes and drafts. Vienna, that had deluded herself into the expectation of competing with London and Paris, was crippled for years to come. At first a bourse-panic, the "crash" developed into a lingering commercial crisis of the most malignant sort. Commerce and industry lay prostrate for months.

As a matter of course the "crash" threw a cloud over the Exhibition. Not that there was any direct or necessary connection between the two events; the crisis would have come in any case. But coming when and as it did, it spoiled the Exhibition for the Viennese. They lost all interest in the enterprise, and made no effort to entertain the guests whom they had been at such pains to invite. Furthermore, those Vienna exhibitors who had accumulated a heavy stock of goods, in the expectation of selling them to visitors, were disappointed. The strangers did not buy. Even such articles as toilet-furniture and Russian-leather ware, for which Vienna is justly celebrated, found but a feeble demand. The Japanese and Persians sold almost if not quite every thing that they had brought over, the Italians and French had tolerable success in disposing of their jewelry and bronzes, the English did well with their porcelain. But the Viennese discovered that nearly their entire stock was left on their hands at a time when the home-market was in its most unsettled condition. In fact, the Orientals were the only exhibitors that did what might be called a good business. From all other quarters one heard the complaint that nobody seemed willing to buy, or seemed to have money.

It would be difficult to account fully for this lukewarmness. Two causes have been suggested. First, that the visitors at Vienna were not of the buying class. Every shopkeeper on the Continent will admit that his best customers are the English and Americans, and after them—but at a great distance—the Russians. These last did not come to Vienna in numbers. What would have been to them the chief attraction, namely, the Czar's visit, occurred at too early a stage of the Exhibition, during the first week in June. As to the English and Americans, they were sparsely and poorly represented. The wealthy, dashing families, that set the tone in Paris, Naples, Florence, Rome, and Geneva, held aloof from Vienna. Whether they were afraid of the cholera, whether they thought the Exhibition a failure, whether they found better use for their time elsewhere, may remain an open question. There is no disguising the fact that American and English tourists move over the Continent in herds, and are not to be induced to deviate much from a beaten track. Paris, the Rhine, Switzerland, the western side of Italy as far as Naples, with a flank diversion to Venice, make up their itinerary. Those who venture at all into Germany, content themselves with Munich and Dresden. Austria is to them an unknown land, Vienna an *ultima Thule*, whither it is not quite safe to take one's wife and children.

What could be expected of the fresh importations, when the half-domesticated showed themselves indifferent? Dresden is only twelve hours by rail from Vienna, yet of the hundreds of English and American families living there, not more than ten or a dozen deemed it worth their while to make the trip. In the next place, Exhibition prices were high. The Viennese in particular committed the fatal blunder of killing the goose before she had even begun to lay her golden eggs. The fact was patent to any one who chose to make inquiry, that articles of Austrian manufacture could be obtained at much more reasonable rates in the city than in the Prater. Experienced travelers also observed that the prices for French, English, and Italian articles were in general twenty per cent higher than in Paris, London, or Florence. Exhibitors who had gone to considerable expense for transportation, space, show-cases, and attendance, thought it necessary to cover themselves by advancing prices. Buyers, on the other hand, decided to wait until they had reached the respective countries in the routine of travel.

It is highly desirable that some careful and competent observer of the last two decades should write the history of national and international exhibitions. We might be enabled thereby to ascertain whether these gatherings of men and goods, in appearance so confused, so chaotic, are not in reality governed by certain laws of their own; whether success is not dependent upon the observance of certain conditions that we have hitherto failed to perceive clearly. Each international exhibition has been larger than its predecessors, and has been called forth by the spirit of rivalry. The inhabitants of each European capital in turn seem to have said to themselves: So much has been done already, can we not go beyond it? Vienna thought to eclipse London and Paris; Berlin, perhaps even St. Petersburg, thinks to eclipse Vienna. But in the absence of general inductions, based upon carefully prepared statistics and elucidated by one who has made the subject a special study, we are unable to lay down any theory of exhibitions. We feel by instinct that certain relations of cause and effect must exist, but we cannot demonstrate them scientifically, much less avail ourselves of them for guidance in the future.

Two points, however, could not fail to strike even the most superficial observer at Vienna. The one was that Europe in general was growing weary of great fairs; the other, that a world-exhibition can be held to advantage only in a world-center.

Divested of its beautiful adornments, there remains the naked fact that an international exhibition is after all only a business undertak-

ing, a mode of advertisement. Exhibitors send their wares, not to make a fine show merely, but to pave the way for future orders, to open new markets. During his first stroll through the Prater, for instance, the tourist was tempted to regard the grounds and buildings, with their myriad contents, as a summer fairy scene devised for his especial delectation. But on looking more closely, he could detect the cloven foot of business peeping out every where. All those charming silks, and statues, and diamonds were there for sale; the polite custodians, so ready with their information, were there to sell them; around the neck of an elegant bronze hung perhaps a card bearing the announcement: Sold to his Highness, the Duke of Chambord; the very parterres took pains to inform him that they had been laid out by Swoboda & Sons, of Vienna. For all its magnitude and variety, the Vienna Exhibition was not an art-collection, but a business-show, an effort to make money in one way or another. A deal of rubbish has been said about "international education," sentimentalists of the Mühlbach order have been profuse in their laudations of the "friendly concourse of peoples," but the careful student of such exhibitions is constrained to admit that the alpha and omega of them is business, pure and simple. Not one in a hundred of the many thousand exhibitors at Vienna (except of course the amateurs that sent their marvels of embroidery and needlework), would have taken the first step, had he not believed that it would lead ultimately to his own pecuniary profit. This view may seem at first low and materialistic, but it is certainly much less apt to misguide than its opposite. To the exhibitor the case presents itself as a problem. Given so much expense, so much trouble and loss of time, so much opportunity of coming before the public, will the undertaking pay me? Are there not other, more regular and less expensive ways of effecting the same object? This problem was discussed very actively at Vienna, and the temper of the discussion furnished grounds for believing that many of the more experienced exhibitors, the large firms in England and France, who have tried the experiment more than once, are prepared to discontinue it. The facilities for advertisement, for transportation, for establishing local agencies, are increasing so rapidly, the tendency of legislation in Europe is so evidently in favor of free trade, that business men find little difficulty in introducing their goods into any market. International trade has ceased to be a matter of politics and become a mere matter of capital and energy. It is undoubtedly true that the earlier exhibitions in London and in Paris operated directly and

powerfully in disposing the minds of rulers and peoples in favor of free trade. But now that the conversion has been effected, the end reached, the question arises, whether it is desirable to retain the means. Viewed in this connection, the Vienna Exhibition, in itself a failure, may yet eventuate in gain; its palpable teachings will be an efficient auxiliary to the arguments of the reformers who seek to abolish the existing remains of a protective tariff and to incorporate Austria in the German Zollverein.

The two exhibitions at London yielded a profit; the Paris exposition of 1867 showed a slight deficit. At Vienna the deficit has been estimated as high as \$6,000,000. The cause was two-fold; the expenses* were greater, the receipts from gate-money less. In attempting to account for the marked difference in the number of paying visitors at Paris and at Vienna (10,000,000 as opposed to 5,000,000), we may liken a great fair to a great railroad; both are supported by the local traffic. The population of Vienna is not quite one million, that of Paris is nearly two millions, that of London, over three. Furthermore, both London and Paris, especially the former, are surrounded by a network of towns and cities that serve as feeders to the metropolis. The population within easy reach of any point in London, allowing five hours as the maximum time for going and coming, may be set down with safety at 10,000,000. The supply upon which Paris draws is much smaller, yet Paris is in every respect infinitely superior to Vienna. There is not a city, scarcely a town of importance, within four hours' ride of Vienna by express train. The exhibition, consequently, was dependent either upon foreign tourists or upon the capital and its immediate suburbs. During the month of May, while the exhibition was still incomplete, the daily average of paying visitors was 8,000, in June and July the number was 25,000, in August 27,000, in September and October, 35,000. The principal days were Whit Monday, June 2 (85,000, including holders of free tickets), August 22, the Emperor's fête (106,000), and the closing day, November 2, (140,000). What Vienna did on these three occasions, London could have done every week, if properly stimulated. For the total attendance at the Sydenham exhibition of 1862, which was not one-fourth as large or as attractive as the great *Ausstellung* of 1873, amounted to 6,000,000. Finally, the foreign tourists did not present themselves at Vienna in such numbers as had been expected. Although Vienna is a beautiful city, the handsomest after Paris in *cisalpine* Europe, its permanent attractions were found to be quite

* The total outlay did not fall much short of \$10,000,000.

insignificant by the side of London or Paris. It was not difficult for the experienced traveler to exhaust the resources of amusement in the Austrian capital in three or four days. As in examining into the motives that actuate exhibitors in sending their goods, so in endeavoring to ascertain what attracts visitors, we should first rid our minds of sentimentalism, we should recognize the truth that ninety-nine out of every hundred go simply to see, to gratify idle and harmless curiosity. The idea of self-instruction does not occur to the ordinary visitor; he is instructed, but the operation goes on without his consciousness. The tourist visits those cities where he can see the most, can be best amused, and can be most comfortable. These two items of comfort and amusement play a more important part in shaping a tourist's programme than we are apt to imagine. After the work, the business of sight-seeing is over,—and it matters little whether that sight-seeing be done in museums and picture galleries and old churches, or in an exhibition of the products of international industry,—the tourist feels that his conscience is satisfied and that he is at liberty to look around him for amusement. Herein is the secret of the charm that Paris wears for her devotees; she amuses them. Her monuments of art and history are immense, but her resources of amusement are inexhaustible; so the traveler is content to linger for weeks and months, knowing that she has something for his every day and his every mood. The same may be said, with certain restrictions, of London. These are cities that no man can exhaust; but Vienna can be "done" in forty-eight hours. Tourists are aware of this; and as Vienna lies a good distance off the approved route, they are not disposed to direct their steps thither. Every tourist expects to visit Paris and London as a matter of course, and if there is the additional attraction of a world's fair, so much the better; but comparatively few were willing, in 1873, to go far out of their way to see Vienna. Then there was an almost universal dread of being subjected to discomfort and annoyance. Exaggerated reports of high prices and scarcity of lodgings had been spread over Europe, until the word Vienna Exhibition became almost a bugbear. The truth was that during the first three months lodgings were at a discount rather than a premium; there was more than room for those who chose to come, and the prices that had been raised at the beginning of May to the highest point dropped to meet the limited demand. But this was reversed during the last two months, September and October. Every hotel of the first and second class was full; tourists who came late in the day, and without securing rooms beforehand, incurred the risk of

driving around for several hours in quest of a shelter for the night; August prices were trebled. Germans, Hungarians, English, and Americans, who had been holding back all summer for cheap prices, now rushed pell-mell to be in at the death; like the Sibylline books, the Exhibition grew more precious the more it was wasted away. Yet although the number of visitors even then was not sufficient to make good the deficiencies of May and June, the city, as a place of transient abode for strangers, was decidedly uncomfortable. Not only were rooms scarce and very high-priced, but it was difficult to obtain good meals. Those familiar with the ins and outs of the city fared perhaps well enough, but the ordinary tourist, dependent on his Murray or his Baedeker, was forced to take what he could find, and be thankful to get any thing. The restaurants in and near the Exhibition grounds were overcrowded, so that proprietors became indifferent, waiters impertinent, and the cooks careless. The Vienna *cuisine*, although superior to that of North Germany, did not satisfy those used to the Parisian. The coffee and the bread were faultless, but meats and vegetables, entrées and desserts, were prepared after a fashion that was neither French nor English, but Viennese, and the guest had not time to accustom himself to them. The hotel attendance also was unsatisfactory. The directors did all in their power, perhaps, to procure waiters experienced in waiting upon polyglot tourists; but hotel-keeping, like every other business, is not mastered in a hurry: the almost faultless system of *service* that rejoices the traveler's heart in Paris and Switzerland is not the work of a day, but has grown up slowly, year by year, for over a century. Vienna had done all that any city suddenly springing into prominence can do. It had built and furnished an extraordinary number of elegant hotels and *hotels garnis*; it could not change its own character overnight. It had invited the world to come, had mourned and lamented that the world should be so chary of accepting the invitation; but when the guests did come in anything like numbers, Vienna discerned, to her own amazement and their annoyance, that she could not lodge them cheaply and comfortably, could not set table for them, could not amuse them. The tourist found that he was spending more and getting less than in Paris. The dissatisfaction was mutual. Whatever the *Ausstellung* may have failed to accomplish, it certainly demonstrated this much: that not even a capital numbering a million of inhabitants, the residence of the oldest reigning dynasty in Europe, beautified with a lavish hand and given up to pleasure and easy living, can make a mammoth international exhibition succeed. No

sooner did the influx of tourists approximate to the high tide that had been confidently expected, than the city became uncomfortable. Had that tide come in May and lasted until November, the city would have been deluged. It is only the great oceans, London and Paris, that can transmit the tidal waves of population without a surge on their broad bosoms. But it is now time to turn abruptly from the Old World to the New.

Some distance back from the western bank of the Schuylkill, and one hundred and twenty feet above its level, stretches the broad Lansdowne Plateau, a portion of the recently opened public park of the city of Philadelphia. The visitor whom chance or curiosity might have led thither on any pleasant day in October last, could not avoid being impressed with the massive outer walls of the first story of a large and well proportioned building in process of erection on the highest point of the plateau, the so called "terrace." Almost at the foot of this first building was also to be seen a tangled network of trenches and masonry, the foundations of a second and much larger structure, just emerging from the ground. The visitor had before him the Memorial Hall and the Main Pavilion of the Centennial in their embryonic state. Would it be possible to cast a prophetic glance into the future of the enterprise thus started? We can not make the attempt until we have first collected the facts of the present and compared them with the lessons of the past.

In the first place, Lansdowne Plateau, as a mere building-site, is superior to the Prater of Vienna. The outlook is fine, and the soil, consisting of clay and loam, does not differ much from that of the ordinary house-lot in the city; drainage, it might be said, comes of itself, the plateau sloping down on all sides but one. The soil of the Prater, on the contrary, is in many places moist, almost swampy, and in most places loose and unstable. The foundations for all the heavier buildings had to be obtained by the tedious and costly process of pile-driving. The Prater, moreover, has no natural drainage, the general elevation of the ground being but 2 ft. 6 in. above high-water mark in the Danube Canal, the only available outlet. The Austrian General Direction were consequently forced to lay the drainage-pipes at a level intermediate between that of high-water and low-water in the canal, and to construct an expensive system of stop-valves and pumping-engines, to be used in the emergency of a summer freshet in the canal. Finally, the grading, which constituted an important item of the general expenditure at Vienna, will play but an insignificant part in the construction account at Philadelphia.

Taken all in all, then, the facilities afforded by the Lansdowne Plateau are unsurpassed.

In the next place, the Plateau is most favorably situated with regard to railroad transportation. It stands in a sort of triangle between the main line of the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Junction Railroad, and less than half a mile from either. This Junction Railroad—it may not be superfluous to observe for the benefit of the reader unfamiliar with the topography of Philadelphia—is the common connecting link for all the railroads that center in the city, and the highway over which passes all the travel between the South and New York. It is no temporary makeshift, then, but a permanent double-track railroad, built at great expense and with great skill, and furnished with every means of handling the heaviest freight and passenger traffic with safety and dispatch. The carrying capacity of the Pennsylvania and the Junction Railroads is practically unlimited. By laying down connections with these two main lines, the managers of the Centennial will be able to receive goods from all quarters, north, south, east, and west, without transshipment. Even those articles that come from foreign countries can be landed at the wharves of the Pennsylvania Railroad on the Delaware, and run into the grounds by rail. The ability of the Centennial to receive and handle goods by rail, as compared with that of the *Ausstellung*, is in the proportion of four to one. For although the Prater grounds were connected with the Vienna railroads by a continuous line of track, the route was circuitous, and the sharp turns and elbows were numerous and extremely awkward. During the height of the "rush" at Vienna, say the last week of April and the first week of May, the *Ausstellung* employees were able, by working night and day, to receive and unload 300 cars in twenty-four hours. Reckoning the capacity of an Austrian freight-car at two thirds of the American, we get the sum of 200 cars as the maximum day's work in the *Ausstellung*. Truly there is not a railroad of the second class in America that could not do its work better. A sure evidence of the insufficiency of the trackage at Vienna is to be found in the circumstance that in the early part of May there was a "block" of about one thousand cars at the terminus of the Northern Railway. Furthermore, the managers of the Centennial, profiting by the experience acquired at Vienna, have decided to run temporary tracks directly into the Main Pavilion itself. By this means they will reduce cartage and truckage to a minimum. One of the most discouraging features of the Vienna Exhibition was the excessive amount of pulling and hauling necessary to move

weighty or bulky articles from the car-tracks outside to the interior of the Industrial Palace.

In the third place, the Philadelphia buildings will be much more manageable than those at Vienna. The chief building of the *Ausstellung*, the Industrial Palace, presented many striking architectural features, but it was in the main impracticable. It was unwieldy by reason of its excessive length, and the Rotunda, which, standing alone, would have been impressive in the highest degree, was rendered "squat" in appearance by the wings. The managers of the Centennial have done wisely in refraining from any attempt at imitating the Austrian plan, and in contenting themselves with a smaller and more simple building modeled after the Sydenham Palace. The Main Pavilion of the Centennial may be described, in a general way, as a rectangular parallelogram, sixteen hundred feet long by five hundred broad. The height will be between seventy and eighty feet, except about the junction of the axes, where the central towers rise one hundred and twenty feet. The materials used in the construction will be iron and glass. When sold at the close of the exhibition, they will realize, it is asserted, at least forty per cent of the total cost of construction. The area of the Pavilion will be divided into longitudinal and transverse zones; the former serving for the grouping of articles by departments, the latter by countries. This arrangement, it will be observed, resembles that of the Paris Exposition of 1867 in its general features, the chief difference being that in Paris the shape of the building was that of a flattened ellipse. While the managers of the Centennial do not hope to succeed in carrying out this two-fold grouping—by departments and by nationalities—with all the nicety of detail that characterized the Paris Exposition, they are confident of making their Main Pavilion a marked improvement upon the Industrial Palace at Vienna. There is no reason for regarding this confidence as ill founded. The purely geographical arrangement, as it was styled, that prevailed in the Industrial Palace, proved itself to be unfortunate. Each nation stood by itself, as a detached entirety. The result was that the visitor who wished to make comparisons was obliged to walk from one end to the other of a building three thousand feet long. Thus, to select one article for the purpose of illustration, the porcelain from England was at the extreme west, that from China and Japan at the extreme east, that from France, Italy, and Germany, between, at wide intervals. To one desirous of studying fictile work in all its varieties, the waste of time and energy in overcoming

such distances was a serious drawback. These remarks upon the Industrial Palace will apply with equal force to the Machinery Hall, the Agricultural Halls, and the other buildings at Vienna. The universal opinion among those who had to do with the Exhibition was that the so called geographical arrangement was excessively inconvenient.

The present condition of the finances of the Centennial may be briefly described as follows. The State of Pennsylvania has appropriated \$1,000,000; the city of Philadelphia, \$1,500,000. Subscriptions to the stock fund now amount to \$2,100,000. The State appropriation goes, by the terms of the donation, to the erection of Memorial Hall, the exclusive use of which, for the time of the exhibition, is conferred upon the management of the Centennial. Memorial Hall is to be a permanent art-gallery, 365 feet in length, 216 in width, and 59 in height (over the basement of 12 feet), and crowned in the center by a dome. The materials are granite, glass, and iron. No wood is to be used in the construction. In its dimensions and its architecture,—the modern Renaissance,—Memorial Hall will present an uncommon union of beauty and grandeur, and will be a standing ornament to Philadelphia. The city appropriation of \$1,500,000 is to be divided between the Machinery Hall and the Horticultural Hall. This latter is to be a permanent building for the uses of the park. Like the Main Pavilion, it will be constructed of glass and iron, and tastefully ornamented. The Machinery Hall will resemble the one at Vienna in its general proportions,—an elongated parallelogram,—but will not be so large, and will not have such massive side-walls. No plan has yet been adopted either for it or for the Agricultural Hall. The Main Pavilion is to cover eighteen acres, the Machinery Hall about ten. The estimates of expenditure are: for the Pavilion \$1,200,000; for the Machinery Hall, \$800,000 (to be increased if necessary); and for the Horticultural Hall, \$200,000. It will be evident, from the above informal statement, that the managers of the Centennial rely upon stock-subscriptions for meeting general expenses and for erecting the Agricultural Hall, which certainly should cover not less than eight acres. The running expenses during the time of the exhibition are roughly estimated at \$1,500,000.

It is impossible to contemplate these figures and measurements without experiencing a sensation of relief. They show that those who have the Centennial in charge are willing to profit by the example of Vienna, and confine their aspirations within the limits

imposed by prudence. The plan originally adopted for the Main Pavilion would have covered thirty acres, and necessitated an expenditure of probably double the present amount. The total area of all the above named buildings at Philadelphia will not much exceed that of the Industrial Palace alone at Vienna. In other words, in place of huge, awkward buildings and immense distances, we shall have practical structures at a comparatively moderate expense. What the Centennial may lose thereby in bulk, and possibly in variety, it will gain in compactness and convenience. The Main Pavilion, for instance, although far less pretentious and overwhelming than the Industrial Palace, will undoubtedly present a more pleasing *coup-d'œil*, and will display its contents to greater advantage.

Concerning the number and the character of the private supplemental buildings that may cluster around the principal buildings, nothing as yet can be predicted with certainty. It is possible that the carriage-makers, for instance, may combine to erect a pavilion of their own. The managers of the Centennial will undoubtedly do all in their power to facilitate such private enterprises. The following suggestion has been made, which will probably commend itself to every liberal thinker. It is that each State and Territory of the Union shall erect on the grounds a handsome temple or pavilion of its own, constructed of building-materials native to the State; and exhibit in this pavilion specimens of the leading articles of its trade and industry. The expense for each State would be slight, while the *ensemble* of forest, field, mine, and factory would be startling. But there will be no impropriety in conceding, from the outset, that Philadelphia cannot compete with Vienna in this particular. The Centennial will not be set off with such magnificent private structures as the Emperor's Pavilion, the "Press" Pavilion, the pavilions of the Duke of Coburg and Prince Schwarzenberg, or the Khedive's Palace.

A large portion of the funds of the Centennial, two of the four and a half millions, is derived from subscriptions. These subscriptions are put in the form of stock-shares, at \$10 each. The total amount of stock that the managers are authorized to issue is \$10,000,000. The question naturally suggests itself, What prospect have the subscribers, or stockholders, of being reimbursed? The answer will not be forthcoming until the exhibition is at an end, and the accounts are balanced. The Main Pavilion, the Agricultural Hall, and the other buildings (exclusive of the Memorial Hall, Machinery and Horticultural Halls) will, it is to be presumed, absorb the fund raised

already by private subscriptions. To this expenditure must be added the running expenses, estimated at \$1,500,000. Against this rather formidable-looking outlay are to be set off: first, the receipts from the sale of tickets; second, the receipts from licenses for restaurants and the like, and from the sale of the official catalogue; finally, the receipts from the sale of the materials used in the temporary buildings. In attempting to estimate any one of these sources of income, we can not be too careful to avoid the self-deception that arises from enthusiasm. Before the opening of the Vienna Exhibition, the Director-General relied confidently upon 11,000,000 florins of gate-money alone; the official returns after the close showed only 2,500,000 florins (\$1,250,000). In view of the experience obtained at Vienna, we may doubt whether the receipts from the sale of entrance-tickets will do much more than meet the running expenses. By running expenses is meant, of course, all that incidental outlay which does not come under the head of construction-account. A daily average of 30,000 paying visitors at fifty cents a person, for 150 working days (six months, Sundays excluded), would yield \$2,250,000. This is a high estimate; the receipts from this source at the Paris Exposition of 1867 fell short of \$2,500,000. To an impartial observer, the chief difficulty under which the Centennial labors is the want of indorsement by the national government. Should the aggregate expenditure outside of the city and state appropriations be fixed positively at \$3,000,000, and should private subscriptions up to this amount be guaranteed by Congress, the status of the Centennial would be raised beyond cavil. As matters now stand, those interested in the undertaking cannot commit a more serious mistake than that of expecting too much. There is no reason for supposing that the daily average of visitors at Philadelphia will exceed 30,000, and there are many reasons for rating it at not higher than 20,000. The receipts from the sale of catalogues are wholly indeterminable; so also those from restaurant licenses.

Another possible item of expenditure remains to be discussed, to wit, the prizes to be conferred upon meritorious exhibitors. No official decision has yet been reached by the Commission. Many of the members are averse to giving any awards or prizes, and it is greatly to be desired that their views may prevail. Nearly every one who was present at Vienna, and watched the proceedings of the juries on the spot, became convinced that the prize-system was a delusion, not to say a scandal and a disgrace. The agent of one of the largest firms in America was accused openly of attempting to bribe the presi-

dent of the jury-section under which his articles were exhibited. The president of one of the group-juries (not an American), was accused no less openly of foul play in awarding medals to a firm in which he was pecuniarily interested. Many of the instances of gross blundering in preparing the list of prizes were inexcusable. The jurymen were, as a class, men of the most undoubted ability and sterling integrity, but the work was too much for them. It is not to be imagined that any set of jurymen chosen in America would meet with better success. We may say, once for all, that a great exhibition is not the proper field of operations for prize-jurymen. It is too large, and it does not afford the necessary opportunities for testing the relative merits of the articles offered in competition. The medals given by the Royal Society for Agriculture in England, or by the American Institute, mean something, because they are given, as we all know, sparingly and only after the most searching examination. But a Vienna medal meant nothing. By deciding to dispense with medals and juries, the Centennial Commission will not only spare themselves much trouble and expense, but will prevent an incalculable amount of ill feeling, abuse, and trickery.

Another point, upon which too much stress cannot be laid, is the necessity of having the Centennial Exhibition in complete readiness at the appointed time. In the first place, visitors will not come in large numbers until the Exhibition is in perfect order. Vienna demonstrated this beyond a peradventure. In the next place, haste is a spendthrift. Things done at the last moment are done not only badly, but wastefully. The object to which the Centennial Commission should bend their energies is the completion of all the public buildings by November 1875, before the setting-in of winter. This done, they can dictate their own terms to exhibitors. The winter and spring will not be found too long for receiving, unloading, distributing, and "installing" goods. The demand for space will probably be greater than the supply; some of those desiring to exhibit will be crowded out. If, then, the Commission are able to say in midsummer: We shall certainly be ready before Christmas, and we hereby notify exhibitors that we do not insure the acceptance of any article delivered after the first of March,—they will enforce punctuality. But if the buildings drag, if the Commission are tardy, exhibitors will not consider themselves under obligation to hasten their preparations, and we shall witness a repetition of the scenes of April and May at Vienna. The cause that operated more than any other to prevent a full display of articles at the opening of the Vienna Exhibition was the

widely spread belief among foreign exhibitors, and even among the Austrians themselves, that the buildings could not by any possibility be completed at the appointed time. The buildings were ready, it is true, but there was no reason for believing, in September 1872, that such would be the case. Nothing but the singular mildness of the winter enabled the General Direction to keep its engagements. If the Centennial Commission are interested at all in securing the largest possible receipts, they must open their exhibition, not in name merely, but in fact, on the appointed day; and in order to do this, their buildings must be under roof before Christmas.

It would be a waste of time to indulge, at this early day, in any speculation as to the character and value of the articles to be displayed before the public in 1876. Enough has been said, surely, to convince the people of this country of two things: First, that the Centennial is no longer mere talk, a mere project. It is a plan that has already assumed definite shape and proportions, and that will be carried out in the manner indicated. Second, that the Centennial, although on a smaller scale than the Paris Exposition or the Vienna Ausstellung, will be a grand enterprise. Whether or not it will represent American industry and commerce as they should be represented, depends upon Americans themselves. Our traders and manufacturers have only to meet half-way the invitation thus extended, to make the Centennial the most brilliant and most fruitful display of their own capabilities that can be imagined. Let them, if they will, regard it as a mere mode of advertisement. They may never have another such opportunity of exhibiting before the eyes of the entire country, and of the representatives from Europe, exactly what they are doing at this present day, and what they are capable of doing in days to come. It would be the height of fatuity to view the Centennial as an undertaking in behalf of the interests of Philadelphia alone, and to hold aloof from it on that account. There is nothing in the constitution of the Commission, or in the personal character of the members, to warrant such an ungenerous suspicion. They are all men who have the honor and prosperity of the entire country at heart, and nothing would rejoice them more than to see the entire country adequately represented. Should the East, South, and West do poorly, it will be because the men of those regions have stood tamely by. In that case, they will have no one but themselves to blame, if Philadelphia and the Pennsylvanians, after bearing nearly all the burden, should also reap all the profit. In one department, certainly, if in no other, the Centennial ought to eclipse all its predecessors. Namely, in machinery. It is

in the power of our manufacturers and inventors to make a display of machinery at Philadelphia that shall throw London, Paris, and Vienna completely in the shade. This utterance is not the outpouring of enthusiastic patriotism ; it is based upon a careful study of the Machinery Hall at Vienna. There were more "inventive brains," to borrow the expression of one of our engineers, in the little section occupied by America than in all the rest of the huge Machinery Hall. By the side of our ingenious contrivances, that did their work with such economy of space and force, and with such precision, the cumbrous structures from Germany, France, and even England, seemed twenty years behind the times. In this connection, America may lay claim to unique distinction. Mr. Corliss was the only person who received a diploma of honor without being an actual exhibitor. But, in truth, the entire Machinery Hall, with its appurtenances, was his exhibition, for every stationary engine at work in the building or on the grounds was in principle a Corliss engine. Philadelphians have derived not a little comfort from the success of the Franklin Institute Fair, held in October last. This impromptu resuscitation of an old annual fair surprised even those who had it in charge. The attendance was good, the quantity of articles and machinery was very large, and the quality was all that could be desired. It was an exhibition of which any city might be proud. It showed the ability of Philadelphia to cover an area of several acres, at a moment's notice, as it were, with the products of her own local industry. Would it not be well for the Centennial Commission to obtain a share in the direction of the Franklin Institute for 1875, to conduct it on a larger scale, and to operate it, especially with reference to what is known by the specific term, "installation," as a preparation, a rehearsal for 1876? Much could be learned by this means in the way of economizing space and insuring artistic arrangement.

After all that may be said and done, the people of Philadelphia hold the fate of the Centennial in their own hands. It is for them to foster and fructify the enterprise, or to nip it in the bud. They can insure the most complete and disastrous failure, by simply doing nothing; they can succeed only by dint of strenuous, clear-sighted exertion, and of self-sacrifice. Philadelphia is pre-eminently a city of resident families, each occupying a house by itself. There is but one large and well appointed hotel: the Continental. The other hotels are small, and most of them old-fashioned. There are but two or three *hotels garnis*, and the number of boarding-houses is very small. Philadelphia is anything but a travelers'-city. The habits of

the residents are regular and domestic, their tastes are simple and easily gratified. They are not used to the whirl and bustle of the world, the influx and efflux of masses of strangers. We dare not cherish any illusions on this point. Philadelphia as it has been, and still is, can not accommodate the numbers of visitors that it expects. It must first modify, for the time being at least, its style of living. Unless Philadelphians can give to the rest of the country unmistakable evidence of their ability and their willingness to furnish lodgings, the rest of the country will stay away. The future of the Centennial lies here in a nut-shell. There is no city in the world so capable of expansion as Philadelphia. At the beginning of the year 1873, there were within the municipal limits 124,302 dwelling-houses, for a population of, in round numbers, 700,000. In other words, only five persons to a house. No such favorable ratio of room-area to population exists elsewhere. If we reject 24,302 houses as either too remote, or too small, or unavailable for some other reason, we shall still have 100,000 houses, every one of which has at least one room to spare. It is for the Philadelphians themselves to meet the problem. Its solution will depend upon their willingness to abandon for the while their domestic privacy, to throw open their doors to strangers from the East, West, and South, and possibly from Europe. It is not a matter of entertaining hospitably the delegates of an ecclesiastical conference or a scientific congress. It is a matter of sheltering utter strangers, mere sight-seers, men and women without any recommendation but their personal appearance and their ability to pay their way. Even were the capital obtainable, it would not be possible to build and furnish in the coming fifteen months a sufficient number of hotels, to say nothing of the certainty that such hotels, if too numerous, would be left on the owners' hands at the close of the exhibition, as a dead investment. Three or four new hotels, each having from two hundred to two hundred and fifty rooms, are indeed desirable. They would facilitate the arrival and departure of travelers, and would be a permanent gain to the city.

Here we must rest the case with the Philadelphians. They are the persons most directly interested, and the only persons who can act. It is always an ungracious task to play the part of a warning counselor. But it is at times absolutely necessary. We should be but sorry friends of Philadelphia and the Centennial, were we to speak only words of praise and cheer, and not give voice to our doubts and our fears. These doubts and fears do not proceed from ill will; they are the promptings of sober experience. May they be received in the spirit in which they are uttered.

BARON LIEBIG.

SINCE the much-lamented death of the celebrated German chemist, the details of his life have been treated in a great number of essays and articles published in the most influential organs of the press, both of Europe and America, by well-informed and competent authors. Therefore, a somewhat closer consideration of Liebig's influence upon agriculture and physiology will perhaps command a larger and broader interest than the repetition of mere biographical notes. One point ought never to be forgotten, whenever Liebig's efforts and achievements are being judged—the difficulties he had to overcome, when preparing himself for his later brilliant career, were by far more serious than is now generally believed. Only in consequence of his patient and persevering investigations, and that of other distinguished scholars, the science of nature and the instruction therein have been raised to their present high standard, and made easily accessible; while forty or fifty years ago, young men of high genius and noble aspirations were literally depressed and crushed by the insufficiency of physical and chemical instruction. Liebig himself had to suffer greatly, and often spoke with bitterness of his youth and youthful shortcomings.

In the year 1840, Justus von Liebig first began to investigate the secrets of vegetable and animal life. Fortunately for the result of his researches, he had then already attained high fame as a scientific author and university teacher; nay, even at that time, as far as the science of chemistry is concerned, he already outshone all others, except the widely celebrated Berzelius.

The school for chemistry and the chemical laboratory founded by him in Grossen had carried his reputation to every civilized country, and eager pupils, among them a great many young Americans, were continually streaming to it from all parts of the globe. So his voice could not easily remain unheard, and the new doctrines concerning agricultural chemistry which he proclaimed, quickly spread throughout the learned world, as well as the public in general. The same discoveries made by a young and unknown professor, might perhaps, in

spite of their intrinsic value, have been lost in oblivion, or at least have made their way more slowly, and thus been by far less beneficial to humanity.

The essence of Liebig's researches on vegetable life, may be characterized in a few words; he was the first to discover the intrinsic connection between the plants and the mineral ingredients of the soil, and to work out this discovery into a clear and scientific system. It is true, many years before Liebig, even in very remote ages, certain minerals, as gypsum, calcined bones, etc., were employed for manures. But this was a mere empirical operation, and no one ever thought of proclaiming the theoretical and scientific necessity of restoring the mineral ingredients carried off in the crops from the soil. The people merely placed gypsum, ashes, or bones, on their fields because they had seen good results; but, as to the real cause of their favorable influences upon the fertility of the soil, this was a perfect mystery, and remained thus, so long as the chemists and physiologists of the period inclined to consider the minerals and the small percentage of ashes contained in the majority of plants, as a fortuitous combination, and thought them the nearer to ideal perfection the smaller their percentage of ashes was found to be.

Previous to Liebig's discoveries, the word "ashes" designated a mere elementary conception; every thing which is left after the burning of wood, coals, or any vegetable matter, was called ashes, and any residue of the kind was considered to be alike in substance and composition.

That all these "ashes" are totally different from each other, and nearly as different as the plants themselves from which they are derived, was first discovered and proved by Justus von Liebig; and this discovery, to which he was led by a series of most ingenious, but also most laborious experiments, became the chief source of his fame and glory.

Under Liebig's direction, a patient and vigorous staff of assistants made countless experiments in nearly every accessible part of the globe, and analyzed with the utmost care the ashes of many thousand different plants. The unanimous result of their investigations proved, to a certainty, the natural coherence between vegetable life and inorganic matter; they showed that every plant of the same kind, whatever may be the substance and the composition of its soil, receives the same mineral ingredients into its frame, and cannot live and grow in a place which is entirely devoid of the minerals necessary to its existence. To cite but one example, the tobacco plant chiefly with-

draws lime from the earth, under every zone and in every climate; its cultivation, in a soil absolutely deprived of that mineral, is simply impossible, however liberally the other conditions of its existence may be provided for.

These results, plainly showing the error which former ages had committed when neglecting and denying the importance of mineral ingredients in vegetable substances, naturally led to a division of plants into several classes, each of which received the name of its principal mineral ingredient; regardless of botanical denominations, they were divided into a few simple classes, according to their predominant contents of lime, kali, silicious earth, etc.

Thus Liebig's doctrine concerning the influence of mineral matter upon vegetable life was firmly established, and nothing seemed easier than to carry it into practical execution. It was no longer unknown what mineral ingredients every plant draws from the soil; nothing else seemed necessary than to convey them in sufficient quantity to the fields, in order to obtain a boundless and never-ceasing fertility. Here we touch upon a fatal moment in the great chemist's life.

Perhaps it would have been better, if Liebig simply had offered his priceless discovery to the practical agriculturists, and had allowed the farmers to put his theory into practice themselves, instead of devoting his own exertions to that task. Probably his doctrine would then have made its way sooner and more easily, and at any rate a long series of troubles, delusions, vexations, and hostile attacks of all kinds would have been spared to the discoverer.

But the vivacity of his genius allowed him not to restrain himself to mere theoretical investigations; on the contrary, he devoted himself with all the energy of his powerful mind to the task of popularizing and of carrying them into practical execution.

The opposition and resistance he had to encounter were extraordinary.

It is no agreeable task to speak of the causes of this strange fact; for it must be confessed, that both parties, the enthusiastic preachers of the new doctrine as well as agriculturists, had their part in it. First of all, the deficient instruction of the latter, their ignorance and absolute want of any thing like physical or chemical science, were great obstacles; they did not, and could not understand the technical language in which the new doctrine was preached to them. And then, on the other side, the immoderate zeal of the innovators did much harm; their violent abuse of the farmers'

and land-owners ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and obtuseness, produced ill-feeling among the latter, and increased their prejudices. Liebig himself was less guilty than any other of such deplorable rashness, but his disciples often passed the proper limits in the excess of their benevolent zeal; the author himself, having been one of Liebig's first and most convinced pupils, confesses to have done so.

But all these obstacles—the ignorance of the public, and the occasional mistakes on the part of Liebig's adherents—cannot suffice to explain the persevering opposition which the new agricultural system encountered for so many years, and which even now has not yet completely subsided. The chief obstacle to its speedy and universal adoption lay in its striking and quite unexpected practical inefficiency.

Contrary to the discoverer's fond hopes, the artificial manure composed by his orders, and tried on the grandest scale upon every variety of soil and climate, had none, or scarcely any influence upon the produce of the fields; at any rate, if such an influence could be perceived at all, it was infinitesimal and too slow to be of any practical value.

Now, the unsuccessful chemist had to undergo a long and dreary period of discouragement, ill-will, and malicious derision. Let us hear his own words about it:

"A real, lasting, and not to be mitigated sorrow was caused to me by the fact that I was unable to see and discover the cause of my artificial manure's inefficiency. In thousands of cases I perceived each of its ingredients operating exactly in the way indicated by my theoretical researches and discoveries; yet, when united, and brought into the shape of artificial manure, they seemed to be worthless."

Sincerely convinced of his doctrine's correctness, the perplexed discoverer was helpless before its practical failure. And yet, a decisively favorable and convincing result was absolutely necessary to keep it afloat, as the opposition to innovating doctrines is nowhere stronger and more tenacious than among farmers and land-owners, to whom the inclination toward routine and the following of old courses is even more natural than to the rest of mankind.

From the beginning, they had scoffed at the idea of preparing manure by artificial means; they had declared aloud that animal action was necessary for its production, and that, as a frequently used phrase somewhat peremptorily said, "The work of nature could never be replaced by the produce of a chemist's melting pots!"

The failure of Liebig's artificial manure caused indescribable jubilation in the ranks of the farmers and land-owners; strange to say, they loudly rejoiced to see that efforts which had been made exclusively toward their own good and toward the raising of their condition and welfare, had been unsuccessful!

The mysterious cause of the practical failure of Liebig's new system lay in a fundamental error committed by the great chemist himself. The alkalis and the phosphates are the most essential mineral ingredients of the plants, which, by aid of the manure, must be restored to the soil; they dissolve most readily in water. Therefore, Liebig thought it necessary to melt them together with silicious and argillaceous earth, to prevent their being washed off by rain, which he thought would otherwise have been the consequence of their excessive solubility, and to give the roots of the plants time for their gradual absorption.

But whilst we all of us were taking unnecessary pains, and trouble to fabricate an insoluble union of alkalis and phosphates, nature herself, in her mysterious and powerful laboratory, had already achieved this task for us. We had failed to perceive and to understand the natural law which makes the arable soil fit to retain, without any further preparation, the nutritive mineral ingredients supplied to it in a soluble state, and to put them into the most favorable condition for absorption.

To be sure, it was no unknown fact that soluble mineral ingredients are partially absorbed by the earth, and experiments had been made which showed that saline solutions, after their filtration through the earth, experience a notable change, and that part of the salt contained in them is absorbed. Yet, as far as the science of agricultural chemistry is concerned, Liebig, after a series of most trying and troublesome investigations, was the first to discover and to set in regular scientific order the effects of the natural law of absorption.

This discovery at once showed him the cause of his artificial manure's inefficiency. The deep emotion felt by him when he at last had reached the solution of this formidable and most important problem may best be known from his own words:

"After having discovered the mysterious cause of my manure's inefficiency, I felt like a man who recovers from mortal prostration, and now, seeing and perceiving clearly this most natural law, my previous blindness seems quite inexplicable to me. Indeed, human intelligence is often singularly limited, and fails to perceive the nearest and simplest facts when they do not harmonize with one's preconceived order of thoughts. Having deprived the alkalis of their solubility, and imbedded them, by a melting process, into silicious or argillaceous earth, I had impeded their amalgamation with the soil and done every thing in my power to weaken their action. Only then, after so many years, I understood the reason of my failure; every single mineral ingredient supplied to the soil produced its proper effect, but my own science had made them ineffective! Alas! I myself had done every thing to impede the acknowledgment and the general propagation of my doctrine; I had been my own worst foe by the erroneous composition of the artificial manure, which otherwise might so

much sooner have restored the fertility of the exhausted soil ! I had sinned against the supreme wisdom of the Creator, by attempting a needless amelioration of his works. Struck with fatal blindness, I believed that one part of that wonderful system had been forgotten, which, by a constant and uninterrupted series of admirable natural laws, produces and maintains vegetable life on the surface of the earth. Feeble and impotent worm, I had thought it possible to redress an error made by the Creator ! ”

Often Liebig has been blamed for having changed his mind as to the best method of employing artificial manure ; however, these reproaches can not be considered as well founded. Liebig has simply confessed his former error in the most upright and dignified manner. The change caused in his opinions by the discovery of the original source of his practical failure was only natural.

Liebig's doctrine concerning the influence of mineral ingredients upon vegetable life (simply called “ Mineraltheorie,” in Germany), has of late begun to conquer another large field of application, being more and more followed in the cultivation of forests, which gradually has been raised to the rank of a veritable science and, especially in Germany, to a very high degree of perfection. However, as far as the scientific cultivation of forests and the application of Liebig's mineral theory to it are concerned, much is to be done still, and in the pursuit of this great task the sure leading hand and the energetic will of the master himself are sadly missed by his pupils.

The influence of Liebig upon the investigation of animal life has in no wise been inferior to his researches into the mysterious processes which form the origin, growth, and decay of vegetable substance ; his discoveries concerning the nourishment of human and animal organisms are likewise founded on his extraordinary knowledge of organic chemistry, and, like his “ Mineraltheorie,” have opened entirely new paths for the progress of science.

Liebig's researches concerning animal life and the nourishment of animal organisms may be divided into two sections, of which the first embraces the mere chemical scrutiny and analysis of organic matter, to which operation the name of Organic Chemistry is generally given ; the other, which embraces the science of physiology as well as of chemistry, determines the practical influence of the analyzed materials upon the animal organism.

Justus von Liebig discovered and proclaimed as the fundamental principle of nourishment that the chief ingredients of the blood are already existing in the food of man and animals, and that they experience but a very slight transformation when their original substance—vegetable matter—is changed into flesh and blood.

"The food of men and animals," says Liebig, "consists of two entirely different substances. One of them, which contains nitrogen and albumen, forms the blood and the fleshy parts of the body, and consequently they are called plastic elements of nutrition; the other, which contains no nitrogen but fat and so-called hydrates of carbon, is in every respect like ordinary fuel, and maintains the elevated temperature which is remarked in every animal body; it is commonly called 'generator of caloric, or means of respiration.' Sugar, starch, and gum, belong to this class; they are nothing but transformed wood fibre, and the progress of chemistry has taught us to reverse the natural order of this chemical transformation, and to make sugar, starch, and gum out of wood fibre. But of all these substances which maintain the warmth of the body through the medium of respiration, fat or grease is predominant, and as far as the amount of carbonic matter is concerned, nearly equal to the ordinary fossil coal.

"We literally heat our bodies with combustible materials, which are nearly identical with those which are employed in heating our stoves, and which differ from wood and coal in no other respect but in the fact that they are soluble in the juices of our body, which the latter are not."

The celebrated experiments made with the respiratory apparatus of our days, have somewhat modified these doctrines: but the modifications can not in any way lessen Liebig's scientific glory; on the contrary, it is only just, thankfully to confess that the enlarged and augmented experience of modern times is due to the impulse and example given by him.

The importance of Liebig's other works concerning the rational improvement of cattle, and of his beneficial inventions of the extract of meat, the milk for infants, etc., is so well known in the whole world, that it is scarcely necessary to mention them. On the whole, we can say, that these inventions have been the basis of an entirely new science, unknown before Liebig—the science of Nutrition!

As to us, who are proud of having been his pupils, we are all convinced that we can not do more honor to his memory than by the imitation of his example. Like Liebig himself, those who have been initiated into the mysteries of nature by his powerful and indefatigable genius, will always endeavor to employ their knowledge for, and direct their exertion toward, the benefit of humanity.

As an exterior token of gratitude, the erection of a national monument to Liebig has been proposed, and will soon be carried out, the idea having met with an enthusiastic reception from all sides, and contributions, not a few of them coming from America, having been collected for that purpose from every part of the globe.

But we repeat it, a "monumentum aere perennius" will be created to his memory by the progressive development and propagation of his ideas and inventions; such a monument will proclaim his works and merits to the latest generations.

THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE REFORM

AND

CODIFICATION OF THE LAW OF NATIONS.

THE present and greatest need of the nations is a well-digested code of international law, and an international tribunal for the satisfactory and pacific settlement of those differences which can not be adjusted by the ordinary methods of negotiation. For more than a century, distinguished diplomatists, publicists, and statesmen have borne testimony to the urgent necessity of such a code and tribunal. It is not a little surprising, especially when we consider the great advance that has been made during the last century in diplomacy, jurisprudence, statesmanship, and political economy, and, indeed, in the multifarious branches of knowledge, that International Law, upon which depend to such an extent the most precious interests of the nations, and of all mankind, should to-day be found in a state very crude, indefinite, and incomplete. That distinguished diplomatist and statesman, the late lamented Sir John Bowring, just before his death, wrote :

“It may be safely asserted that no portion of the field of law is in so unsatisfactory a state as the international, whether the legislative or the administrative sections be considered. And yet such law concerns not individuals alone, not nations alone, but the whole community of man, and of all questions submitted to sovereigns or to senates, this is the most important.

“What is wanted is a permanent tribunal, and an international code ; a tribunal to be called together when the occasion may require, and a code to embrace the great questions which present themselves for its decision.”

Count Frederic Sclopis, but a short time after the close of the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal, of which he was the President, said :

“Every wise and enlightened government must feel the necessity for an escape from that complexity and uncertainty which constitute the present condition of the Law of Nations. Every one would be a gainer by getting rid of this state of things.”

The absence of such a code and tribunal, while the nations were in a barbarous state and enjoyed little or no intercourse with each other, was a comparatively tolerable and even necessary evil. But,

now that in the advance of intelligence and civilization, the nations have passed from the self-subsistent stage of national life into the dependent one; now that, as by the invention of the printing press, steam machinery, the electric telegraph, and all the great discoveries of modern times, the nations have been brought together, compacted into one community, and the interests of all have been blended; now that, as it has been happily expressed by a recent English publicist, "the separate threads of national prosperity have been entangled in the international skein," the absence of such a provision is an evil that can not be endured.

Moreover, the solution of complicated questions embracing facts and principles of a peculiar and delicate nature between England and the United States of America, by means of the Washington Treaty and the Geneva Arbitration, was recognized by publicists and statesmen in all the world as one of the most advanced and auspicious steps in civilization. After centuries of war and bloodshed, two great nations, nations equally high-spirited and sensitively alive to their interests, their rights, and their honor, voluntarily submitted their grave and embittered differences to the judgment of five impartial men. They pledged themselves beforehand to abide by that decision whatever it might be. That decision was given, and the two nations do abide by it with gratitude and joy. The lustre of this one triumph outshines the combined glories of war's victories. Said Count Sclopis:

"I must tell you that the success of the Geneva Arbitration has made a very deep impression upon the Italian people. I have never before known amongst us such a united public sentiment as on this question. The most emphatic and unanimous expressions of rejoicing and congratulation have reached me from parties the most opposed to each other.

That illustrious transaction made a similar impression upon the people of all lands. Especially did it awaken profound gratitude among all classes of the American people. There were those among us, who were very decided in their convictions that every endeavor should be made to secure the best results from this auspicious event, to make it the harbinger of perpetual peace between the revered mother-country and our own, and an example powerful in its influence upon all nations.

It was apparent that in order to form a solid basis for a general and permanent system for the peaceful settlement of the differences of nations, it would be necessary, in the first place, to take measures

to define, digest, and, so far as practicable, elaborate and codify the fundamental principles of international law.

Accordingly, as early as February, 1871, a plan was agreed upon, the essential feature of which was the provision it contained for convening, after they should have had time for preparation, a body of men which, for the want of a better name, was termed a *Senate of Publicists*, designed to include the first publicists of different nations, who should meet for the purpose of comparing notes, discussing, elaborating, and, so far as possible, agreeing in a statement of some of the fundamental principles of international law, in the spirit, and after the manner, of the Joint High Commissioners at Washington. It was proposed that this body should be entirely *unofficial*, but yet composed of just such men as their respective governments would choose if they were to inaugurate a joint high Commission to frame an international code. They would constitute, it was thought, a body which, by their reputation, would give something like the positive authority of law to the rules which they should elaborate and state. It was expected these learned men would address themselves to their great work with all the sense of responsibility which they would feel if they were commissioned to perform it by their own governments. It was understood that this code would provide for the establishment ultimately of an international tribunal, either a standard one, or one to be constituted *pro re nata*, to which would be referred the differences that would from time to time arise between nations; and this tribunal would be the most august court upon the earth.

It was thought reasonable to expect this work of the Senate of Publicists would receive the sanction of universities, institutes, learned bodies, and also of the peoples of different countries, and would eventually be accepted and adopted by the different governments of the world. When this should have been done, a proportionate and very material reduction of the standing armies of the nations might take place, as their present enormous armies would no longer be needed for security or the vindication of national honor. Thus from the nations would be lifted the burden that is every year growing more oppressive, and which is now well-nigh crushing them.

For carrying into effect the plan thus briefly outlined, a committee was organized, called "The United States International Code Committee." This committee was composed of a large number of the leading publicists and jurists of America, of presidents and professors of our universities and colleges, of statesmen of different political parties, of clergymen of different denominations, of prominent mer-

chants—in a word, of representatives of all of the great interests of society. Among the members of this committee are Presidents Woolsey, Hopkins, Stearns, Porter, Chopin, and Magoun, Hon. David Dudley Field, Judge Emory Washburn, Charles Francis Adams, Reverdy Johnson, Chancelors Howard Crosby and J. V. L. Pruyn, Wm. Cullen Bryant, J. G. Whittier, Elihu Burritt, Hon. Edward S. Foley, Hon. Wm. E. Dodge, etc., etc. A call or an invitation was prepared and signed by this committee above-named. It was expressed in the following terms :

"The undersigned, believing that the peace and well-being of nations, the best institutions and enterprises of Christian civilization, including all the great interests of humanity, demand a permanent guarantee against the peril and even possibility of war, regard the present as a favorable opportunity for convening eminent publicists, jurists, statesmen, and philanthropists of different countries, in an International Congress, for the purpose of elaborating and commending to the governments and peoples of Christendom, an International Code, and other measures, for substituting the arbitrament of reason and justice for the barbarous arbitrament of the sword."

Early in January, 1872, the writer of this article sailed for Europe for the purpose of submitting the proposition above indicated, to the consideration of distinguished publicists and statesmen of the countries of Europe, and gaining their adhesion to the same. He visited the principal countries of Europe: England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany, etc., and was everywhere received with the greatest courtesy and kindness, and the plan which he carried from America was hailed with marked favor. From a large number of the distinguished gentlemen with whom he conferred, he had the honor to receive a written approval of the plan submitted to them, valuable suggestions in regard to the mode of its accomplishment, and the expression of their willingness to co-operate in carrying the plan into effect. Among the gentlemen from whom he received such papers, he may name: in England, Rt. Hon. Mountague Bernard, one of her Majesty's High Commissioners, Vernon Harcourt, Esq., M. P., Prof. Leoni Levi, Edwin C. Clark, Regius Prof. of Law at Cambridge; in France, Drouyn de L'huys, late Minister of State, E. D. Porieu of the Institut, Carlos Calvo, late Minister, Viscount d'Itajuba, one of the judges of the Geneva Court; in Italy, Count Sclopis, the illustrious President of the Court, Prof. Mancini, of the University of Rome, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Prof. Pierantoni, of Naples; in Germany, Prof. Baron von Holtzendorff of Munich, Prof. Heffter of Berlin; in Belgium, Auguste Visschers of Brussels, Dr. Rolin-Jacquemyns, of Ghent, etc., etc.

Several of these papers were quite elaborate, and were published in France, England, and America.

Upon his return to America, the writer communicated to the gentlemen interested in the movement his report, and the written opinions which he had obtained in Europe. It was at once decided to go forward and make an effort to convene the congress. The original design was to have the first meeting in America; but, on consultation, it was found that several of the European friends of the project, whose presence was desired, could not attend if the meeting was to be held on this side of the ocean. Accordingly arrangements were made to hold the meeting in Brussels, Belgium, commencing October 10, 1873. The invitation was issued in June, 1873, under the auspices of the United States International Code Committee, and was sent to publicists and statesmen of different nations, inviting them to meet at Brussels at the time specified, "for consultation upon the best method of preparing an international code, and the most promising means of procuring its adoption."

Although many obstacles existed, owing to the length of distance, the shortness of time, and the like, yet in response to the invitation, the learned world was suitably represented at Brussels, and the meeting was a signal success. Some forty persons assembled (we can not mention them all), and letters were received from as many more, who gave their adhesion. Among the latter we name with peculiar pleasure that man whose services in connection with the memorable Geneva Arbitration reflect imperishable honor upon him, Count Sclopis, of Italy.

France was represented by MM. Cauchy, Massé, and Calvo, all members of the Institut; M. F. Passy, economist, and M. Ameline, advocate. Germany had sent, together with important letters from M. d'Holtzendorff and others, M. Bluntschli, Professor of Law at Heidelberg, and author of a very distinguished work on "International Law Codified." From Spain we had M. Marcoartu, former Member of the Cortes, founder of a prize of 7,500 francs for the best work on the subject. From Italy, M. Mancini, former Minister of State, Deputy, and Professor of Law at the University of Naples. From England, Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., late Advocate-General; the Right Hon. Mountague Bernard, Professor of International Law in the University of Oxford, and one of the negotiators of the treaty of Washington; Mr. Sheldon Amos, Professor of Law in the University of London; Mr. Henry Richard, Member of the House of Commons, and author of the celebrated motion which has made his name popu-

lar throughout the world; Mr. T. Webster, Q. C., and Mr. H. D. Jencken, Barrister. From Holland, M. Bachiene, Counselor of State; and M. Bredius, Member of the Chamber of Representatives. From Belgium, M. Visschers, Doctor of Law, Counselor of the Council of Mines; M. Ahrens, Professor in the University of Brussels; M. de Laveleye, Professor in the University of Liege; M. Rolin-Jacquemyns, Editor of the "International Law Review," of Ghent; M. Goblet d'Alviella, Doctor of Political and Administrative Science; M. Couvreur, Editor of the "Independance Belge," and Member of the Chamber of Deputies; M. Bourson, Director of the "Moniteur Belge;" M. Tempels, Military Auditor; M. Faider, Attorney-General of the Court of Cassation, etc. Most of these gentlemen have written with the highest distinction on questions of international law. America was represented by our honored president, David Dudley Field, author of able legal works, among them, "Draft Outlines of an International Code;" by Mr. Sandford, late Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Belgium; by Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, and Dr. James B. Miles.

In speaking of the work of the Conference, we must confine ourselves to enumeration and abstain from comments.

After full and able discussion, in which most of the members participated, the Conference adopted unanimously the following resolution:

"The Conference declares, that an international code, defining with all the precision possible, the rights and the duties of nations and of their members, is eminently desirable in the interest of peace, of friendly relations, and of the common prosperity. It is therefore of opinion that nothing should be neglected to arrive at the preparation and adoption of such code. The Conference reserves the question of judging to what point the Codification of the Laws of Nations should be simply scientific, and to what point it should be embodied in treaties or conventions formally accepted by Sovereign States."

Secondly, the Conference adopted with the same unanimity another resolution, the importance of which we need not state, of which the text is as follows:

"The Conference declares that it regards arbitration as the means essentially just, reasonable, and even obligatory on nations, of terminating international differences which can not be settled by negotiation. It abstains from affirming that this means can be applied in all cases without exception. But it believes these exceptions to be rare. And it is of opinion that no difference ought to be considered insoluble until after a complete exposition of the matter in dispute, after a reasonable delay, and after the exhaustion of all pacific means of adjustment."

Thus it will be seen that the success of the first conference of the Association exceeded the most sanguine expectations, even of those especially active in originating and promoting it. It is true the views and opinions which the writer of this article had previously obtained from distinguished publicists and statesmen respecting the desirableness and practicability of such a convention as was held at Brussels, were, in the main, favorable to such a movement. But the experiment had not been tried. No precedents existed to which appeal might be made. Obstacles were numerous and apparent. Those who would rejoice most in the success of the undertaking could but entertain more or less of doubt in regard to its feasibility. Is it possible to bring together, from countries so widely separated, the learned men whose presence is essential? If they can be convened, will not the diversity of languages which they speak prove an insuperable obstacle to success? If they shall succeed in understanding each other, is it at all likely that they will be able to agree in opinion respecting the great questions of international law or national policy?

Such are some of the questions which naturally suggested themselves. But to-day, we have the satisfaction of saying these questions have been answered. The project, which a little more than a year ago was a mere proposition in whose speedy realization a few, and perhaps none, had strong faith, is now a *fait accompli*.

Distinguished representatives of many of the leading nations did assemble for the purpose above indicated. The obstacle of the diversity of languages was not found to be insuperable, or even serious. Eminent *savants*, and writers upon international law, who went to the Conference entirely undecided in regard to the practical utility of the movement, left it, as they assured us, full of thankfulness, and with high hope for the future.

The second conference of the Association was held in Geneva, commencing on the 7th of September last, and continuing in session four days. The session opened, under very favorable auspices, in the renowned Hotel de Ville, in the hall famous as the place where the memorable Geneva Arbitration was conducted, and successfully consummated. The associations of the place were in perfect accord with the objects of the Conference, and at the hour appointed for opening, the historic hall was filled with delegates, and ladies and gentlemen who had been invited to attend the exercises. An assembly, composed of distinguished representatives from so many great nations, including Switzerland, Italy, Germany, France, England, America, and even distant Japan, met in such a place, and

for an object so exalted and benign, was a spectacle of no ordinary interest.

The limits of this article admit of only a very partial account of the proceedings of the Conference, and the important work accomplished by it.

M. Carteret, President of the Council of State, opened the session with an eloquent address of welcome, in the course of which he said :

“Has not modern civilization in its inner conscience a real shame for that primitive state, in which, in spite of its influence, the relations between different peoples continue as to the most common method of settling their differences? In point of fact, with but rare exceptions, we see that it is by rivers of blood that these differences are settled, and that reprisals only aggravate the evil. Thus, in the midst of all that humanity has realized, and wishes still further to realize, in order to improve and facilitate its commercial, industrial, intellectual, and moral relations, a profound uneasiness (*malaise*) is felt and is persistent, which diminishes by one-half these benefits.

“Whatever difficulties there may be in drawing up a good code of International Law, and above all in securing its vitality and advancement, there is room to entertain legitimate hopes in this respect. From every quarter there is something of this sort expected, and—sign of approaching moral conquests—from different quarters and under divers forms, individual or collective efforts are being made at the present moment tending in the same direction : that is to say, that law should replace force in international relationships.

Hon. David Dudley Field, the President, replied in fitting terms to the cordial welcome of the Government of the Canton of Geneva.

The General Secretary, Dr. Miles, presented the report of the past procedure, and present position of the Association.

A large number of letters expressive of sympathy and approval of the aims of the Association were received ; among them were messages from Count Sclopis, John Bright, Sir John Lubbock, Profs. Seeley and Levi, M. Drouyn de L’huys, etc. Count Sclopis writes :

“I mentally assist at the discussions that you and your illustrious associates are holding by this time in Geneva. They will undoubtedly bring forward some really good and durable results. I am sorry in being deprived of the pleasure I should have in taking part, dear sir, with you and them, in such important and humanizing work. I earnestly wish to see these noble efforts crowned with a splendid and durable success.”

M. Kawase, Minister Plenipotentiary from Japan to Italy, was authorized by his government to be a member of the Conference. He was introduced and said, in reply to the welcome that had been given him by the Association,

"That he was extremely obliged for the kindness with which his presence had been received. In his own country, a foreigner could not be admitted to such a conference, and he therefore felt all the more forcibly the advantages in being permitted to represent it, thus enabling him to send to his countrymen some information as to the reforms that were being practiced in Europe."

Profs. Mancini and Pierantoni of Italy followed with able and eloquent addresses.

The sessions of the Conference were occupied with the reading and discussion of papers. Among the papers presented was one by Dr. Miles, upon "An International Tribunal;" by Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, upon "Peace as the Nursery of Chivalry;" by Prof. E. A. Lawrence, upon the "Progress of Peace Principles."

A paper on "Private International Law," by T. Webster, Esq., Q. C., embracing the questions of the assimilation of law and law procedure, and the extinction of the conflict of the laws of nations; a paper on "Bills of Exchange and Contracts," by Mr. H. D. Jencken; one on "Monetary Unity and a Uniformity of Weights and Measures," by Dr. Barnard, President of Columbia College, New York; a paper on "International Protection for the Holders of Debts of States, and the Maintenance of Public Credit," by Mr. I. Gerstenberg, Chairman of the Council of Foreign Bondholders, London; a paper on the "Three Rules of the Washington Treaty," by President Woolsey; a paper on the "Feasibility of an International Code," by Prof. Emory Washburn; a paper upon the "Triumph of Law over Brute Force," by Henry Richard, Esq., M. P.; papers upon "Arbitration," by Prof. Sheldon Amos, London, and Senor Arturo Marcoartu, of Spain; a paper by J. P. Daly, of Geneva, upon "The Rise and Progress of International Law."

Copies of the papers read were requested for publication under the auspices of the society. Certain papers, for the consideration of which there was not time, were referred to committees who are to report upon them at the next meeting.

Among the more important propositions adopted were the following:

The President proposed that a special committee should be appointed to consider whether an International Tribunal should not be recommended for the settlement of such cases as that which occurred in the collision between the *Ville du Havre* and the *Loch Earn*, wherein the English Admiralty Court gave a decision which was diametrically opposed to that of the French Tribunal. He moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously, and he was

requested to appoint a special committee for the purpose. That a committee of three persons be appointed to consider the expediency of establishing an International Tribunal for deciding questions arising out of collisions at sea between vessels of different nationalities.

Also, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Whereas, It was resolved at the Brussels Congress of this Association in 1873, that an International Code, defining with all possible precision the rights and duties of nations and of their members, is eminently desirable in furtherance of peace, good understanding, and of common prosperity, and that nothing should be neglected toward the preparation of such a work and securing its adoption ;

And whereas, Since the passing of that resolution a general approach thereto has been manifested by public opinion, and the progress of events has shown the importance of such a code and of securing its adoption at the earliest period consistent with its due preparation and discussion : Therefore be it

Resolved, That the draft outline of an International Code (of which a translation into Italian has been presented to this conference by Prof. Pierantoni) or so much of the said code as has not been already referred to a special committee or committees, be referred to the Council of this Association, with instructions to examine the same by special committees intrusted with different portions of the code, to report thereon and as to any modifications thereof, at the next annual Conference of this Association, with the object of adopting an entire code. That in the meantime the Council be requested and empowered to have certain selected subjects prepared for publication, showing the accord and conflict of the laws of nations, and to publish the same in such manner as it may think fit.

The interest in the Conference was quite marked at the opening session, it seemed to deepen day by day, and culminated in the grand public demonstration at the great Hall of the Reformation, on Friday evening, September 11th. The hall is very spacious, accommodating between three and four thousand people. It was densely crowded by an audience representing many nationalities. Addresses were made by Mr. Dudley Field, who presided ; Henry Richard, of England ; his Excellency Kawase, from Japan ; the Secretary, Dr. Miles ; Prof. Jourressonot, of Geneva ; Frederick Passy, of France ; Dr. Von Holtzendorff, of Germany ; Arturo Marcoartu, of Spain, and Père Hyacinthe.

The vast audience listened with the closest and most sympathetic attention to the close, and the exercises lasted two hours and a half.

Upon the platform were President Carteret, and members of the Council of State and persons of distinction from various parts of the world.

At the closing business session of the Conference, the partial organization of the Association, which was effected last Year at

Brussels, was completed, a carefully prepared constitution and by-laws were adopted, and officers were chosen. The name finally agreed upon, is, "The Association for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations."

The Association is eminently cosmopolitan in its character, as is indicated by its name and object, and the selection of its officers. In the choice of officers regard has been had to a fair representation of each country.

The General Secretary is to be permanent, with offices in Paris, London, and New York or Boston. A council of twelve members is to have the direction of the affairs of the Association in the intervals between the Conferences, and among the members of this council are Professor Sheldon Amos, Sir Joshua Williams, Q. C., Henry Richard, Esq., M.P., Thomas Webster, Q. C., of England; M. Frederic Passy, of Paris; President Woolsey, Judge Emory Washburn, Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, and Dr. James B. Miles, of the United States.

The results that have already been produced by this movement are quite marked and happy. It has made a deep impression upon the world. The proceedings of the Conferences have been the subject of able and favorable comments by the leading organs of public opinion in various countries. They have tended to direct attention more distinctly to the enormous evils and burdens of the present war system, and have brought to the serious consideration of peoples, and to some extent, of governments, the question of enthroning Law in the place of War, as an arbiter between nations.

The object of the Association, all admit, is a most noble and beneficent one, however difficult it may be of attainment. It is, in a word, this, the reform and codification of the Law of Nations as a uniform basis for the regulation of the treatment of nations by each other, and the satisfactory and peaceful settlement of their differences. Or, as it has been happily expressed by Judge Washburn, "Its object is to effect the fellowship of the nations under the dominion of Law in the bonds of Peace." Earnest and able men are identified with the Association, and it seems to be equipped for efficient work.

One of our most gifted thinkers has said :

"God has a way of preparing times for the uncovering of truth. No greatest man or champion is going to conquer a truth before its time, and no least competent man, we may also dare to say, need miss of a truth when its time has come, and the flags of right suggestion are all out before him. How easy a thing it is to think what the times have got ready to be thought, and are even whispering to us from behind all curtains of discovery, and out of all most secret nooks and chambers of

experience! That now the clock has finally struck, and the day has come for some new and different thinking of this great subject, I must verily believe."

The correctness of these sentiments is verified by this movement for enthroning law among the nations. It has been found that leading men in different countries, without any communication with each other, were simultaneously entertaining the same opinion in regard to its desirableness and practicability. The time seems to have been ripe for this step. And now, representatives of the leading nations are associated in a grand league, with an aim the most comprehensive and philanthropic.

It is precisely this international character of the Association, that inspires high hope of its future usefulness. In it are united publicists, jurists, statesmen, political economists, philanthropists, men, lovers of God and of their race, of the different leading nations of the earth.

It is proposed to increase the Association by securing, as members, a large number of the learned, wise, and strong men of all civilized countries. In such a union there certainly will be strength; and an influence will be exerted by it that will essentially affect public opinion, and at no distant day, will make itself felt in the councils of cabinets and governments. Especially may we believe this when we consider that the objects of this union are neither sectarian nor political; but are those, the attainment of which will promote the honor and welfare of every nation, will lift from humanity its heaviest burdens, and will bring a blessing to every home and every heart in the wide world.

THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM IN ITALY.

SINCE, after five hundred years of silence in his tomb at Arqua, the spirit of the most distinguished man of the fourteenth century is revived in these glorious days of Italian history, it is proper to begin this brief study with the name of Francisco Petrarch, who, for being the precursor of modern civilization, and having risen superior to medieval prejudices, deserves to be called the foremost genius of modern times.

He studied law at Montpellier and at the University of Bologna; and while yet a student, his penetrating genius had detected the ease with which doctors' degrees were at that time won and conferred. In one of his juvenile letters, he writes:

"A young blockhead arrives at the sanctuary of learning; his masters praise and magnify him; his parents and friends applaud him. He receives his degree, ascends the rostrum, immediately looks down with contempt on all beneath him, and murmurs confusedly to himself, I know not what. Then the seniors laud him to the skies, as if he had spoken divinely; and amid the ringing of bells and the blowing of trumpets, the youth is embraced, and invested with the round black cap. At the conclusion of this ceremony, he who ascends the rostrum a fool, descends it a wise man; a miraculous metamorphosis which even Ovid could scarcely have imagined."*

We are not a little mortified in being obliged to acknowledge that, after the lapse of five centuries and a half since this just satire was written, the majority of doctors continue to be created in a like manner. That which is lacking in very young countries, and which is a great incentive for good, namely, a glorious past, is in Italy entirely superseded by prejudices. The Italians of the present day undoubtedly feel the necessity for progress, and moreover, exert themselves occasionally to infuse some new life into their universities, but even they attribute their faults to their origin. They were born of the Middle Ages, and therefore to the Middle Ages belong all their imperfect and vicious ordinances. When in the midst of the gloom of medieval barbarism, the universities and the convents were the only footholds of civilization which remained, they at one time certainly

* Petrarch. Epist. Famil., i., 6.

rendered immense services; *in regno cæcorum monoculus est rex*; but now that all can see, or rather, since all have their eyes wide open, the one-eyed class have a position entirely opposed to that they formerly occupied, and instead of pointing out the way to others, stand in need of guidance themselves. The Italian universities were once the guardians of the past, and the precursors of the future civilization; and an imposing homage to their civil power was paid them in the Diet of Roncaglia, by the terrible Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, when, being able as he was to solve difficult questions by the sword, in the manner of Alexander of Macedon, he submitted them to the wisdom of four famous doctors of the College of Bologna, because, with the authority of the Roman laws, they could decide those questions pending between the German Emperor and the Italian cities. It was evident that the university then possessed a supreme authority, by which it had the power of intervention in, and the regulation of, the affairs of the state; hence it comes that the Rector Magnificus of the University is enabled to occupy, by right, the highest position after the prince, and is regarded by the nobility as their equal. The university exercised great power in affairs of state, as the true oracle of civil wisdom, but in the diffusion of that light which in a measure was part of itself, it remained almost immovable; the instruction of Scholasticism was continued in the universities, long after Scholasticism itself had passed away, abolished by the Humanists of the Renaissance; and now that criticism has forever overthrown their old and worm eaten structures, Scholastics and Humanists alike congregate within the same walls.

While every thing else in Italy is making rapid progress, the universities alone are backward; now and then we find good preceptors, who comprehend the necessity of infusing into their instruction something of the spirit of the time; but as a rule, Italian educational institutions still continue to present a character of venerable immobility, which is little in conformity with the duties devolving upon them in the advancement of learning. Many of the Italian universities have really out lived their day. Yet woe to that courageous minister of public instruction who dares to menace their existence. It is often remarked that our universities are too numerous for our requirements, and the necessity of supporting so many, entails more disadvantages than can be here enumerated. The pecuniary circumstances of the professors by no means correspond to their rank, and provision must therefore be made for them all. It is universally acknowledged that this is true, that a reform is neces-

sary, and that some of the universities of the second class should accordingly be sacrificed. But the instant one is suggested, the question becomes involved; the passions are aroused; the government is assailed; lamentations increase to jeremiads over the ruin which threatens the province in the loss of her university, and a petty provincial revolution seems imminent at the bare proposal to suppress a university rendered famous by so many glorious traditions. Then follows a display of the names of illustrious professors who in the last century occupied chairs in that very college, as if the renown of its former gifted faculty must necessarily overbalance the mediocrity of the one at present in office. And when public opinion, which is first to be persuaded of the necessity for reducing the number of universities, sees all these names paraded in this conspicuous manner, it wavers from its conviction, and joins its voice to the lamentations, thereby increasing the difficulties the government already has to contend with, among which—a serious impediment to suppression—is the settlement of the accounts with the provinces after it has been accomplished. Several of these universities have been endowed through ancient legacies and privileges; and when the economical conditions of life in Europe were less complex, and before science had been divided and subdivided into so many special departments requiring special professors, these endowments were of sufficient importance to attract to the universities illustrious men who gave them the prestige of their genius. But few professors were needed, and these few were frequently selected from other countries, since, as is the custom in Germany and America, the inducement of a good salary was not wanting. At the present day, on the contrary, the ancient endowments are insufficient to provide for all the requirements of modern collegiate instruction. What is the result? If the government suppress these universities, it must of course indemnify the province by the restitution of the endowments which formerly supported them, thereby disturbing the entire economy of its own administration, already regulated, with a few exceptions, according to a fixed rule. An equalizing system of endowment is therefore established throughout the kingdom, while to each university outside of the common fund, an undeviating annuity is paid, and in this distribution the smaller universities naturally feel themselves sacrificed. Some of them have the title alone remaining, since, instead of grasping the universality of science, they only contain one or two, or at the most three scientific faculties; the most limited number of chairs, and still fewer professors. Therefore, by dividing the Italian univer-

sities into two categories, or rather into the first and second class, to which may be added several belonging to the third order of merit, as for example that of Sassari in Sardinia, we see that at those of the second and third class, where the professors are paid by a much lower tariff than those connected with the first, they are forced to remain the sole instructors, who are without ambition, because sensible of the impossibility of its realization.

We have made use of the word tariff, and the expression is not inappropriate, since it describes the stated stipends given to the preceptors in the university schools. We will remark, to begin with, that the stipend by no means corresponds to the dignity and importance of the duties belonging to a university professor. In the Italian universities, where the system of private instruction of the Germans has not yet been introduced, and if it were would fail, salaries are alone given to the three following classes of official instructors: First, the temporary professors, (*incaricati*); second, those classed as extraordinary (*straordinarii*); and third, those classed as ordinary (*ordinarii*). Those belonging to the first denomination do not regularly enter the university career; they are paid by the course, on the termination of which they are dismissed without any claim to pension or promotion. The professor extraordinary is a lecturer who enters the university career to remain there; he is, nevertheless, subject to removal, being transferred from one university to another, according to the pleasure of the Minister of Public Instruction.

Young professors are generally classed as extraordinary; if the professor distinguishes himself, he attains the degree of ordinary; if not, he remains a professor extraordinary for life. The professor in ordinary is not subject to removal; but having once arrived at this supreme dignity in the university career, however industrious, however illustrious, however superior to all his colleagues, he may subsequently prove himself to be, he can hope for no greater distinction, no higher promotion, no better remuneration. All the professors in ordinary attached to the first class of Italian universities, have a stipend that would cause our honorable American colleagues to smile; it is *five thousand francs* a year, of which the government retains a thirteenth part, in payment of the tax upon movable property, and as much again for the pension which they are to receive if they have the good fortune to attain old age. And they may well smile, because we are forced to do the same against our will, when we reflect that he receives less compensation than the heads of the ministerial bureaus, who have arrived at that pasha-like dignity by

having the patience to go on occupying for many consecutive years, the same seat at the same table. The professors in ordinary are all placed in Italy upon the same footing; in case a perfect fraternity did not exist between them, they could console themselves with a perfect equality.

Constitutional Italy has wished to level all intelligence, to measure it by one set rule, weigh it in the same scales, and to give all its labors the same recognition. What is the consequence? The man who has a real enthusiasm for education and science, certainly does not allow himself to stop at questions of profit where his own progress and that of others is concerned. This is his natural and all-powerful tendency; and in whatever condition of life, whether prosperous or the reverse, he is always found faithful to his vocation. But such men are rare, and form exceptions to the rule. The majority are stimulated in their labors by personal interests, and hence it is that we see a large proportion of our professors who work unceasingly to attain the rank of extraordinary, with the view of ameliorating their position, and of eventually being classed as *ordinarii*. This desired goal once reached, the impossibility of aspiring to anything higher in the future seconds their natural inertia, and beyond their simple obligatory routine of instruction, reduced to a species of mechanical exercise, they neither do, nor attempt to do any thing for the advancement of education, or the progress of science. There are others, on the contrary, more active by nature, who find that they are not able by teaching alone to provide for the needs of their families, while more remunerative occupations are open to them; and although they would willingly devote all their attention to its advancement, they are nevertheless constrained to look outside of the university for their support; thus often wasting their precious activity in pursuits by no means scientific, which in a short time exhaust the intellectual forces. The young men who resort to the universities to pursue a course of study, naturally resent this state of things; often finding the professors dissatisfied; but slight interest manifested in their instruction, and small efforts made to inspire them with a love of learning; all which, added to other drawbacks in our bad university system, are certainly serious evils. Moreover, as we have already observed, the universities in Italy are by far too numerous. The single island of Sardinia possesses two, those of Cagliari and Sassari; the island of Sicily three, Palermo, Messina, and Catania; Tuscany three, the Institute of Superior Studies, at Florence, the University of Pisa, and the University of Siena; Naples one; Rome one; Umbria one, Perugia; the Marches

two, Macerata and Camerino ; Romagna two, Bologna and Ferrara ; Emilia two, Modena and Parma ; Venetia one, Padua ; Lombardy two, the Scientific and Literary Academy at Milan, the University of Pavia ; Piedmont one, Turin ; and Liguria one, Genoa. Here we have twenty-two universities, not taking into account the high, polytechnic, commercial, industrial, agricultural, and military schools, the Institute of Application for mechanics, and other special institutions, which, as may be supposed, necessarily represent a large scientific interest, and which extract a considerable sum from the public treasury. The external apparatus of the university system of education in Italy is, as we see, pretentious and imposing, but, as is often the case when such an elaborate display is presented to our view, we are constrained nevertheless to suggest with a sigh : *sed cerebrum non habet*. Is it possible for Italy in her present economical and intellectual condition, to support twenty-two universities in such a manner as to render them all prosperous ? Yet, supposing that she had but half of them to maintain with dignity in the matter of the emoluments of the professors, would it be possible to find in Italy at the present day, the number of able professors requisite for so many universities ? Whatever faith we may have in the increasing progress of our country, we do not deceive ourselves in order to believe in it. It certainly appears to us that, provided the instructors were placed in better circumstances, we should see less frequent desertions from the universities to the parliament, where, although the deputy is not salaried, the way to honor and promotion lies open before him, and thus it pains us to see so many men renowned in science and letters, abandoning their chosen paths in which they have acquired fame, if nothing else, in order to throw themselves into the ardent struggle of politics, in which the good name they have won is soon lost. But even if all the men in Italy most fitted to elevate the dignity of superior instruction should wholly devote themselves to it, sufficient reason for the maintenance of so many universities in existence would still be lacking. The quantity must necessarily influence the quality ; and even if Italy could boast of the degree of culture upon which Germany is to be congratulated, and from which we are as yet very far removed, it would fail to justify such a lavish supply of universities, all costing perhaps more than they are ever likely to render back. We can understand that at the time when every little Italian city was the proud capital of a flourishing state, it wished and could have the ornament of its own atheneum, and sought to rival the neighboring capital, not alone in the glory of its arms, but also in that of its learning.

And we can also understand, for example, how the republican academies (as they were called) of Pisa and Siena strove to rival that of Florence. These were three distinct states at war with each other, and it would have been a disgraceful thing for a Pisan or Siennese citizen to send his son to study in a city like Florence, with which they were in hostile relations. But at the present day, this motive for division being no longer in existence; if Tuscany possessed one flourishing university, it would not be thought insufficient for that little province, and there would instead be cause for congratulation in being able to see collected in one such institution the best and most gifted professors, who are now devoting their energies to the instruction of a necessarily limited number of students at each of the three universities of Pisa, Siena, and Florence.

It is doubtful whether the time will ever come when we shall see this desired consummation, but it seems certain that no university in Tuscany can really prosper, until the three which are at present so inadequate to the requirements of the time are incorporated in one more active and efficient. In the Neapolitan provinces, for a population of about six millions, they have one university only, and no one will be found bewailing its insufficiency; on the contrary, universal testimony will be given to the prestige education receives in a university like that of Naples, which within a few years past, has been attended by nearly ten thousand students, although not all regularly inscribed as candidates for the title of doctor, and the rights of a profession. Another vice of our university system is, that the adoption of the title of doctor comprises also the right to practice the profession to which it belongs; so that he who takes his degree in medicine to-day, becomes a physician on the morrow; he who receives his degree in the law, has the right—after three years of practice, as it is called, but which in reality is nothing more than having simply been present in a lawyer's office—to pursue the legal profession. He who takes his degree in philosophy and philology, is entitled to establish himself at once as a professor in an academy or lyceum. Thus the Italian university, which is, properly speaking, neither a high scientific school nor an especially high professional one, arrogates to itself the double privilege of nominating the scientific doctors, and of giving the diplomas for the various professions. Hence arises the great evil of allowing students to issue from the universities without thorough scientific training and without experience; they receive instead a hybrid education, which aims to combine the two things, and which results in damage to both. Students run through the university

course as some statesmen pursue their administrative career; with the lapse of time they pass from rank to rank, till, all intervening grades and years having been passed through, they finally arrive at the wished-for title with its corresponding employment. We deplore the fact that such an artificial and mechanical method of creating doctors, so unworthy of commendation in any particular, should still be in practice among us.

As we have before remarked, there are in several Italian universities, noble and energetic workers, who are capable of introducing more rational and practicable methods; but these are exceptions, and when the majority continue for the most part to do as they have always done, not caring whether it be good or evil, and remain content to walk in the beaten path, the efforts of a few individuals can produce but little effect in a generally vitiated system; vitiated in its scholastic traditions, in its intentions, and in its association with the inferior institutions, which furnish the universities with the elements upon which they work. The provisions made in these years of liberal thought in Italy, and the new element introduced into the universities, have at least rendered the defects of the old system perceptible, but its abolition will not alone suffice, and the Italian university will never enjoy a prosperous vitality till it is entirely transformed in accordance with the necessities of the time.

In the past, a certain fame of erudition was sufficient in order to secure the good graces of the prince, and to obtain a chair in the university; as to the teaching, the more antiquated and soporific it was, the more pleasing it was to the prince. The professor, upon ascending the rostrum, assumed the traditional toga; spoke in measured magisterial tones while expounding the principles of science with oracular gravity, and the more hard working of the scholars, who collected faithfully and repeated the words of the imperious master, were designated as distinguished; they were preferred and privileged; and all entertained the hope that if they devoted themselves to the educational career, they might one day be able to succeed the said master, to adopt in their turn the authoritative tone and the same magisterial pomposity. To this is added in several universities by way of prestige, the custom of conducting the lectures in the Latin language, as if to conceal the poverty of ideas beneath the weight of words. We do not refer now to the remote past; before the year 1848, several physicians and lawyers still lectured in Latin in the university of Turin; where at the present day the use of Latin as a medium of instruction belongs to Prof. Tom-

maso Vallauri, whose professorship is known as that of Latin Eloquence. The title alone of this professorship gives us an idea of the quality of the instruction, as that of the corresponding chair of Italian Eloquence shows us what was understood by Italian until within a few years, at the University of Turin. While to-day the same chairs are known as those of Latin Literature and Italian Literature; the word Literature, now comprising philology, literary history, and esthetics, was formerly applied to eloquence alone, and when the incumbent of the professorship had delivered his speech with oratorical excellence, it was sufficient, and no one demanded an account of what he had said. In like manner the teaching of history was reduced, in some of the universities, to the mere exposition of those salient facts best adapted for rhetorical narration, and most likely to impress the listeners with an exalted idea of the grandeur of the reigning dynasty. In philosophy, the graduates from San Tommaso ran great risks of passing for heretics. To the physical sciences alone, since they are subjected to practical experiments and not to oral demonstration, no scholastic rule is affixed; and for this reason, in the general poverty of the other academic studies, the physical investigations made by university professors will lead, without doubt, to many important discoveries. The individual instruction is already partly renovated, and partly in course of renovation, so that many of the evils we still deplore, proceeding from the prejudices of that class of teachers who yet remain wedded to their old rhetorical and scholastic systems, will soon cease, owing to the difficulty the new professors encounter in following in the tracks of their predecessors.

Every year shows us a perceptible amelioration in this respect, and it is to be hoped that in twenty years no traces will be left in our universities of the pedantic instruction of which we are to-day the witnesses. The method alone by which professors are now elected authorizes great hopes for the future. The proceedings are more constitutional; a larger number of persons participate in the nominations, and there is therefore a broader and more liberal regimen. We do not infer that the present method has not numerous drawbacks, chief of which appears to us to be the division of the responsibility among so many that no one assumes his proper share. Consequently it often happens that nominations are indorsed which no one alone would dare to propose. In the majority of nominations to university professorships, the proceedings are as follows: When a chair is left vacant in a faculty, and is to be filled, the Minister of Public Instruction invites the faculty itself to assemble for the purpose of proposing

and recommending its candidate. The faculty convene; discussions and consultations follow, and their proposal is then referred to the Supreme Council of Public Instruction, composed of twenty professors, or men of science and letters, delegated by the government for the purpose. The council then nominates a commission from among its members; this commission makes an examination of the claims of the candidate and the proposal of the faculty, the result of which is then referred to the council, by whom the matter is put to vote. If the candidate obtains the majority, the minister confirms the nomination and causes the degree to be prepared, which, after being signed by the king and approved by the parliament, is sent to the chosen candidate. This is at present the most regular and frequent method of nomination; but exceptions are occasionally permitted. The minister sometimes proposes his own candidate to the faculty, or transmits his claims directly to the Supreme Council, in this way making the examinations and nominations without consulting the faculty; but as a rule the initiative is voluntarily left to them, with whom the acceptance or non-acceptance of a professor often depends upon the degree of authority its presiding officer exerts over the rest of his colleagues. The latter, out of deference to their president, not infrequently allow him to act in accordance with his own judgment, which may or may not always be correct or disinterested, in choosing the new professor in the name of the faculty, which is excused for its inertia and indifference, since this inertia and indifference can be in part justified. With us the faculties of the universities have by no means the same power which is given to them in Germany. The university council is not a vital force, which is active in taking the initiative. It continues to exist because it is the wish of the government, and because it is decreed that it shall assemble once a month, which requirement is often overlooked; but not because there is not sufficient for it to do in the arrangement of the little bureaucratic affairs, relative to the study hours, the examinations, and the discipline, which its province is to regulate, but which it now leaves for the chancellor of the faculty to attend to, even as other important duties are allowed to devolve upon its president. We might give many causes for this laxity, but the two principal are undoubtedly these: first, the slight amount of confidence we place in the institutions of which we ourselves form a part, and which we should in every way seek to render worthy of reliance; and second—and this is an evil much more difficult to overcome—our lack of social intercourse by which we are led to distrust every thing done in common, and which leads us

to disdain all communion of ideas, as if fearing that in the contact with the individuality of others, our own must necessarily be sacrificed. Therefore it happens that in wishing too much for all, we renounce that portion of our rights which belongs to each of us separately, preferring to do nothing, and to let one person act for all according to his own pleasure, rather than work in unison, where personal renown and advantage would unavoidably be somewhat subordinated. It is one of our old failings which we are beginning to acknowledge, but not as yet to correct. We trust that time may render us more tractable, and less reserved among ourselves. Individual forces may be admirable, but their union would result in great and permanent advantages. The faculties of our universities may be undisciplined and apathetic, but they are perfectly capable of being vitalized. And the first sign of vitality should be that of taking measures for a thorough transformation of the present university system. They alone have the power and authority requisite for the task; and whenever they are willing to put themselves in accord with each other, the better to study the necessary reforms, to determine what they shall be, and to put them in practice, our universities will accomplish wonders.

But who will ever have the power to infuse into them this energy and courage? Under the present system the university is too widely estranged from our every-day life, and too indifferent to it. Where vital force should be most felt, it is wholly lacking. Students enter the universities, and issue therefrom, in much the same manner as did the Prophet Jonah enter and come forth from the gloomy recesses of the whale. They go there to learn the mysteries of science; but of the science of life, by far the most important of all, they come away ignorant. One student studies four years, another five, another six, but they are all equally ignorant of the art of living. The university should properly be the mother of genius and character; it is, instead, merely the censor for a certain number of years of a crowd of boys, who are forced to cheat at the examinations in order to rise from grade to grade till the desired doctor's robe is obtained. Then they are all obliged to herd together like sheep in a pasture; the examinations are the same for all, given at stated intervals and in a like manner for all, votes are cast with the same judgment, or rather lack of judgment, since the best parrot of the class can pass the most brilliant examination, and consequently gain the vote, while the greatest genius may perhaps lose the contest, disheartened by the trying formalities of these proceedings. In four years the candidates become doctors of letters; the regulations have so ordained,

and they must be obeyed ; it is never taken into account that one student might perhaps merit the title of doctor after only a month of trial, while another might fail to deserve it even at the expiration of twenty years : all must observe the same routine, pass through the same mill, prepare the same themes, and be present at the same lectures, so that should there be a few intellects more active than those around them, this discipline speedily brings them to the common level. We have previously observed that there are especial exceptions, in those who if they would only apply themselves to the task, might furnish noble results ; for example, in our Institute of Superior Studies the greater number of professors, without consulting the regulations or asking the permission of the ministry, have inaugurated public lectures with private conferences, in which, master and pupil being brought into contact with each other, become better acquainted, and the master is thus better able to be the guide of his scholars, by directing, correcting, and aiding them in those studies, researches, and occupation, toward which they most incline. But no one has the authority to exempt the students from the yearly examinations on fixed themes in the various departments of instruction, and so the professors are all obliged to waste a portion of valuable time in drilling the boys in studies, of which they are expected to give an account at the examinations in order to attain promotion. By what authority therefore, after four years of study pursued in so artificial a manner, a boy can receive his degree and be proclaimed a doctor of any science, passes all understanding. It is true that the title of doctor has but slight significance, other than as a sign that the scholastic penance is at end, and that the beginning of a lucrative career is at hand. The instruction has the advantage of being liberal ; which is certainly one of our greatest blessings. Each and all of our professors can freely expound from his desk whatever doctrine he pleases, from the Positivism which prevails in the literary faculty of our Institute of Superior Studies, to the Hegelianism which reigns in the University of Naples, and the materialism taught in the University of Turin by Professor Moleshott. Every professor is free in the rostrum, and this has been a great advantage ; but professors and students are alike slaves of a law which throws them together for a stated number of years, while it separates them by a barrier of formalities, and which offers no guarantees that the masters shall be skillful and conscientious, or that the pupils shall acquire the desired scientific training. The mechanism which regulates our universities needs to be completely reconstructed ; and

above all it is important that the scientific university and the professional school should be two distinct institutions. The professional school should alone require examinations of ability and capability, but not examinations according to the customary acceptance of the term. Lawyers should be proved by the defense of a first case; the professor by a series of lectures; the architect by the construction of a building; and so forth. These would be examinations of men; while in the universities they now continue to hold examinations of boys. The scientific university should neither have the power of conferring titles, nor of holding examinations. Its sole aim should be the advancement of science, and all who are truly studious will avail themselves of the facilities it offers for mastering that branch of science in the pursuit of which they can attend the lectures of an able public professor.

The successful examinations at a lyceum or an academy should not be unconditionally required in order to effect an entrance to the university, though such certificates of mediocrity should by no means pass unnoticed. The universities should be open to all, without requiring the presentation of titles. They who find the instruction too advanced to be able to follow it, can assemble elsewhere to pursue a preparatory course, but access to the temple of science should no more be denied than to the temple of faith.

It is only by investing the university with this broad and many-sided authority, that it will be not only able to keep up with the progress of ideas, but in a measure to control them. At present there is almost no intercourse between the university and the world without; and while from within it appears to be a great institution, outside its walls its influence is unfelt. Communication should be opened with the world of active life and thought, that the electric currents from the vital forces of society might pass to and fro.

In a word, remove from our university teaching its antiquated pedantry, its bureaucracy, its scholasticism, and it will once again, as of old, shed its pure light upon the world.

THE GUARANTEE OF ORDER AND REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN THE STATES.

A SHORT time ago, the whole country was plunged into a condition of anxiety and excitement by the conflicting claims to the executive authority in one of the States, and by the preparations made, and measures set on foot, to support them. With nothing preceding it to prepare the public for such an event, the announcement came by telegraph that a judgment had been entered up in one of the inferior courts of the State, declaring the person who for a year and more had acted as Governor, under claim of election and with full recognition of his lawful right by the other departments of government, had never been elected in fact, but was a usurper and must be ousted, and the person who was his opponent in the election installed in the office. The circumstances attending the decision all indicated that it was not made in the expectation that the usual deference which judicial decisions are entitled to and are expected to receive, would be paid to it, but that it was well understood to be extraordinary, and was intended as the first step in an organized and forcible revolution in the State government. Secret preparations for such a revolution had already been made, and there was immediate attempt to render them effectual by seizing the public offices and public records, and placing armed men in possession of the State House. The resistance of the acting governor brought hostile military forces face to face at the State Capitol, and for four weeks and more, preparations for a conflict of force were carried on throughout the State, with all the evidences of a purpose to submit to the arbitrament of war a question which, under the American system of government, is supposed to depend exclusively upon a counting of ballots. While thus the hostile parties stood in threatening attitude, the eyes of the whole country, as by common consent, were turned to a single person at Washington, who was supposed to possess the power, not only to prevent a hostile collision but also to put an end to the whole controversy by his declaration of an intention to sup-

port one of the two parties to the dispute. The organs of public sentiment appealed to the President to interpose, and the public, who were scandalized by the whole proceeding, which they justly regarded as a reproach to American institutions, awaited his action with anxiety and impatience. Even the rival claimants sent appeals to Washington, and at last appeared there by counsel, each seeking to convince the President of the justice of his claims, but each at the same time assuming that whatever decision should be made must necessarily determine the controversy. The President gave his decision at last, and the party against whom it was made at once disbanded his forces, and relinquished his attempt upon the office; the more prominent officials who took sides with him, resigned or were removed; some were even arrested for treason, but in a few days quiet was restored, and the evidences of disturbance had passed away.

And this determination of a threatening and dangerous conflict, which involved the whole political authority of a State, was effected by a word from an officer at a distance; an officer too, not occupying any position in the State government, not vested with judicial authority to receive evidence and determine questions of fact, and who, though by law he had no voice whatever, as elector or otherwise, in making the choice for governor of the State in question, was nevertheless enabled by the force of circumstances and by the moral power of his position in the Federal Government, to settle for the people of the State what person should have the administration of their affairs as chief executive.

Perhaps the main significance of this transaction consists in the fact that the interference of the President was generally recognized as both necessary and legitimate, and that wherever his action was criticised by persons not involved in the contest, it was not because he brought the power of his position as federal executive to the determination of a dispute pertaining exclusively to the administration of State government, but because he was so tardy in interfering, and left the dispute open so long. There was no claim that he had usurped any authority or violated any law. The inference seems irresistible that in the opinion of the public it is legitimate for the President under some circumstances to take conclusive action in the settlement of questions of State government, and to determine by his fiat who shall and who shall not administer its affairs. If this occurrence stood alone, it would be less significant; but, within a brief period it was preceded by several others, in which the authority

of the government at Washington, or of some one or more of its departments, was employed in giving direction to, and in some cases in controlling, the internal affairs of States. The present would therefore seem to be a fitting occasion for some examination of these occurrences, in order that we may see how far they are justified by the rules of law, and by the principles upon which our government has been organized.

It will not be disputed by any one that the States, when they assented to the Federal Constitution, contemplated interference in their internal affairs only in extraordinary emergencies which were particularly specified. All propositions to give to the General Government, or to any one of its departments, a negative upon State laws, were received with little favor in the constitutional convention, and the suggestion that the governors of the States should be appointed by the federal executive with still less. The prevailing opinion was—perhaps we may say the general opinion—that Federal and State governments ought respectively to be sovereign within their allotted spheres of constitutional action, and that one of the chief purposes to be kept in view in forming a constitution, should be to fix and define the limits of their respective powers, and to establish securities against conflict and confusion in their exercise. It may safely be assumed that such a thing as the setting up or putting down of a State government, or the putting in or out of a State executive, by the mandate or authority of the President or of Congress, was never contemplated as among possible events under the Constitution which the convention agreed upon and the States ratified. Still less did it occur to any one that the time might ever come when, in consequence of extraordinary events, the General Congress would deem itself impelled to assert and exercise the right to a supervision of State constitutions and laws, so long as they were of the general character of those which with public approbation were originally adopted, or that it might compel their amendment in order to bring them more completely into harmony with the sentiments of the Congress itself.

The possibility, however, that Federal interference in State affairs might under some circumstances become a necessity to the Union, was not only foreseen, but the propriety of making provision for it was generally conceded. The Union of the States was founded upon unity of race and language, and similarity of institutions, and upon the necessity of combined strength and resources, in order that the institutions might be preserved and perpetuated. But the similarity of institutions might at any time be destroyed by a revolution in govern-

ment in one or more of the States, accomplished either by the force and violence of a faction, or as the peaceful result of a change in the political sentiments of the people; and however improbable such an event might have been thought, the experience of the world did not justify the convention in assuming that it ought not to be considered among the possibilities against which prudence would demand securities. Whether such a revolution should be effected by the action of the majority of the people proceeding under the forms of an election, or by a forcible displacement of the existing government, would not be so material as the fact, that by means of it incongruous institutions would be brought into the Union with an inevitable tendency to its disruption. It was consequently in the exercise of wise statesmanship in providing securities for the Union that the convention made provision in the Constitution that

“The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature can not be convened, against domestic violence.”

It is interesting after this lapse of time to consider how little the framers of the Constitution, and the very able and astute statesmen who by their writings and speeches commended it to the favor of the people, anticipated the importance which future events might give to some of its provisions, or the practical construction that, in their application to subsequent occurrences, might be put upon them. We have no evidence, for instance, that any one at that time anticipated that the provision agreed upon to preclude the repudiation of debts could contain within itself such obstacles to State legislation in various directions as have since been discovered; or that the requirement of a guarantee of republican government might one day be relied upon by able and earnest statesmen, as the authority under which governments whose features were unquestionably republican, and some of which had existed with little change from the time the Constitution was formed, might be put aside as not being republican in fact. The provision precluding the States from passing any laws violating the obligation of contracts was passed over with a bare mention by the writers of the “Federalist,” and the guarantee of republican government received little more notice in their discussions. The provision extends, says Mr. Madison in No. 43,

“No farther than to a guarantee of a republican form of government, which supposes a pre-existing form of government of the form which is to be guaranteed. As

long, therefore, as the existing republican forms are continued by the States, they are guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. Whenever the States may choose to substitute other republican forms they have a right to do so, and to claim the Federal guarantee for the latter. The only restriction imposed on them is, that they shall not change republican for anti-republican constitutions; a restriction which, it is presumed, will hardly be considered a grievance."

And the few remarks he adds to prove how idle would be any fear that such a requirement could ever be dangerous to the States, or be made the pretext for unconstitutional interference, we have no reason to doubt were satisfactory to the general public of that day. The controversial papers of the time certainly disclose no evidences to the contrary.

"A republican form of government," however, is not capable of being made by the definition to stand so clearly and distinctly apart from all others as to preclude the possibility of cavil concerning the authority and obligation of the Federal government to guarantee to a State any particular government which may have been set up or been proposed. The differences in those which have been known in history have been very great, not only in form, but also in the rights and privileges they secured to the people, and those which, for the purposes of government, they required the people to surrender. And in the case of a mixed government, in which the power of the crown has become nominal, and the sovereignty is exercised by representatives of the people as it now is in Great Britain, the term republican is not inaptly or unjustly applied. Such mixed governments, however, we may safely assume, are excluded by a proper interpretation of the constitutional provision. No doubt can exist that the people of the United States, to whom the name of king was then specially obnoxious, adopted the constitution with the understanding that no government with a hereditary executive could be received or could remain within the family of States. The king, to their apprehension, was the representative of the oppressor whose yoke they had rejected, and by a republic they understood a government in which a king would have no part, and the chief ruler would be chosen directly or indirectly by the people by virtue of their inherent right to govern themselves. And the phrase they employed—a republican *form* of government—has peculiar significance, and may well incline us to believe that the form was had in view quite as much as the substance. The guarantee was clearly intended, as Mr. Madison understood it, to be of the governments then existing, and of such similar ones as might by Con-

gress be received into the Union subsequently, modified as they might be from time to time by the people of the States respectively.*

The people! There is no word which plays a larger part in the catch phrases of politics, and none which is employed in a sense more vague and indefinite. We all believe in the right of the people to rule. As Mr. Choate has said, "It is certain that in the American theory, the free theory of government, it is the right of the people at any moment of its representation in the State legislature to make all laws, and by its representatives in convention, to make the Constitution anew. It is their right to do so peaceably, and according to existing forms, and by revolution against all forms." But while one "people" would act under the forms, it would be almost certain to be another "people" who would act against the forms. It is never all the citizens, or even the major portion of them, who participate in establishing and maintaining representative government. Under the most liberal constitution ever made, a comparatively small number, perhaps one-fourth of all, are permitted a voice in the government, and act by representatives in the making of laws. If we examine the constitutions existing when the Federal Government was organized, we find under some the proportion was much smaller, and we discover restrictions upon suffrage, such as the popular voice at the present day would unhesitatingly pronounce unreasonable and unjust. But the Federal Constitution was not supposed capable of correcting all injustice and inequality in the States; it was not framed with a purpose or looking to a mission so comprehensive; it must take cognizance of things as they were, and doing so it must recognize those found in possession of political privileges and wielding the political authority of a State under its constitution as in the aggregate making up the political corporate entity, *the State*, and known to constitutional law as THE PEOPLE. And whatever the abstract theory of right to proceed "by revolution against all forms," the Federal Constitution contemplates no revolution in State governments. It may be assumed to have contemplated changes in constitution and laws, in accordance with constitutional forms, but it supposed these would prove ample to meet the reasonable demands of reform, and it

* Mr. John Adams and Mr. Jefferson have both remarked upon the vagueness of the word *republic*. "As it is used," says the former, "it may signify any thing, every thing, or nothing." "The government of Great Britain, and that of Poland, are as strictly republics as that of Rhode Island or Connecticut, under their old charters." Works, vol. x., p. 378. Compare the views of Jefferson, Works, vi., 605. Probably the two would not have disagreed as to the sense in which the term republican government in the Constitution was to be understood.

endeavored to make most effectual provision against changes which might be attempted outside those forms, and by the employment of force. *The people* who were excluded from participation in State government were expected to find at the hands of those who wielded the political authority, the proper attention to all just complaints.

How far such an expectation would be justified by the event, was to be determined in the case of Rhode Island. The facts of that case are so well understood that only very brief reference need be made to them here. For more than half a century after the Federal Constitution was established, the people had neglected to form a State constitution, and the government had been administered under the colonial charter granted by Charles II. In other words, that charter had been accepted as a sufficient and satisfactory constitution, and it might perhaps have continued to be such until the present day, but for an unequal apportionment of representatives, and for its restrictions upon suffrage, which confined the privilege to less than one half the adult white male resident citizens. Attempts to substitute a more liberal and just constitution failed to receive the approval of the legislature, and the dissatisfied classes at last appealing to that first and highest of the fundamental principles of our democratic republican governments, that the people are sovereign, summoned a convention of representatives of the people for the exercise of this sovereignty, and by this convention a constitution was framed and submitted to a popular vote for adoption.

This constitution, however, like the old charter, allowed only certain classes of citizens a voice in the government. Moreover, these classes were selected by arbitrary standards which did not necessarily determine their fitness for the elective franchise, and might perhaps exclude others of equal or greater fitness. Voters must be males, they must have reached a certain age, and they must have certain qualifications of birth or naturalization and residence. Persons possessing these qualifications were not only to take the reins of authority into their hands for their own government, but as the proper representatives of the whole society, they were to govern the whole. This was what was proposed, and this was what was attempted to be carried out by means of an election of State officers after the proposed constitution had been voted upon and declared adopted.

The case then was this: One class of persons, selected by certain arbitrary standards under the charter, possessed and were exercising the powers of government, and another class selected by other arbi-

trary standards proposed to take possession of them. As the first class had possessed these powers for many years, under a charter of government which had been acquiesced in by all others, and under which they had preserved order and exercised the highest rights of State sovereignty, they had at least this acquiescence as evidence of their right, and would be justly entitled to rely upon it until better evidence should be adduced of the right of others. The better evidence of the right of the revolutionary party could only be this: that their constitution was more liberal and just in the matter of representation and suffrage. If there were principles of natural right which were generally accepted, and to which obedience would consequently be rendered as of course, by means of which the difficult questions of suffrage might be judged and determined, the pretensions which were put forward in the Rhode Island case ought to have been tested by them. But it is only in the vague talk of theorists and demagogues that we find any such principles asserted. If nature determines any thing on the subject, it is only that, from physical and mental immaturity and imperfections, it is impossible that certain classes should take part in the affairs of state. Beyond that it does not go; and between those who may and those who may not have a voice in the government, the line of distinction must be determined by human reason, acting in the light of experience, and prescribing a rule by positive law. And the positive law once prescribed must be respected and obeyed until it is set aside by the authority that prescribed it, or there can be no settled government. If the mere circumstance that the old constitution is less liberal than the new, subjects the former to be set aside of right, then it is manifest that no constitution can be of binding obligation, so long as a more liberal one is possible, but any that shall be established may be overturned at the option of dissatisfied classes who shall see fit to frame a new one with a broader basis of suffrage, and assert their right to put it in force. The constitution of to-day, under which adult males only may vote, would be overthrown the moment women should demand the ballot, and the constitution of their framing in turn must give way to any broader charter of government which should reduce the requirement of age, or dispense with that of naturalization or residence. To recognize such a doctrine would be to enact anarchy as a constitutional principle. And it is worthy of note, that the very case which was presented in Rhode Island, was one which had been anticipated by Mr. Madison, as likely to happen, and in which it might become the duty of the United States to interfere in support of the State gov-

ernment against domestic violence. "May it not happen," he says in the "Federalist," "that the minority of *citizens* [electors] may become a majority of *persons* by the accession of alien residents, of a casual concourse of adventurers, or of those whom the constitution of the State has not admitted to the right of suffrage?" It was under precisely these circumstances that the President was called upon to sustain in Rhode Island the authorities under the charter constitution—a constitution which, whatever it might have been three quarters of a century before, had now, as regards some of its chief features, ceased to be just or reasonable, and perhaps also had ceased to be one under which the government could be longer administered to the general content of the people.

It is unnecessary to recall the details of this controversy; it is sufficient to say that there were soon two sets of persons claiming to be the legal officers of the State, and proposing to make good their claims, if need be, by force of arms. The probability of domestic violence was imminent, and the duty of the United States to aid in suppressing it, on the proper demand being made, was clear. But no intervention by the United States could take place without a recognition of one of the opposing parties as the representative of lawful authority. It was only at unlawful violence that the provision in the Constitution was directed, and that violence could not be unlawful which should consist solely in the support of the duly constituted government against parties who proposed to subvert it. Moreover, by the terms of the Federal Constitution, there must be a demand for assistance from the State legislature or executive, before it could be rendered, and to respond to a demand was to recognize the body or the person making it as being in possession of the lawful authority. To the popular apprehension, therefore, the duty of the President to interpose in the suppression of domestic violence would seem to be complicated by the necessity of first determining such legal and constitutional questions as the right to the possession of lawful State authority might depend upon; and as whatever conclusion he might reach would be carried out with military force, the question might well be made whether it had been intended by the Constitution to clothe the President with a power in its consequences so essentially judicial, with respect to legal and constitutional questions of the gravest import, involving the highest rights of citizens, possibly the very existence of State government; and also with the authority to execute his own judgments in a manner and with a force which could leave to an aggrieved party no opportunity for redress. In a gov-

ernment by the people, with constitutional checks and balances, may one man have such power? Would not this be a despotism?

The answer made by the President to these questions was so unmistakably correct that only the most violent partisanship ever ventured to dispute his conclusions. The President found the charter government in possession of authority which for over half a century it had exercised under the Federal Constitution, with full recognition and acquiescence on the part of the Federal authorities and of the people of the State. Whatever might be his individual views of this charter government—of its justice, of its acceptability to the majority of the people governed by it, of its correspondence to the advanced ideas of republican institutions which then prevailed—he had as President only the right and duty to recognize the existing facts. Questions of theoretical right which might lie back of these, were not for him to determine; what he must recognize and act upon were the attempt by dissatisfied parties to set aside by force the constituted authorities, and the demand by those authorities for his assistance. These made a clear case for his action under the Constitution, and left him no discretion. Any despotic authority in the premises was not that of the President, but of the Constitution, and had been agreed upon for precisely such emergencies. He must obey its command, or he would become a public criminal, subject to impeachment and to removal from his high office. The theory of the Federal Constitution was that grievances under those of the States must be submitted to until they could be changed in accordance with established forms. Attempts to change in other modes would be attempts at revolution, and these were to be suppressed by force. The President, in his message to the House of Representatives, under date of April 9, 1844, pointed out very clearly the danger, and indeed the inconsistency with settled government, of any other course.

"I must be permitted," said he, "to disclaim entirely and unqualifiedly the right on the part of the executive to make any real or supposed defects existing in any State constitution or form of government, the pretext for a failure to enforce the laws or the guarantees of the Constitution of the United States in reference to such State. I utterly repudiate the idea, in terms as emphatic as I can employ, that these laws are not to be enforced, or those guarantees complied with, because the President may believe that the right of suffrage, or any other great popular right, is either too restricted or too broadly enlarged. I also with equal strength resist the idea that it falls within the executive competency to decide, in controversies of the nature of that which existed in Rhode Island, on which side is the majority of the people, or as to the extent of the rights of a mere numerical majority. For the executive to assume such a power, would be to assume a power of the most dangerous character. Under

such assumptions, the States of this Union would have no security for peace or tranquillity, but might be converted into mere instruments of executive will. Actuated by selfish purposes he might become the great agitator, fomenting assaults upon the State constitutions, and declaring the majority of to-day to be the minority of to-morrow, and the minority in its turn, the majority before whose decrees the established order in the State should be subverted. Revolution, civil commotion, and bloodshed, would be inevitable consequences. The provision in the Constitution intended for the security of the States would thus be turned into the instrument of their destruction. The President would become in fact the real constitution maker for the States, and all power would be vested in his hands."

What the President so forcibly said of his own want of authority to correct real or imaginary evils in State government, is equally true of Congress, and we may assume that his remarks were limited to his own office because in the particular case only his own action had been invoked. A practical construction was thus given to the Federal powers, which was not only manifestly in harmony with the purpose of the Constitution, but which rendered them entirely safe, and precluded their being made the pretext for encroachments upon State authority. Moreover, this construction was accepted by the people as correct. The party of that day which was in sympathy with the new movement in Rhode Island, though displeased at the result, showed little disposition to take issue with the President's conclusions. When distinctly confronted with the proposition to admit Federal interference in the formation or establishment of State constitutions or laws, the traditions of the Democratic party would be too powerful to permit it to take centralizing ground for any mere temporary purpose.

The fact that the President of his own authority gave or promised the assistance called for in this instance, renders it proper to notice that the section of the Federal Constitution under discussion differs in its phraseology from other sections which confer power and impose duties on the General Government. Elsewhere it is provided what Congress may do, or to what the judicial power shall extend, or what shall be the scope of authority and duty of the President. But the obligation to guarantee a republican form of government to the States, and to protect them against invasion and domestic violence, is one imposed upon "the United States." The implication is that the duty was not to depend for its fulfillment on the legislative department exclusively, but that all departments of the government, or at least more than one, were or might be charged with some duty in this regard. It will be seen hereafter that it has been Congress which hitherto has assumed to act upon the guarantee,

while application for protection against domestic violence has, on the other hand, been made to the President. The difference may be attributed to the fact, that to enforce the guarantee, legislation would generally be requisite, while protection against domestic violence would involve only the employment of a military force, which the President would always have at his command. From the nature of the case, the judiciary can have little or nothing to do with questions arising under this provision of the Constitution. What constitutes a republican government, and what under any given circumstances it may be found necessary to do in order to protect it, must in their nature be political questions, and require determination by the political departments of the government. When such questions are thus determined, the judiciary must accept and conform to the decision; or, as Sir Matthew Hale pointed out in the time of the Commonwealth, the state would be reduced to anarchy. The Federal Supreme Court has invariably disclaimed all right to review or question the decisions of the political departments of the government on political subjects. Questions regarding the force or extent of a treaty; the rightful government to be recognized and treated with; the extent of the territorial limits of the country; whether at a particular period of time a State government had superseded the territorial: these and all other questions properly falling within the same category are addressed first of all to the treaty-making or law-making authority, whose decisions conclude all others. Mr. Justice Woodbury pointed out with remarkable clearness, in his opinion in the case of *Luther versus Borden*, arising out of the Rhode Island controversy, how unsuited was the judiciary to the consideration of such subjects, and how dangerous it might prove to the liberties of the people if a tribunal composed of persons selected for other purposes, and whose decisions are expected to be uniform and can not conform to the varying demands of circumstances and of public policy, were to be clothed with the power to decide them. It is fresh in our recollections that all attempts to bring the validity of the reconstruction laws to a judicial test were unavailing; Congress interposing very effectual obstacles in some cases, and the Supreme Court, when direct application was made to enjoin the President and his subordinates from putting them in force, refusing to consider them on the merits, on the express ground that they involved "rights of sovereignty, of political jurisdiction, of government, of corporate existence of States with all their constitutional powers and privileges," and that these

did not belong to the jurisdiction of courts.* The correction of wrongs, mistakes, abuses, or even usurpations of which in such matters the legislature may be guilty, is not confided to the courts. Perhaps we should speak more in accord with the proper theory of constitutional government, if we were to say that the courts are not at liberty to impute wrongs, mistakes, abuses, or usurpations to the legislature, when acting upon questions purely political.

Having seen what was settled in the case of Rhode Island, we may now pass to subsequent cases in which the guarantee of the Constitution has been appealed to or relied upon. These cases have not been numerous, and in some of them it is not easy to determine how far the Federal authorities regarded themselves as acting under the command of the Constitution, or, on the other hand, obeying a great law of necessity in an emergency for which no provision had been made. This was particularly the case at the close of the great rebellion. The proper method of reconstruction of the seceded States was then a most momentous problem to the statesmen of the country, and the most diverse and irreconcilable views were entertained, not only in the opposing parties, but also among the leading minds in the dominant party. It was a problem on which, when it came to be solved, the President separated from his party, and the representatives of that party in Congress proceeded in their legislation with such uncertain steps that much of their action it was deemed prudent to do over again; and governments were recognized and afterwards set aside with more regard to a supposed necessity than to consistency of action. The view of Mr. Sumner was, that so far as the rebel States were concerned, no government should be recognized as republican in form which tolerated slavery, or which excluded persons from the privilege of suffrage by reason of race or color. That this view prevailed in Congress is not to be affirmed; that it had more or less influence is undoubtedly true; but it would seem equally clear that while the majority in Congress kept a distinct and definite object in view, they did not inquire very closely into the legal justification for the measures resorted to. The times were extraordinary, and in their opinion the future peace and welfare of the country required that the seceded States should be excluded from the full privilege of the Union until the abolition of slavery was accepted. Even then the exceptional control of Congress over them as States was not removed until impartial suffrage was assured. Whoever followed the pro-

* *Georgia versus Stanton*, 6 Wallace's Reports, 77. Cases recognizing the same general principles are referred to in the arguments of counsel and the opinion in this case.

ceedings and debates of Congress during the period of reconstruction could not fail to observe that much of the mention of republican government, in the complaints against the Southern States, had no reference whatever to the constitutions which established the framework of government in those States, but was aimed only at wrongs or abuses existing or supposed to exist, or to be possible, under those constitutions. Yet it was not claimed on any side that for such wrongs and abuses the guarantee of the Constitution had made provision; and to suggest that guarantee as the justification for Federal interference was to suggest the right, if not the duty, of the Federal Government to interfere in every case in which the administration of State governments did not accord with the view prevailing in Congress as to the method of administration, or the results to be expected from the governments which, under the protection of the Federal Constitution, had been established in the several States.

The Supreme Court of the United States, when considering in *Milligan's* case the validity of military commissions for the trial of offences against the government in the loyal States, repudiated the doctrine which sometimes had been advanced, that when war prevailed the Constitution must be silent; and declared that the guarantees of liberty by that instrument were established for all times and all circumstances. The declaration was of a wholesome truth; but if either of the judges who concurred in it, or any other person shall ever expect the same careful observance of the constitution and laws, either by the people or by the constituted authorities, amid the excitements and passions begotten of war, as is usually witnessed in time of peace, he will find little to justify the expectation in the experience of this or any other country. In adjusting the relations of the rebel States to the General Government, and in conforming their constitutions and laws to the condition of affairs which accompanied and followed the destruction of slavery, many things were done which all must now concede it was impossible to justify upon the letter of the Constitution, and which their authors and supporters must defend on the ground that from the extraordinary circumstances such an imperious necessity had sprung as the framers of the Constitution could not possibly anticipate, and therefore, could not provide for. How far this defense should in any particular instance be accepted as conclusive and satisfactory, is a question not necessarily involved in the present discussion. What now concerns us is that these extraordinary cases of congressional intervention shall stand exceptional, and not be justified on the guarantee of the Constitution, and accepted as the guides and

precedents for future action. To accept them as such would be to put an end to the constitutional union made known to us in the writings of the "Federalist," and expounded in the decisions of Marshall, Story, Taney, and Chase. It would be to brush away all limitations to the powers of Congress in its dealings with the States, and to leave that body at liberty to do what in the good pleasure of its majority it shall please. With slavery destroyed we should be at liberty to believe that the exceptional circumstances can never again arise; and that consequently no one will ever again feel impelled to justify Federal interference in the State affairs, on pretense of a duty to guarantee a republican form of government, when the form of government which had been originally established in the State with the approval of Congress, is still retained and administered. Whatever discontented parties may do or say when the workings of State government displease them, there is a manifest and imperative duty before every statesman and every lawyer, to resist and if possible to defeat whatever shall have a tendency to make the shifts and devices of a revolutionary period the precedents for similar action after that period has passed away. If action, which at the time was deemed wholly exceptional, and was only defended on the exceptional circumstances, can be received as evidence of settled law in the government, and if the people shall be found prepared to accept it as such, then indeed has a revolution of public opinion taken place which sooner or later must work an entire and radical revolution in the Government itself.

The cases which have occurred since reconstruction was treated by the Federal Government as complete, though in every instance having more or less connection with the reconstruction measures, and springing more or less directly from conditions which were the legitimate consequences of the war, must nevertheless be brought to the test of strict law. When once the war was entirely at an end, the excuse of its overruling necessity was no longer admissible, and the need of securities for peace could no longer be urged after all which were demanded had been given and accepted as sufficient. If since that time the domain of State government has been invaded by Federal authority without the warrant of the Constitution, no hesitation should be exhibited in any quarter in visiting the act with such unequivocal condemnation as shall afford no encouragement to the like ventures in the future. It is not a light thing for that supreme central authority which was created by the States with certain limited and defined powers, in order to promote union and insure domestic

tranquillity, to turn upon the States with the power thus conferred, and employ it for their humiliation or degradation, with the inevitable result of weakening the union and promoting discord. The boundaries of authority were fixed by solemn covenant, and deliberately to break this in the smallest particular, would be deliberately to break the bonds of union, to sow the seeds of distrust, and to furnish the excuse for future violations, which in the end would make the covenant itself not a friendly partition of powers, but a hostile frontier across which contending parties would charge and be driven according as one or the other should from time to time prove strong enough to take the aggressive.

The case of Louisiana in 1872-3, no attempt has been made of late to justify on the principles of the Constitution; and without entering into a discussion of its facts, we leave it as it was presented in the Senate report of February 20, 1873, where it stands as a case of undeniable usurpation. The conclusions of fact in that report were concurred in by some of the ablest lawyers of the nation, representing all political parties, and they were supported and illustrated by the speeches of Mr. Carpenter and others, delivered in the Senate in 1874. With these speeches may usefully be read and considered that of a person who was prominent in the whole affair—an adventurer made politician by the times—who for awhile under military protection, but without a shadow of right, acted as governor; who had the surprising assurance to claim an election to both Houses of the same Congress, and to contest a seat in each, and who, as the agent of the Associated Press in his official report informs us, treated the house to a “humorous” speech in describing the mockery of right, justice, and law, which, as he declared, had been substituted for an election in that unhappy State. There can be nothing to compare with such “humor,” but the “amusement” with which the friends and supporters of the governor in one of the reconstructed States are said to have received the announcement that he had been indicted for the larceny of public moneys!

The chief actors in the tragedy of Louisiana were a few adventurers, a few inferior Federal officers, and an inferior Federal judge. The general voice, not only of the country as a whole, but of each party in the country, has condemned the action, and therefore, though the wrong done has never been redressed, it may at this time be passed over without comment. A reasonable conclusion will be that that which stands reprovved in all official reports, will not be relied upon as a justification by any one who hereafter may be tempted to

repeat it. It took place in a State one half of whose citizens were still ignorant and unaccustomed to the enjoyment of political privileges, and might easily be made either the victims or the instruments of conspiracy or wrong. And it was so soon after the great war in which *de facto* governments had been overturned by military authority and others dictated in their stead, and so many of the prejudices and suspicions which the circumstances had begotten were still active and violent, that we can not wonder the complaints of arbitrary and unlawful interference did not attract the notice and receive the prompt attention they deserved, or find the remedy that was adequate and appropriate.*

We come now to the case of Arkansas, in which again the President was called upon to suppress domestic violence under circumstances requiring a decision between adverse claimants to the executive office. But here the case differed from that of Rhode Island, in that there was no attempt to set aside an established constitution and no purpose expressed to disregard the laws; but each claimant acknowledging the same constitution, and professing obedience to the same laws, only attempted to make good the assertion that he had been chosen governor under them. The contest was consequently one as to an election, and in its inception should have involved only the question, Which candidate had received the greater number of lawful votes?

The situation when the President's interference was demanded was this: Baxter and Brooks had been rival candidates before the people, and the former had been declared duly elected, and had taken upon himself the office. Brooks asserted that the result was accomplished by various frauds, and by wrongful rejection of votes, and he contested it before the legislature, where the decision was against him. On a case arising in the Supreme Court which presented the point, that court decided it had no jurisdiction to interfere. In

* A majority of the house committee of the judiciary of the present Congress reported in favor of the impeachment of the Federal judge, who was the chief figure in this usurpation, but the report has not been acted upon. One learned member of that committee, himself a jurist of honorable reputation, dissented from the condemnation of this judge, and certified to his character as a "Christian gentleman," which he seemed to think should be an ample shield against accusations of criminal conduct. It is always gratifying when the upright officer is found to unite with other qualities a gentlemanly deportment and a Christian humility, but to excuse great public offences behind deportment and profession is, to say the least, unfortunate. For while such considerations are entirely foreign to any investigation of official conduct, it is not to be denied that bringing them forward where they have no place, and in such a connection, must have an inevitable tendency to subject them to public contempt and derision.

this the court was unquestionably right. A disputed election to the office of governor may of necessity present questions for judicial determination when no other tribunal has been designated for the decision of the contest, but there are many reasons why the more suitable authority for its settlement is the legislature of the State, which can act promptly and without regard to forms, while a judicial contest might continue for months, possibly even for the whole term of office, and be embarrassed more or less with questions of pleading and technical law, to the incalculable prejudice of public interests and the public order. And by the constitution of Arkansas, the legislature had wisely been vested with complete and final authority in the premises.*

Brooks nevertheless insisting that a majority of the electors had cast their suffrages for him, began suit in one of the circuit courts, but, on a demurrer being interposed, allowed the case to sleep. It would be wandering from the present discussion to enter upon the inquiry whether the assertion of Brooks that he was cheated out of his election, had any foundation in fact. If he was, a great outrage was perpetrated upon his rights, and a greater upon the people of the State. No offence against property, and no wrong to individual persons, can compare in enormity with such a robbery of political rights. But this could have no bearing upon the case, as it was afterwards submitted to the President. Contested elections, like all other controversies, must be submitted to the determination of some competent tribunal, and, satisfactory or not, right or wrong, the decision must be sustained, or there can be no end to controversy and no settled government. It is far more important to the people that the executive power should be unquestionable, than that any particular person should wield it. Brooks was not the first person wrongfully

* The section of the Constitution is as follows: "The returns of every election for governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, treasurer, auditor, attorney-general, and superintendent of public instruction shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government, by the returning officers, and directed to the presiding officer of the Senate, who, during the first week of the session, shall open and publish the same in presence of the members there assembled. The person having the highest number of votes shall be declared elected; but if two or more shall have the highest and an equal number of votes for the same office, one of them shall be chosen by a joint vote of both houses. Contested elections shall likewise be determined by both houses of the general assembly, as is, or may hereafter be prescribed by law." To our mind there can be no plausible suggestion that the decision of the general assembly on such a contest is open to judicial review afterwards, but it may not be inappropriate to refer to *Grier versus Shackelford*, S. C. Const. Rep., 642; *Batman versus McGowan*, 1 Metcalfe's Ky. Rep., 533; *State versus Marlow*, 15 Ohio State Rep., 134; *People versus Goodwin*, 22 Mich. Rep., 496, which are in point.

counted out in a contest for the office of governor. To pass over cases in regard to which there may be question, we may refer to that of Chief-Justice Jay, who met the same fate in his candidature against Clinton, and though his incensed and excited followers appealed to him to resist, he chose the wiser and more patriotic course, and bowed in submission to the unjust determination of the canvassers. The result proved that the State did not suffer from this wrong, the cause of order suffered only temporarily, no one suffered in public respect and reputation but the canvassers and their supporters, and the great jurist, by his implicit obedience to the law under circumstances of such aggravation and injustice, was elevated to higher position in the public regard. Had that eminent example been followed in Arkansas, the country would have been spared some excitement and the people of that State some expenditure of money and military display. That it was not followed is due to one of those sudden mutations in State politics which, as they have occurred in the reconstructed States, have so mystified the people of the country, until the personal interests which lay back of them were brought to light and explained. If Brooks was cheated out of his election, it was through a combination which embraced the leading politicians of the State, and placed some of them in Congress. So long as the parties hung together there was peaceful acquiescence in the legislative decision. But the time arrived when, for reasons of their own, the others were found disposed to rid themselves of the governor, and for that purpose ready to make use of measures as objectionable to get him out as those by means of which he had been put in. It was under such circumstances that the sleeping suit appears to have taken on new vitality, the extraordinary decision of the Circuit Court that Baxter be ousted as a usurper and Brooks installed in his place was made, and then the State House and public records were seized, and then came the call to arms.

If in the light of the facts stated, the duty of the President to support Baxter can be less clear than was the duty of Mr. Tyler to support the charter government in the Rhode Island case, the grounds of doubt are certainly not very manifest. The tribunal which the State constitution had given complete authority in the premises, had decided the election, and the President could not go behind the record, and was not at liberty to question the conclusion. Baxter was governor *de facto*, and by the adjudication of the legislature he was also governor *de jure*. The President had nothing to do but to recognize the existing *status*, and respond to his demand for assist-

ance. He was no more at liberty to inquire into the facts of the election with a view to bring his own judgment to bear upon its legality and fairness, than Mr. Tyler was at liberty to inquire into the justice of the complaints made against the Rhode Island charter. The President was not the tribunal to which complaints of hardship or injustice could be made in the one case any more than in the other. Some attempt was made to confuse the controversy, by bringing out a remarkable expression of opinion by a majority of the judges of the State Supreme Court in support of the judgment entered up at the Circuit; but this paper calls for little remark. It was the mere *dictum* of the judges in a collusive case, and it referred to a subject which plainly by the Constitution, as they had previously held, was taken from their jurisdiction. The President was manifestly right in disregarding this document, as he would also have been in disregarding the so-called judicial action which was had in the Louisiana case.

And here it would be agreeable to leave this controversy, where it was left by the wise and just determination of the President, if the parties concerned had permitted that determination to conclude it. But as action was afterwards taken in Congress on the subject, and the future possibilities of the case are of the highest importance, it may be well to consider it a little further. And this may render it necessary to give some attention to the boundaries of executive and legislative authority, since these departments of the government may possibly in any such case be found to differ in their views regarding the course to be pursued, and to diverge in their action.

Of course the necessity in the President to decide between two claimants implies a possibility that he may decide in favor of either. It was legally possible, therefore, that in this case he would decline the request he acceded to, and respond to one from the opposing claimant. Had he done so, the temporary result at least would have been a revolution in State authority. The mere statement of the possibility is sufficient to suggest the immense power that may be wielded by the Federal executive. Our holiday orators delight with patriotic fervor to draw distinctions between our own and other countries, and to declare that here the law is master and the highest officer is but the servant of the law, while even in free England the monarch is irresponsible and enjoys the most complete personal immunity. But such comparisons are misleading, and may prove mischievous. In how many directions is not the executive authority in America practically superior to what it is in England? And can we say

that the President is really in any substantial sense any more the servant of the law than is the Queen? Perhaps, if we were candid, we should confess that the danger that the executive may be tempted to a disregard of the law may justly be believed greater in America than in countries where the chief magistrate comes to his office without the selection of the people, and where consequently their vigilance is quickened by a natural distrust. Edward Livingston, through bitter experience in his own person, had occasion to observe this, and in his protest against the arbitrary and high-handed action of the President to declare that,

“The gloss of zeal for the public service is always spread over acts of oppression, and the people are sometimes made to consider that as a brilliant exertion of energy in their favor, which when viewed in its true light, would be found a fatal blow to their rights. In no government is this effect so easily produced as in a free republic; party spirit, inseparable from its existence, aids the illusion, and a popular leader is allowed in many instances impunity, and sometimes rewarded with applause, for acts which would make a tyrant tremble on his throne.”

We trust because we have chosen; “we wink in slothful over-trust;” and yet the man of our choice may possibly come to deserve the invective of Mr. Livingston, “the magistrate of a free people playing the Tartuffe of liberty—adoring it in theory, but in practice violating its most sacred principles.”* Perhaps it would be safer always to assume, as some writers have insisted was only reasonable, that in power all men are depraved, wicked, and corrupt, and that protection against the oppression of rulers can be found, not in their character or sense of justice, but only in mutual checks, restraints, and opposition of powers.† We establish the mutual checks and restraints, but proceed then to cast the mantle of charity over the officers of our choice, and to assume and persist in the assumption that, in their action, whatever is is right.

The executive power in this country is certainly to be administered under the laws, and the President is the servant of the law and not above it. But to say this, is not equivalent to saying that the law must be declared for him through the judgments of courts. We have seen already that as regards political questions the courts cannot pronounce the law, but must take it as it is given by Congress and the President. There may be other questions, which from their very nature can not come before the courts, but must appeal *ex necessitate* to the executive department for solution. Of this description was

* Hunt's Life of Livingston, ch. 8.

† Montesquieu's Spirit of the Laws, b. xi., c. 4; Chipman on Government, 44.

one which during the war arose in Missouri. The Supreme Court was set aside by constitutional ordinance, if the ordinance itself was valid, and a new court established instead. The old court declared the ordinance void, but the governor, holding otherwise, removed the judges from the official rooms by force, and caused the new appointees to be inducted into office. For such a question only this or a similar solution was possible, for the old incumbents could no more decide it than the new, and for either set to assume the right to decide at all, was to assume that they were the lawful judges, which was the very point in controversy. Something analogous occurred in Texas after its last election, and it is possible for the Federal executive to encounter questions involving a similar necessity. But in other cases, though the nature of the question may not be such as to remove its consideration from the judicial forum, if only executive duty is involved, we know of no authority for bringing the President before the courts, in order either that the duty may be performed under their direction, or that after its performance their judgment may be had concerning its legality or propriety. The executive, like the judiciary, constitutes an independent department of the government, and his decision in the line of his duty is as conclusive upon others as are the judgments of courts. It may be wrong, and so may be theirs; it may be corrupt, and unfortunately there may be corrupt judgments also: the remedy is the same in both cases. There can be no appeal from the one to the other; but for dishonesty, false judgment, or oppression, there may be punishment of either on impeachment. Even Mr. Webster, who argued so strongly for the supremacy of the law as it had been declared in adjudged cases, argued only the duty of the President to accept the conclusions of the courts, and did not assume that he could be compelled to do so. It is clear that the executive could not be subjected to compulsory process in any case, without degrading the executive authority to a position of inferiority and dependence.

Executive action, however, is almost always subject directly and immediately to the control of Congress, except in so far as it is made independent by the Constitution itself. No one can doubt its being subject to the direction and supervision of Congress in cases like those we have been considering, and if action has hitherto been left to the discretion of the President in these cases, it was not because Congress was without power in the premises, but because of the neglect of Congress to act, which would imply its assent to what was being done. Undoubtedly Congress is the proper authority to determine questions of a political nature as they arise within the sphere of the Federal

powers. If the President shall have occasion to take action first, his action can be little more than provisional; to stand unless set aside by Congress; and if he shall usurp authority, if he shall disregard the law, if he shall violate constitutional right or decide corruptly, the duty of Congress to give the appropriate and adequate redress will be plain and imperative.

The indirect appeal which was taken to Congress from the action of the President in the Arkansas case was complicated, as all such cases are likely to be, by the political sympathies of members with the parties more directly concerned. But the President's position was so clearly right that an open attack upon it was not be ventured upon. He had found a State controversy closed by State adjudication, and he had refused to open it. He had responded to the demand of the Constitution instead of listening to those who would invite partisan action. But the resources of men who had taken lessons in the reconstruction of a State like Arkansas were not likely to be exhausted by any direct and open measure that might be resorted to or proposed. It was not forgotten that since the close of the civil war, vague general language concerning the guarantee of a republican government had sometimes been employed with good effect, and that, without any distinct specification of the grounds of action, Congress in some instances had been enabled to exercise most important powers in shaping State policy and government. It might be quite true that the President's action, when clearly right in point of law, would carry a weight rendering a direct assault upon it useless, but might not a resolution of inquiry, whether the State maintains a republican form of government, be employed effectively by indirection to accomplish the same purpose?

A resolution of inquiry may seem a very harmless measure; just as perhaps it seemed to Hastings when Gloster demanded

"What they deserve
That do conspire my death with devilish plots
Of damned withcraft;"

—just as it might have seemed to Luther journeying to Worms, had he not known that the power that inquired, might also on its own reasons condemn and execute. In times like the present, when the highest considerations of duty demand of every citizen that he should be active and vigilant in bringing the nation back to an exact observance of constitutional obligations and rights, if an exceptional measure be resorted to, it can never be unimportant to inquire why it is

taken, what it means, to what it tends, and what it threatens. And this is peculiarly important if we find the measure receiving support from only one party, and that an endeavor by the opposing party to extend its scope, so as to embrace another case coming apparently within the same reasons, is defeated. Such was the case here,—the resolution of inquiry receiving no support from the opposition, who vainly endeavored to secure an amendment which should include South Carolina. The case, therefore, assumed something of the appearance of a party contest in Congress over the rights of a State.

The sincerity and patriotism which led the majority in Congress to the adoption of the resolution are not to be questioned. But back of these was the pressure of local politicians who came forward after a long-continued and most suspicious delay, to make charges which, if true, should require some of them to vacate important public positions and retire to the private life to which they were seeking to force the acting governor. It would be reasonable to expect that whoever should demand such an inquiry would bring forward against the State the charge of a failure to maintain a republican form of government, because, when the State authorities called for no intervention, such a charge alone would justify action. But no such expectation would be justified by the facts. No member ventured to rise in his place in Congress, and assert that the republican constitution of Arkansas had been set aside, or that the government was not being administered according to its forms. There were indeed accusations that the governor had been elected by the assistance of fraud; that some members of the legislature had been unjustly deprived of their seats, and that disorder and violence were rife in the State. The first two charges were not only disposed of by State adjudication, but also by a peaceable acquiescence which rendered it in a high degree unwise and impolitic to open the subject anew, even if it were competent to do so. As to the third, there was no pretense that the State authorities were now demanding aid in maintaining order. The charges, then, if true, made out no case for Federal interference; and they could not be assumed to be true, because two of them had been heard and decided against, and the third under the Constitution was only to be shown by a demand from the State authorities, which was not produced. Nevertheless a resolution was passed which necessarily implied the existence of a *prima facie* case against the State of a failure to maintain republican government; and to inquire into the truth of this, a committee of investigation was ordered.

The composition of the committee gives reasonable assurance of a fair investigation with the purpose to reach correct results. But such an investigation, with whatever purpose ordered or by whomsoever conducted, necessarily assumes a threatening attitude toward the State. No inference that it is entered upon as a mere matter of form is admissible, but it must be supposed that the House regarded it as based upon grounds which were sufficient, if they should be supported by the evidence. The inquiry, then, is whether the State maintains such a form of government as the Federal constitution recognizes, and the remedy, if the charges, actual or implied, are sustained, can be nothing short of the substitution of some other government for that which in this State falsely assumes to be republican. In other words, regarding the investigation as ordered in good faith and for proper purposes, the exact case is this: A disturbed condition of affairs being found to exist in one of the States, one House of Congress raises a committee to inquire and report to that body whether the State government should not be set aside, and some other—which necessarily would be of Congressional invention or suggestion—provided in its stead. If the investigation contemplates possible action, if it has in view any other purpose than merely the gratification of public curiosity by an exposure to the public of the local politics of a State, it can not mean and can not threaten less than this. It thus has an inevitable tendency to suggest that the precedents of reconstruction may properly be perpetuated, and that the States may be made to hold their political rights on the tenure of a behavior that is satisfactory to the Federal authorities. For ourselves, the concession must be made that in the condition of Arkansas little has been discovered for some years that is particularly gratifying, but the denial is emphatic, that a republican form of government implies that the State is always to be free from disorders, or that decisions upon contested elections shall always be just, or that the State administrations shall always be in harmony with those elected by the people—or by themselves—to Congress, and subject to be set aside when those persons withdraw their support. And for a State government to be tried for its existence upon vague general charges constituting no triable offence, before a body which, however pure, honorable, and patriotic it may be, will yet measure for itself its own powers, and be but too prone to judge all political questions from the stand-point of party interest, is no more a light thing than it would be for a civilian to be put on trial before a court-martial on charges of which such a court could have no jurisdiction, but under

circumstances which should render its decision upon its authority a finality. What matters it that the Constitution forbids, if Congress wills it and no other authority can interfere? There is an old proverb that for sovereign power all laws are broken; and this may prove as true of a Congress as of a Cæsar.

Of the propriety of a like inquiry as demanded by the opposition in the case of South Carolina, we must judge from the complaints which are publicly made of the condition of affairs in that State. The current complaints are that ignorant freedmen constitute the controlling majority of electors; that they choose worthless adventurers, ignorant field-hands, and dishonest schemers to public offices; that the governor is notoriously dishonest and criminal, and that the public are systematically plundered by him and by other officers to whom he gives immunity by his prerogative of pardon. These charges are of the same general nature with those but recently made against the government of New York, and do not go a step beyond them, except in implicating the chief executive in the prevailing corruption. Even in that particular the difference is not great, for the governor of New York was persistently charged with being influenced in his official action by a dishonest combination which controlled the city, and through the city controlled the State. If, therefore, these charges justify setting aside a State government in South Carolina, then the government of New York should have been set aside by Congress without waiting the action of societies of political reform. But in that case, as in this, the real complaint was not that the State failed to maintain a republican form of government, but it was that the basis of suffrage had been made so broad, that classes unfit to govern were enabled to rule. The complaint was not of too little republicanism, but of too much. The evil had been brought upon South Carolina by the deliberate action of the people of the Union in amending the Constitution, and it could only be cured by retracing the step, or by the gradual education of the people in their duties and obligations as citizens. The former no one proposes; the latter is a work of time, and may leave the people of that unhappy State for a period exposed to the rapacity of adventurers, but in the end is expected to vindicate the theory of our institutions. One thing is clear; to concede to the Federal government authority to take to itself State powers, on an assumption that the people of a State have shown themselves incapable of self-government, and must consequently be ruled by the strong hand of the central power, would be to concede the failure of the American experiment in government.

A Congressional investigation, it must be repeated, can never be harmless when it is ordered on grounds or under circumstances which have an inevitable tendency to strengthen, encourage, and perpetuate the unconstitutional notion that Congress may rightfully intermeddle with and overhaul State affairs and State governments whenever any thing in their administration shall be displeasing to the majority in that body. Such proceedings are necessarily in the direction of substituting for the republicanism, agreed upon in forming the Constitution, a different republicanism whose manifestations as we witness them in the neighboring republic of Mexico are not assuring to those who have faith in government by the people. It is not always certain that investigations will be in the hands of jurists, skilled in legal forms and principles and disposed to act under the guidance of settled rules, but they are as likely to be instigated in times of high party excitement, under the leadership of men—of whom unfortunately we still have some—whose political training has been such as to lead them to look upon the ballot-box as an instrument of no more sanctity than any other with which a game may be played for the profit of the player. They may come at a time of presidential election, and be the pretense by the aid of which the result may be controlled. They may assail one State because she does not better enforce her prohibitory legislation, and another because she disgraces republicanism by not paying her debts, and a third, perhaps, when a majority of the proper stamp shall appear in Congress, because she sends her “statesmen” to a convict island, instead of making them governors and senators. In short, any thing may be suggested as possible when the whole subject is thrown open to a Congressional discretion, proverbially prone to be carried away by the passions and excitements of the hour.

The case of Rhode Island ought to be regarded as settling for all time the two points involved in it: 1, That the President and Congress must continue to recognize and support the constitution once established in a State, and regularly accepted as republican, against any revolutionary measures that may be instituted for its overthrow; and 2, That their action in the premises is not subject to judicial review. The first point was determined by the action of the President, under the advice of Mr. Webster, acquiesced in by Congress and the people under circumstances implying a clear approval. The second was settled by the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court, approved on several occasions after its membership had almost wholly changed. The case of Arkansas should settle in like manner, by the

acceptance of the President's conclusion, the doctrine that as between two persons claiming the State executive authority, if the proper and competent State tribunal has rendered decision, such decision must be accepted and followed. Any other doctrine must strike at the foundation of State government, and leave Congress and the President supreme.

There is yet one other case which might stand apart from these, and in which no action within the State could constitute authority or furnish guidance for that of the Federal Government. There might be such a forcible or fraudulent usurpation of all departments of a State government as would render a competent decision on questions of contested election impossible. Obviously the decision of a usurping legislature that a usurper was lawfully chosen governor, could bind no one. But to suppose such a case with sufficient following to make it successful, would be nearly equivalent to supposing the people unfit for self-government. Something similar was once tried in Wisconsin, where a governor declared himself re-elected, and denied the right of any other authority to question the declaration; but though he was head of a party embracing half the voters of the State, and which would lose power by his defeat, the attempt was a miserable failure. The worst there is reason to look for is such a setting aside of the will of the people under technical quibbles as was accomplished in the case of Jay; and in such cases the people will bow to the decision of the law, even though they believe it to be bad law. A case of pure usurpation, unless the people are kept down by military force, can scarcely fail in some form to encounter prompt and effective opposition sufficient to render its success impossible. In the absence of military force, or of outside support to the alleged usurpation, it should generally be conclusive against the allegation that the authority set up has been quietly submitted to until the ordinary business of legislation has been transacted, laws made, put in operation and acted upon by the people as part of the law of the land. The law of limitation which public policy would establish for complaints of that nature, must be short and conclusive, or the civil state may be kept in a condition of chronic disturbance and unrest from the uncertainty of its legal foundations. It should be observed also as regards such a complaint that an unjust deprivation of one or more members of their seats in a legislative body does not make out a usurpation of legislative authority; if it did, it is feared that a case might be made against Congress as conclusive as has ever been set up against a State; for all parties have been quite too prone to dispose

of contested seats on partisan grounds. A legislative body being the final judge of the election and qualifications of its members, any number of decisions believed to be unjust or erroneous, can furnish no excuse for interference: it is only when a body of men not constituting a legislature in fact, assumes to be such, and performs the mockery of admitting and rejecting claimants to seats, that its decisions can be treated as nullities. When such a case shall occur, it will be pertinent to inquire where are the true members, that they fail to meet and effect a legal organization? If, without compulsion or the terror of military force or threats, they abstain from doing so until the usurpers possess themselves of the authority of the State and exercise it with general consent, the rule of repose already referred to may justly be applied against them to bar their complaints; while if they were restrained by violence, or overcome by force or threats, their appeal for external assistance should be as prompt as the circumstances may admit, lest public acquiescence may introduce unnecessary difficulties. We therefore say that, while it is possible there may be such a usurpation of the whole State government, or at least of the political departments thereof, as may render the intervention of the Federal government imperative, yet after any considerable delay not compelled by force the presumptions should be conclusive against it; and the thing is in itself so improbable, and its success, unless the people are held in subjection by military force, so extremely unlikely, that a very clear *prima facie* case should be presented to Congress before its intervention should be secured. To invite Congress without sufficient cause into the field of State politics must generally but add to party feelings and prejudices, and thus intensify instead of solving the local difficulties. Partisans are not likely to come, as Mr. Madison's sanguine mind anticipated they would in such cases, prepared to act between the rival claimants with the impartiality of judges and the affection of friends. They are more likely to come with feelings sufficiently wrought up to tempt them to make the rights of the State itself a mere foot-ball in party politics. When there are no effective checks and balances, usurpation with wonderful ease

"broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent."

Against the encroachments of Federal authority upon the States, the effective checks, if any, must be found in the wisdom and patriotism of rulers. The States, when wronged, must appeal for justice to the power that wrongs them. They must, if possible, awaken to vig-

orous activity the constitutional scruples of members of Congress. If every member of that body were a statesman, accustomed to look beyond the politics of the day in determining his action, the danger of overriding the just local powers would be less imminent; but it is unfortunately the case that too many concern themselves only with the probabilities of political storms in the immediate future, and that to avoid harm from these is the political wisdom of many party leaders. The statesman can not bound his horizon by the necessities or policy of his party, and can not handle questions of state from regard alone to party interest or party advancement. Parties are useful as they constitute checks upon each other, and tend to keep the people vigilant in watching for abuses under the laws, and for encroachments upon the Constitution; but when encroachments are once admitted which may appear to tend to the advantage of any party in power, it is possible for all to tolerate and in turn to practice them. Invasions of State authority for national or local party purposes are precisely of this nature.

Deprecating, as every good citizen must, all Federal interference in State affairs except in strict conformity with the Constitution, it seems proper to remark that a habit of looking to Washington for almost every thing has been growing of late among State officials, and that instances might be given of calls by States upon the President for troops to put down local riots and disorders so insignificant in themselves that any sheriff of an average share of courage and vigor would have found ample resources for their suppression in the ordinary civil posse. A governor who makes such a call without necessity confesses his own inadequacy to his position. It should also be said that while the existing administration has subjected itself to severe criticism for certain cases of interference, it has an undisputed claim to commendation in other cases of refusal. We refer particularly to the case of Texas, in which military aid was called for to enable a defeated administration to hold on to office, and to that of Mississippi in which troops were demanded on pretense of "preserving order" at an election. The President refused in the latter case, on the technical ground that the demand was not in strict conformity with the Constitution, but no secret was made of the fact that back of this was the reason that the demand was wholly unnecessary, and that the troops, if sent, could have no mission unless to overawe electors. The result demonstrated the President's wisdom, for a more orderly election has never occurred. The Texas case was peculiarly one in which no decision within the State could aid the President. An election had

been held, which, if valid, was to make an entire change in the State government, the judiciary included. The defeated candidates set up a constitutional objection, which the Supreme Court on being appealed to sustained. But that was the court that would go out. The court that would come in as a result of the election would doubtless hold otherwise, and the one was as competent to decide a question upon which its own existence depended as the other. When under such circumstances the defeated governor called upon the President for assistance in retaining his office, the President very properly declined to interpose, or to consider in any way the constitutional question involved. The party appealing for aid had contested the election before the people and been defeated, and he might well be refused extraordinary remedies when the appeal itself was a stultification of his own action.

IDEAS IN NATURE OVERLOOKED BY DR. TYNDALL.*

ALL throughout his Belfast Address, Professor Tyndall defends the right of free thought in such a manner and spirit as to leave the impression that he imagines that this right has been denied him somewhere or by somebody. We have not heard of any one threatening to deprive the savant of his title to think on all subjects scientific and unscientific. But there are not a few, scientific as well as unscientific, who doubt whether he showed delicacy or even propriety of feeling in opening what professes to be a purely scientific society with such a speculative paper, the more so as no one was allowed to reply to him in the Association. We often find that those who use liberty of speech for themselves, are least inclined to allow a corresponding right to others. All that is claimed in this article, is the privilege which he has employed so freely. We feel perfectly entitled to review his review; and in doing so, we appeal to no other tribunal than the one he carries us to—the laws of the Court of Nature.

Dr. Tyndall is not regarded in Great Britain as a scientific man of the first order—he is not one of the few stars of the first magnitude. We are not aware of any discovery made by him which has opened a new department of nature, or set scientific exploration out in a new direction. But he is thoroughly at home in the domain of Physics, and by his researches has advanced certain departments of it. There are some, who, on the principle of *ne sutor ultra crepidam*, wish that he would keep within his own magic circle, where he is powerful, and not venture out of it into the wide region of theosophy, where, with his locks shorn by a Delilah in the fascinating form of a love of notoriety, he is no stronger than other men. He doubts whether the great Newton, trained in mathematics and natural philosophy, was fitted to discuss theological subjects. It is a fact that some great biblical scholars take a different view, and speak of Newton as quite capable,

* Address delivered before the British Association assembled at Belfast, by John Tyndall, F. R. S., President. (Appleton.)

by reason of his profound penetration, his long study and deep reverence, to dive into the depth of divine things. It is doubted whether Dr. Tyndall has the same high qualifications, and those who feel in this way, regret to find him indulging in the construction of theories as to the origin of things, when they would listen to him with great delight dilating on heat and motion, on glaciers and sounds—and this when they may not be sure that he has come off any higher than second best in his controversy with Prof. Tait, or that he has given the right explanation of the curious phenomena as to sound, which he has lately brought before the Royal Society, and which he refers to regions of the air impervious to sound. He is acknowledged on all hands to be a brilliant experimenter and a fascinating expounder, and his British Association Address is the clearest enunciation and defense of the views of an important school—constituting a branch of a mutual admiration society—who are ever quoting each other as infallible authorities—the other members being Prof. Huxley, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Darwin, and Mr. Bain, and a whole host of inferior men who have assisted the leaders in getting the British Association very much under their management, as also certain portions of the London press, and, it may be added, not a little of the college patronage of the late liberal administration of England. We are cherishing the hope that this address, just because it unfolds so openly what was before let out only in hints and prognostications, may tend to produce a reaction in Great Britain; as men now see—the veil having been lifted from their eyes—whither they are being led. Within the last two years we have seen what a collapse took place when J. S. Mill's autobiography was published, and all discovered into what a dark cavern his philosophy conducted them, with its startling results as to the obligation of marriage ties and the allowableness of suicide, with its avowed want of assurance in life or hope in death—we see that those who are “without God” are also “without hope.” It is possible that a like recoil may be effected when all men are made to know that our world consists simply of an interaction of atoms within a limited sphere of space and time, encompassed with an impenetrable region of darkness.

Dr. Tyndall goes back two thousand two hundred years, and quotes a succession of philosophers favorable to the atomic theory from that time to the present. His historical sketch is adopted at second-hand, and not from the highest authorities.* Eminent as he

* Blunders, such as are sure to be committed by one not master of the subject, and trusting to secondary authorities, crop out ever and anon. Thus he talks of Empedocles

is as a scientist (to use a phrase not found in Samuel Johnson, but required by the subdivision of knowledge in our day), there is no proof that he has studied philosophy, or that he is specially a philosopher—he is certainly not a rigid reasoner, and he overleaps wide gaps in constructing his theories. He quotes lovingly such men as Democritus, Epicurus, Lucretius, Bruno, Gassendi, Hume, and Goethe, but has taken no notice of the views of others, usually reckoned the profoundest thinkers of our world—except indeed to speak of the oppression laid on thought by Plato and Aristotle. We mean to supply the inexcusable omission, and to place alongside of the atomic theory the grand truths unfolded by the great philosophers of ancient and modern times, and show that their anticipations, often vague and mystical, have been made certain by the certain methods of modern science. When these overlooked agencies are mixed up with the atoms, and made to act with them and counteract them, the result may be a harmonious whole quite consistent with religion, natural and revealed.

It is a well-known historical fact that somewhere about 600 B. C. there was a remarkable awakening, over many countries, of reflective, as distinguished from spontaneous thought. From the beginning, men had observed the works of nature, the seasons, seeds, plants, animals, and the diurnal and annual movements of the heavenly bodies, and turned them to practical use. But from the time referred to, there were penetrating minds that were not satisfied with practical or phenomenal knowledge, but insisted on going beneath the surface, and inquiring into the nature and origin of things. In this age appeared Çākya Muṇi, the founder of the comparatively pure but inane system of Buddhism; Confucius, the great moralist of China; and, according to some, Zoroaster, the reformer of the Magian religion. But the systems of these

"noticing this gap in the doctrine of Democritus;" whereas every tyro in philosophy knows that Empedocles comes before Democritus. Speaking of the centuries lying between Democritus and Lucretius, he makes Pythagoras then perform "his experiments on the harmonic intervals," as if Pythagoras had not died before Democritus was born. He represents Aristotle as preaching induction without practicing it, whereas he did practice induction in his natural history, but certainly did not preach it as Bacon afterwards did. He ascribes, it could be shown, a doctrine to Protagoras the sophist which no scholar would attribute to him. A writer (Thomas Davidson) in the October number of the "*Journal of Speculative Philosophy*" proves that he has not given a thoroughly correct account even of the philosophy of his favorite Democritus; whom he represents as making all the varieties of things depend on the varieties of atoms "in number, size, and aggregation," whereas Aristotle, the only original authority on this subject, says that he made them depend on the "figure, aggregation, and position." In the same article it is shown that Dr. Tyndall mistakes throughout in the few allusions he makes to Aristotle.

men were theosophic or ethical, and do not throw any light on the physical phenomena of the universe, and so we turn to the rise of the Greek philosophy.

Three great schools appear almost simultaneously. The inquiry of each is what is the *'αρχή*, or principle of all things. One, the Ionian, whose seat was Miletus or Ephesus, explained nature by elements, commonly by some favorite element, as Thales by water or moisture, Anaximenes by air or ether, and Heraclitus, an offshoot from the school, by fire. We have here brought before us the deep truth which modern chemistry is unfolding. The things which we see are compound, and if we would understand them we must trace them back to their components. Another school, the Pythagorean or Italic, whose seat was Magna Grecia, could not be satisfied with these ever-changing elements, and discovered higher and more permanent principles subordinating them in the orderly forms which things are made to assume, and in the numerical relations running through them, so that in fact things are the copies of numbers. They delighted to trace, often in a mystic way, the properties of figures and of numbers, and were especially the mathematical school of Greece. They made the earth revolve round the Hestia or hearth, of the universe, and thus started the Copernican theory of the heavens. They saw a universally prevalent order—Pythagoras heard the music of the spheres; and they called the heaven from the earth upward, *Cosmos*—a phrase which has been fondly retained as embodying a great truth. About the same time arose another school, the Eleatic, which affected to go deeper down into the nature of things, and by pure reason found beneath all apparent mutation an essential Being which has not come into existence, and which is imperishable. The poem of Parmenides opens with an allegory of the soul longing after truth, drawn on by steeds led by virgins along a road untrodden by men, on the road from darkness to light, and brought to the throne of Dikè, who reveals the unchangeable heart of truth. In this we have an anticipation of the doctrine, that the sum of matter and force can not be increased or diminished by creature action, but remains forever the same, thus giving a stability to nature.

A hundred years later, and other profound truths are started by great thinkers. Anaxagoras is of Clazomenæ, but removes to Athens (which is to become the eye of Greece), and is intimate with Pericles. Starting from the Ionic point, he is not satisfied that every thing can be accounted for by elements, and he calls in an intelligence (*νῦς*) to arrange (*διακομειν*) them. When Socrates heard of Anaxagoras bring-

ing in intelligence he sent for his books, and was astonished, after finding him arranging all things by reason, employing "air, ether, water, and many other things out of place." But this criticism of Socrates, and a like criticism in the next age by Aristotle, show that neither of these philosophers was able to rise to the same elevated position as Anaxagoras, who was quite consistent in holding that all things might be disposed by Divine reason, and yet be carried on by physical agents such as "air, ether, and water." The same philosopher contributed another thought. He represented nature as composed of different things made up of equal parts, *ὁμοιομερῆ*, thus starting the doctrine of definite proportions, which is the true doctrine of all chemistry, and this whether these proportions are caused by atoms or no, or whether indeed there be such things as atoms. About the same time Empedocles of Agrigentum in Sicily, fabled as perishing in the flames of Etna which he was desirous of looking into, gave to the world another imperishable thought. He used all the four elements of the older philosophers, but gave to them loves and hatreds, friendships and enmities, drawing them toward each other, and driving them away from each other; this has culminated in the idea of the attractive and repulsive powers of nature. We may allow Dr. Tyn-dall to give an account of the atomic theory of Democritus, who belonged to Abdera in Thrace. His tenets are:

"1. From nothing comes nothing. Nothing that exists can be destroyed. All changes are due to the combination and separation of molecules. 2. Nothing happens by chance. Every occurrence has its cause, from which it follows by necessity. 3. The only existing things are the atoms and empty space; all else is mere opinion. 4. The atoms are infinite in number, and infinitely various in form; they strike together, and the lateral motions and whirlings which thus arise are the beginnings of worlds. 5. The varieties of all things depend upon the varieties of their atoms, in number, size, and aggregation. 6. The soul consists of free, smooth, round atoms, like those of fire. These are the most mobile of all. They interpenetrate the whole body, and in their motions the phenomena of life arise. Thus the atoms of Democritus are individually without sensation; they combine in obedience to mechanical law; and not only organic forms, but the phenomena of sensation and thought are also the result of their combination."

Some of these points have not been established. One of them seems to combine utterly incongruous things; it accounts for sensations and thoughts, for pain and pleasure, for love and hate, for judgment and deduction, for ideas of good and evil, for noble aspirations and high purposes, by atoms smooth and round, as if there was not a fathomless gap between smoothness and sensation, between roundness and reasoning.

Immediately after this appeared the Sophists, who may have done good in some instances by their professional teaching, for which they deserved their fee ; but the charge remains that they were not seekers after truth ; and it is a fact that they did not add one great principle to the body of philosophy, while they did much to undermine the whole by maintaining that there is no absolute truth, and that truth is only relative to the man who "troweth." Their chief opponent was Socrates, who formally announced one great truth, which all men had been spontaneously discerning and following, that there are purpose and design in every part of the animal frame ; pointing to the eye of man with its delicate structure, and to its eyelids which open and close for the protection of the organ ; to the ear, which collects the sounds and keeps them separate ; and to the teeth, which in front are fit for cutting and behind for grinding. He discovers everywhere a providence, and believed himself guided, not by a daimon, but by a daimonion, a divine influence. His great disciple, Plato, rose to a grander if not a more important truth, that there is an idea which has been in or before the divine mind from all eternity, which is the pattern after which all natural things in heaven and earth are formed, and to the contemplation of which the soul of man formed in the image of God may rise as its highest exercise. One of the interlocutors asks whether this paradigm is to be seen in the dust of the earth, and Socrates, who is expounding the idea, is not able to answer ; in modern times the scientific man would place the dust under the microscope, and show in it the most beautiful crystalline forms.

But the philosopher who had the most enlarged comprehension of the deep thoughts embodied in the universe was Aristotle, great as a metaphysician, great as a logician, and great as a naturalist. In his usual manner he employs for explanation a very familiar example, that of a statue of Hercules in a temple. To the question, what is the cause of this statue, four answers may be given : as to its matter, it is made of marble ; as to what produces it, it is the workman with his hammer and chisel ; as to its form, it is a representation of Hercules ; as to its end, it is to adorn this temple. So, in regard to every natural object, we may seek and find four kinds of causes—using the phrase cause in a wider sense than we now do : a material cause, the constituents, say elements or atoms ; the efficient cause, the power, divine or creaturely, working in it ; the formal cause, the order manifested in it, as in the plant or animal ; and the final cause, the end which it, say the eye or hand, is meant to serve. We are sure that

Aristotle is right in encouraging us to seek for all these causes or principles in nature, and that they are taking a narrow and unsatisfactory view who are overlooking any one of them. In accounting for all things by atoms, Tyndall has seen only one of them, and that the least elevated—the material cause; and takes no notice, though he knows that they exist, of the forces which make the atoms play; or of the beautiful forms which they assume, and the beneficent purposes which they serve.

The Stoics delighted to dwell on the unity of the universe, and pointed out its perfect harmony. They had an anticipative view of the doctrine that heat will at last absorb all things into itself, out of which a new world will issue. The atomic theory was adopted from Democritus by the Epicureans, and was wrought into a gorgeous form by the Latin poet Lucretius. Neither Democritus nor Epicurus was a professed atheist; on the contrary, both held that the gods made themselves known to man by images or effluxes from heaven. But Lucretius propounds his theory to deliver men from all belief in the gods and superstitious fears, and represents death as the cessation of existence. It is instructive to observe what a run there is in the present day after Lucretius, both by classicists and physicists. He is declared to be the greatest of the Latin poets, and placed above Virgil and Horace. His arguments and his rich descriptions are quoted, and students have to wade through the mantled pool of his erotics to pluck his flowers. It is curious to notice how a philosophy seeks for and creates a poetry suited to it. The philosophy of Epicurus, so prevalent among the Romans, culminated in "*De Rerum Natura*;" it has to be added, in the licentious pictures on the walls of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The philosophy of Locke and Bolingbroke found appropriate verses in Pope. The subjective philosophy of Kant came forth in the grand German poetry of the beginning of this century. The physical philosophy of our day has already got a sensuous poetry in works which will doubtless be followed by others. It is because philosophy calls forth such influences, that it comes to have a sway over national character. We can believe with Montesquieu that the Epicurean philosophy exercised an influence in deteriorating the character of the Romans, in hastening their ripeness into rottenness, and determining their fall—we can understand this when we look into these fragments of obscene Epicurean verses, which have come out of the fires of Pompeii to testify against the inhabitants. We confess that we have fears of the results when the new physics come to crystallize into the creed of the rising generation,

and to lead the literature and inspire the prevailing sentiment of the age.

Dr. Tyndall has no appreciation of the benefit conferred on science by Christianity in introducing new and lofty ideas: in showing that there is only one God, and thus preparing the way for the doctrine that there is a unity in nature; in leading men to expect that there are order and wisdom through all God's works; in making the study of nature a duty we owe to God; and in giving us exalted views of the soul as fashioned after the image of God. He speaks in disparaging language of the scholastic ages, whose function it was to preserve all through the cold winter, those seeds which had been deposited by ancient thought, and which were ready to sprout at the return of spring—he might have spoken with more respect of the medieval ages, had he reflected that in them more new metals were discovered than in all the Greek and Roman times.

It is an interesting circumstance that Bacon retained the four causes of Aristotle, and gave to each of them an important place, allotting material and efficient causes to physics, and formal and final causes to metaphysics, which he places above physics. The grand end of science is to discover, first, axioms, or as we call them, laws of phenomena, and finally causes and forms. Final and formal causes at the top of the pyramid lift us up to God. It has often been said that Bacon set aside final causes. This is an entire mistake. Right or wrong he gave them no place in physics, but he allotted them the main place in metaphysics, the highest office of which is to carry us to the Supreme.

Mr. Darwin represents Prof. Huxley as the philosopher of his school. In following out this idea the professor has of late years taken Descartes under his special protection, though he does not seem capable of understanding, certainly not of appreciating, the deeper tenets of that greatest of French philosophers. The grand merit of Descartes is that he drew the distinction so definitely between matter and mind, between extension and thought, showing that extension had no capacity to produce thinking. Newton, like Bacon, was favorably inclined to the theory of atoms or molecules, but thought it necessary to call in a God to arrange them and make them work harmoniously. His great rival, the highest of all the German philosophers, Leibnitz, in order to account for the operations of nature, felt it necessary to call in not only forces but a pre-established harmony. Two horologes keep the same time, not by influencing each other causally, but because of a set of agencies instituted in each and issuing in the same result. So

through all nature there is, says Leibnitz, a set of agencies which do so work that every one thing operates in harmony with every other. It is here, if we do not mistake, that God finds the means of answering prayer, which Dr. Tyndall boldly says cannot bring a return.

He gives us an imaginary conversation between a disciple of Epicurus and Bishop Butler. Epicurus is fitly represented; but we venture to say that if Butler were alive, he would give a much weightier defence than has been put into his mouth by the President of the British Association. The grand merit of Butler is that he has found in the very constitution of our nature a conscience as a law which asserts of itself that it is supreme in the mind, and subject only to the great Lawgiver to whom it points. In the same century the Scotch philosopher, Reid, demonstrated that there were principles in our nature self-evident and irresistible, from which there is no appeal; and the great German metaphysician, Kant, holds that there are forms of thought which are necessary and universal, and that there is a categorical imperative which guarantees the existence of God the Good. He who holds firmly by these truths may let men employ the atomic theory who please, to account for the constitution of the universe.

Two great scientific truths have been established in this century. One is the doctrine of the conservation of energy, which implies that all the physical forces are correlated, and that the sum of force, potential and actual, in the universe is always one and the same. The men who did most to prepare the way for this doctrine, such as Newton, Davy, Oersted, Herschel, and Faraday, all delighted to see God in his works, and the living philosopher who was the main agent in discovering it, Dr. Mayer, has a mind filled with the presence of God, and looks on force as the expression of the Divine power. The other great doctrine is that of development, acknowledged as having an extent which was not dreamed of till the researches of Darwin were published. How far evolution is to be carried is a disputed point among naturalists. Darwin seems to have a great antipathy to final cause; but he has somehow or other convinced himself that there is a God, and is obliged to call in three or four germs, or at least one germ, created by God. It could easily be shown that the doctrine of development properly understood, and kept within inductive limits, is not inconsistent with final cause; for we may discern a plan and a purpose, means and end, in the way in which plants and animals are evolved, and in the forms they take, which are evidently not by chance—if the word has any

meaning—or by blind atoms, but according to a progression foreseen from the first, and proceeding in a determined order.

Professor Tyndall thinks he can account for every thing by atoms, and he reaches the conclusion that there is nothing but matter.

“Abandoning all disguise, the confession I feel bound to make before you is that I prolong the vision backward across the boundary of the experimental evidence and discover in that matter which we in our ignorance, and notwithstanding our professed reverence for its Creator, have hitherto covered with opprobrium, the promise and potency of every quality of life.” “The doctrine of evolution derives man in his totality from the interaction of organism and environment through countless ages.”

A few years ago Dr. Tyndall seemed to use different language, and allowed freely that we can not see any nexus between cerebral action and thought, or discover why a movement of the brain should lead to mental exercise. But this was never intended to mean much, for Dr. Tyndall would say that just as little do we know *how* oxygen attracts hydrogen. And so he feels himself entitled to hold that matter, though we can not say how, may give us all the operations of understanding and will.

He accounts for every thing in our world by atoms. This leads us to inquire what we really know about these atoms of which so much is made. First we seem to be obliged by a sort of necessity of thought or speech to fall back on some such conception. If every thing we see in the world be composite, and capable of analysis and division, we have to think and talk of something indivisible and undecomposable, which we may call particles, molecules, or atoms. But this necessity in thinking does not imply that there are any such actual existences any more than the corresponding mathematical ideas about points, lines, surface, show that there is such a thing as position without magnitude, or length without breadth, or a surface without depth. For the evidence of the reality of an atom we must appeal not to pure thought, but to observation. But then no one ever saw an atom or handled an atom; the microscope has not yet been constructed which can see it, nor the balance which can weigh it.

What proof have we then of the existence of such indivisibles? The answer, as we understand, is that we require to posit them to account for the nature, the structure, and the operations of material substances. There is first the fact that elementary bodies combine in certain proportions. All, however, that this establishes, as our best chemists acknowledge, is only a doctrine of proportions or equivalents. Dalton and others have tried to account for these proportions by showing that they arise from atoms having specific weights and

shapes. The attempt has not been altogether satisfactory, as in chemical combinations the atom, as determined by the balance, frequently exhibits a wide range of deportment, coming under the head of what chemists call quantivalence or atomicity. Secondly, there are the mathematical figures of crystals which may be supposed to be built up by regular shaped atoms, just as a house is by bricks. Unfortunately, the same substance, sulphur for example, takes allotropic forms which are incompatible, that is, can not proceed from any one simple form of atom. Once more, there is the internal mobility of every material substance, which seems to show the constant action of molecules, or at least of something inconceivably small. Such considerations seem to make it probable that there are very small bodies conducting a great part of the actual operations of nature. But every sage man will admit that what we affirm of atoms is only provisionally true. Science in its present state seems to be waiting for some new Newton, Lavoisier, Dalton, or Mayer to furnish the precise conception and expression for what is loose, floating, and somewhat incongruous. It has to be added that there is an increasing number of savants favorably disposed to the theory of Leibnitz, mathematically expressed by Boscovich, and received though vaguely apprehended by the great experimental philosopher Faraday, that matter consists merely of centres of force acting all around them according to certain laws and producing that resistance which we attribute to extended bodies—the difficulty pressing on this theory is, can it account for the inertia of body? In these circumstances how rash, with our present knowledge, to account for the whole formation and state of the universe by things of which we know so little!

It is admitted that, by the finest instrument, we can discover matter only in a molar state, that is in masses. The smallest possible mass is called a molecule. But we are obliged to *suppose* that this molecule is compound: the molecule of water is composed of oxygen and hydrogen; we can separate the oxygen and the hydrogen—we *suppose*, the atom of hydrogen from the atoms of oxygen. We can not have the atom of either of these elements alone or by itself, we can separate the atom of hydrogen only by its being united with something else. Even when we have pure hydrogen we take for granted that it is composed of molecules having two more atoms of hydrogen combined.

Atoms are the smallest possible portions of matter which can enter into a combination. According to the common apprehension, they are hard, impenetrable bodies with a definite shape, which is unknown.

and a power of action, of polar action. The negative end of the one attracts the positive end of the other. They act on other atoms all through space, according to the mass, and on every one atom according to the square of the distance. This is in accordance with the doctrine which the author of this article has long been maintaining, that all material action consists in the mutual action of two or more bodies on each other, probably in the action on each other of two or more atoms.

By far the clearest and most satisfactory account of molecules which we have seen is in a paper read before the British Association at Bradford in 1873, by Prof. Clerk Maxwell of Aberdeen. The mass, weight, and properties of a molecule are unalterable. Though indestructible, it is not hard or rigid, but is capable of internal movements, and when they are repeated it emits rays. They are flying all through the atmosphere, quicker than a cannon ball, at the rate of about seventeen miles in the minute, and they diffuse throughout nature matter, and momentum, and temperature. We know of three distinguished men who have been trying to discover their size and weight: Loschmidt, Mr. Stoney of Dublin, and Sir William Thomson of Glasgow; and it is calculated that about two millions of molecules of hydrogen in a row would occupy a millimetre; and that in a cubic centimetre of any gas at a standing pressure and temperature, there are about nineteen million million million molecules. A million million million million of them would weigh between four and five grammes. Mr. Maxwell arrives at a much more philosophical conclusion than Dr. Tyndall.

"The exact quality of each molecule to all others of the same kind gives it, as Sir John Herschel has well said, the essential character of a manufactured article, and precludes the idea of its being eternal and self-existent."

He discovers in the very nature and properties of a molecule a proof of design,

"a 'collocation,' to use the expression of Dr. Chalmers, 'of things which we have no difficulty in imagining to have been arranged otherwise.'"

He thus closes.

"Though in the course of ages catastrophes have occurred and may yet occur in the heavens, though ancient systems may be dissolved and new systems evolved out of their ruins, the molecules out of which these systems are built—the foundation-stones of the material universe—remain unbroken and unworn. They continue this day as they were created, perfect in number and measure and weight, and from the ineffaceable characters impressed on them we may learn that those aspirations after accuracy in measurement, truth in statement, and justice in action which we reckon our noblest attri-

butes as men, are ours because they are essential constituents of the image of Him, who, in the beginning created not only the heaven and the earth, but the materials of which heaven and earth consist."

Atoms and molecules are admissible because they so far account for the shapes and activities of molar matter falling under the senses. But they do not explain, and do not even seem to explain the laws and operations of mind, of sensation, judgment, reason—of love, passion, resolution. There is no proof that there is sensation in any one of these atoms, or that sensation will be produced by two or more of them striking against each other. We may be able to account for the shapes of a stone or mountain, of a planet or star, by atomic agglomerations. But can we, with any appearance of plausibility, account in this way for the affection of a mother for her son, of a patriot for his country—of a Christian for his Saviour? Aggregate them as you choose, and let them dance as they will, there does not seem to be any power in them to generate the fancies of Shakespeare—his Hamlet, his Lady Macbeth, his King Lear—the sublimities of Milton, the penetration of Newton, or the moral grandeur of the death of Socrates. We can conceive them to fashion the bodily shape of Prof. Tyndall as he addressed the Belfast audience; but we have some difficulty in conceiving how they should compose the discourse which he delivered—not only the words but the thoughts, the theories, and give rise to the approbations and disapprobations in the minds of his audience. Atoms may come in appropriately enough in the one case; but all except those who have gazed so long on them that they have become magnified beyond their proper bulk, feel that they have no fitting place in the other. What, to employ the very mildest form of rebuke, can be the use of devising hypotheses which have not even the semblance of explaining the phenomena? In the interest of science, not to speak of religion, it is of moment at this present time to lay an arrest on such rash speculations, and to insist on scientific men refraining from what Bacon denounces "anticipations of nature," and confining themselves to facts and the co-ordination of facts. Even in physical nature we may discover great principles overlooked by Tyndall. Let us examine some of these!

Intelligence. Dr. Tyndall refers to some great man not named by him. "Did I not believe," said a great man to me once, "that an Intelligence is at the heart of things, my life on earth would be intolerable." Surely Dr. Tyndall's acquaintanceship must be confined to a very small circle if he has only met with one man uttering such a sentiment. It is the spontaneous feeling of humanity. Anaxagoras only

expressed what all men not led astray by sophistry had felt; and he was farther right when he believed that the presence of Intelligence was quite compatible with the operation of physical agents.

We are not inquiring at present whether pantheism or theism is the right view, whether the intelligence is in nature or beyond nature—this subject will be taken up farther on. We are not inquiring whether there is an inherent life in nature, or whether its activity springs from exquisitely nice adaptations made by a power above them. In either case we are compelled, if we would account for, if we would get a solution, of what is evident, to maintain that there is mind in nature.

Prof. Tyndall gives a clear account of the Lucretian way of accounting for apparent design.

“The interaction of the atoms throughout infinite time rendered all manner of combinations possible. Of these, the fit ones persisted, while the unfit ones disappeared. Not after sage deliberation did the atoms station themselves in their right places, nor did they bargain what motions they should assume. From all eternity they have been driven together, and after trying motions and unions of every kind they fell at length into the arrangements out of which this system of things has been formed.”

Bacon and Newton were favorably inclined toward the atomic theory of matter, but then they thought that blind atoms were as capable of working disorderly as orderly, of producing evil as producing good, and in the order and benevolence in the world they saw proofs of an organizing power.

“Even that school,” says Bacon, “which is most accused of atheism, doth the most demonstrate religion; that is the school of Leucippus and Democritus and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible that four mutable elements and one immutable fifth essence duly and eternally placed need no God; than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal.”

But it is said that the fit survive while the unfit perish. We are inclined to discover an ordinance of intelligence and benevolence in the very circumstance that there is a fitness and that the fit survive. Things might all have been such that there was no fitness in them, and the most unfit might have survived. That things are otherwise we can explain only by supposing that in the original structure of the atoms there was a fitness to produce fit things, and to secure that they should survive. We hold that the forms or potencies, one or both, of atoms must originally have been such as to make them fit for building up the temple. The fit survive because they have the fitness to do so, and are placed in a state of things in which they can survive because of their nature. It is conceivable that things might have

been otherwise, that the atoms might have been such as to be incapable of order, and the unfit have survived to work never-ceasing disorder, and, when sentient beings appeared, to produce only misery. But it is said that in that case the suffering would instantly perish. Yes, as things are now constituted; but things might have been so constituted that the suffering could not perish, that innocent sufferers must suffer forever. All those assumptions about the fittest surviving proceed tacitly on the principle that there is an established fitness in things so to do.

Final cause. On this point Socrates was only expressing what all thinking minds have spontaneously felt from the beginning, that there is evident purpose in the universe, means and end—the means being also ends and the ends means to something farther. Aristotle placed the whole subject in a truly philosophic position, when he showed that we should seek for four kinds of explanatory causes or principles in nature. We may seek for a material and efficient cause: these are the atoms, and the forces—for such there must be—operating in them. But then we may also seek for a formal and final cause: in the atoms being made by their forces to assume the shapes which we see in the plant and in the animal, and to conspire to fashion the ear by which we hear, and the eye by which we see, and the hand by which we grasp. There is no inconsistency, though narrow minds may be led to believe that there is, between these different kinds of causes. The matter of the universe and the powers of the universe are made to combine and conspire to produce these beautiful laws and types, and accomplish these beneficent ends. The discovery of efficient cause does not set aside final cause. The final cause is in many cases more obvious than the efficient. That the coats, humors, shapes, and nerves of the eye were made to combine to form an image on the retina whereby the percipient sees, is a proof of intention, and this whether physiologists are or are not able to discover the processes by which the eye is produced.

It is a characteristic of the whole school of materialists that they speak disparagingly of final cause. And we confess at once that some defenders of natural religion at times speak of God as if he were a mere mechanician—a sort of higher mechanist, or clock-maker. We farther allow that there are minds which dwell only on curious fitnesses and small providences, and in fact discover in nature purposes which God never intended. We, whose range of vision is so limited, should conduct our inquiries into the intents of an omniscient God, with humility and the profoundest reverence. By all means let us notice those

nice adaptations and minute providences everywhere forcing themselves on our attention, but let us so widen our vision as to see that these are fittings of a very large machine or organism in which the ends are means and the means are ends, and in which the particular providences are essential parts of a universal providence which looks to the whole, and makes every part conspire to the good of the whole.

Hugh Miller, in criticising "The Vestiges of Creation," remarks that there is nothing in the doctrine there set forth inconsistent with final cause or the belief in the existence of God, though it seems to be incompatible with the Scripture account of the origin of man. Agassiz and others have shown that there is a plan in the way in which plants and animals have appeared on the earth, and the evidence of this would not be set aside though we should discover that this was produced by natural selection, or some other physical agency. Even though the Darwinian theory should turn out to be true in all its main principles, as it is certainly true in some of its principles, there would still be traces of design everywhere in nature in the manner in which natural agencies have been made to conspire to produce beneficent ends. We are convinced that when the method of God's procedure in producing animated beings is fully unfolded, it will display innumerable traces of the fitness of the time and way in which new species have been introduced, whether by natural or supernatural means. But the advocates of this theory, led by Mr. Darwin himself, have, commonly, been speaking contemptuously of final cause, and been seeking to efface all the inscriptions on nature which seem to read, "I am a creature of God." Yet in spite of their opposition to teleology, these men are coming face to face with striking examples of it. Dr. Tyndall gives us one of these from Mr. Darwin :

"Take the marvelous observation which he cites from Dr. Crüger, where a bucket with an aperture serving as a spout is formed in an orchid. Bees visit the flower ; in eager search after material for their combs they push each other into the bucket, the drenched ones escaping from their involuntary bath by the spout. Here they rub their backs against the viscid stigma of the flower and obtain glue ; then against the pollen masses which are thus stuck to the back of the bee, and carried away."

He then quotes Darwin :

"'When the bee, thus provided, flies to another flower, or to the same flower a second time, and is pushed by its comrades into the bucket, and then crawls out by the passage, the pollen mass upon its back necessarily comes first into contact with the viscid stigma,' which takes up the pollen ; and this is how that orchid is fertilized. Or, take this other case of the *Catasetum*. 'Bees visit these flowers in order to gnaw the labellum ; in doing this they inevitably touch a long, tapering,

sensitive projection. This, when touched, transmits a sensation of vibration to a certain membrane, which is instantly ruptured, setting free a spring, by which the pollen mass is shot forth like an arrow in the right direction, and adheres, by its viscid extremity, to the back of the bee.' In this way the fertilizing pollen is spread abroad."

Tyndall tells us that Darwin's books are a "repository of the most startling facts of this description," as, for instance, his account of the ways in which insects and birds carry the pollen from one plant to another. In due time a Paley will arise to furnish proofs of design from such facts as these. Darwin will supply the facts, and we are just as capable as he of perceiving their meaning. He may reject teleology, but his facts are teleological whether he acknowledges it or no.

Prof. Huxley has a good deal of the Arab in his character, and rather delights to have his hand against every man, except those of his own tribe—but is irritated, we believe, when he finds in consequence, every man's hand against him. His Bedouin attacks show courage and make him a favorite with John Bull, who likes openness of speech. There is also, we suspect, some irony in his nature. He must have been in rather a quizzing humor, when he discussed before a Belfast audience, the Cartesian question, whether the lower animals are mere automata, and urged so many arguments to show that they are, adding that these arguments had not convinced him. Our idea of his secret intention in this lecture is, that he means to drive us to some sort of potential life, or pangenesis in all matter. In conducting this discussion, he furnishes us with a very beautiful instance of adaptation in the animal frame, an adaptation altogether independent of the mind or will of the animal. He takes a frog deprived of senses and of feeling, and he puts it on his hand :

"If you incline your hand, doing it very gently and slowly, so that the frog would naturally tend to slip off, you feel the creature's forepaws getting a little on to the edge of your hand until he can just hold himself there, so that he does not fall ; then if you turn your hand he mounts up with great care and deliberation, putting one leg in front and then another till he balances himself with perfect precision upon the edge of your hand ; then if you turn your hand over, he goes through the opposite set of operations, until he comes to sit with perfect security on the back of your hand. The doing of all this requires a delicacy of co-ordination and an adjustment of the muscular apparatus of the body, which is only comparable to that of a rope dancer among ourselves."

We are glad to have the description of the fact from Mr. Huxley ; and we reckon ourselves quite as entitled to judge of its meaning as he is. But they tell us that we are not to look on this wonderful

adjustment as implying design or a purpose—this is degrading to God as making him a mere artificer, and is a technic, mechanical, anthropomorphic view. Now it is always to be borne in mind, as God is represented as saying: “my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.” The error of anthropomorphism, of which the school have such a horror, does not consist in supposing that God has qualities like those of man. But it consists in holding that God has no other qualities but those which man has; or in maintaining that these exist in God after the same manner as they do in man, or in attributing to the Divine Being the weaknesses of man. We shall have to abnegate our intelligence if we are not allowed to discover an intelligence in nature as we discover intelligence in human workmanship. We are not degrading God when we ascribe to him the wisdom which we see exhibited in a small way by his creatures, provided we make it infinite in extent. We do not impose our qualities on the Divine Being, but we claim to be formed in his image, and to reflect something of the light of his perfections.

Laws and Types. This was the grand truth expounded by Plato under the name of Ideas, and carried out by Aristotle under the designation of Formal Causes. Every one sees it in the seasons and revolutions of the heavenly bodies, in the plant, in the animal, and the human form. All science illustrates it. The laws of physics and chemistry are expressed in numbers implying definite proportions. The guiding principle in botany and zoology is type, that is regulated in structure and model in form. The laws of nature, as they are called, are most of them complex, being the result of arrangements with conspiring agencies; this is the case with the seasons, with the elliptic orbits of the planets, with the cycles of the sidereal movements—all are constructions in which various matters and forces combine and co-operate. Possibly all these constructions may carry us back ultimately to the forms and properties of atoms and their collocations; but in that case there must have been a plan in what has produced such results.

A Universal Harmony. The Pythagoreans sought for a music in all nature. The Stoics maintained that the harmony was perfect, and ascribed it to the *Fatum*, the word or will of Deity. Modern science establishes what was then a mere surmise. Astronomy shows us order and uniformity in the utmost regions of space. Geology exhibits the same laws operating for unnumbered ages. The spectroscope discovers the same elements in the most distant stars as we have on our earth. The doctrine of the conservation of force, lets us see how it

is that our world is so stable, while it points not unobscurely to a time when all things will be burned up.

This harmony appears to the writer of this article to take two forms. First, there is the adaptation of the properties of one body to those of another, whereby they act and react on each other, atom on atom, molecule on molecule, mass on mass, all to produce harmonious results. Secondly, there is the pre-established harmony propounded by Leibnitz, a harmony produced not by one body acting on another, but by the original disposition of agents, whereby results are produced which fit into each other.

Life. The whole school are obliged to confess that they can not explain every thing by atoms or by any machinery at their disposal. They acknowledge that there is no known law of nature which can bring animated beings out of inanimate objects. Dr. Tyndall indeed says :

“Those who have occupied themselves with the beautiful experiments of Plateau will remember that, when two spherules of olive oil, suspended in a mixture of alcohol and water of the same density as the oil, are brought together, they do not immediately unite. Something like a pellicle appears to be formed around the drops, the rupture of which is immediately followed by the coalescence of the globules into one. There are organisms whose vital actions are almost as purely physical as that of these drops of oil.”

True, but these drops of oil are after all physical and not organic. Mr. Darwin, to help him out of his difficulties, is obliged to call in more than natural selection. He holds that there is a pangenesis or panzoism in all animated being. Now what is this but the ‘life’ of the old zoologists whom they so ridicule. It is clear that after they have made atoms perform all sorts of dances there still remains a residuum which atoms can not explain ; and it would be wiser in them before they go on speculating so wildly, to employ years of patient inductive observation and experiment to determine what this, we will not call it life, but pangenesis, is. Mr. Darwin is obliged, to account for life, to call in three or four original germs, or at least one germ created by God. Dr. Tyndall and the younger members of the school are not satisfied with this compromise. “The anthropomorphism which it seemed his object to set aside is as firmly associated with the creation of a few forms as with the creation of a multitude.” Not satisfied with Darwin, he falls back on Spencer. Mr. Spencer has given us one of the weakest and most unsatisfactory definitions of life ever propounded : “it is a continuous adjustment of internal relations to external relations.” Dr. Tyndall says “the organism is played upon by

the environment and is modified to meet the requirements of the environment." The difficulty is dexterously avoided by this loose statement. For the difficulty is to get the organism to act on the environment. It is the action of the organism on the environment, the action of a living body on inanimate matter, that is the thing to be accounted for, and this is carefully avoided.

Mind in Man. It is at this point that the theory is felt to be the weakest; is seen visibly to break down. There is no appearance of plausibility in the statement that atoms can produce sensation, pleasure or pain, sense-perception, memory, judgment, desire, or will. Viewed *a priori* the two ideas seem to be of an entirely different order, extended matter and thought. Experience furnishes no example of mental affection produced by bodily action. They hint indeed, and would like to tell us that thought may have existed in the atoms from the very first, if not actually, at least potentially. And then in carrying out their theory they are obliged to admit that for millions of millions of years, this thought, all along in the atom, did not come forth in any actual thinking. We could believe all this if we had evidence, but even then we would insist that when, at the end of these countless years, thought came into exercise, it must be by some power calling it forth, and this power must itself be a thinking power.

We have not left ourselves time to examine as we could wish Herbert Spencer's resolution, so commended by Tyndall, of the intuitive principles of Reid, and Kant's forms of sense, understanding and reason, into hereditary tendencies, the result of the experience of the race. We can but hint at the answer. We admit the existence of hereditary propensities. These are very much the result of bodily organization, such as the aptitude of dogs to point to game or assist the shepherd in guarding his flock. They are produced by circumstances and are handed down in the brain structure. But these it can be shown are totally different from those fundamental perceptions and laws which are in the very structure of our minds, which enable us to gaze immediately on things and on truth, and carry with them their own validity—as that two and two make four, that every effect has a cause, and that there is an essential distinction between moral good and evil. These perceptions are in all men and in no brutes. In a nascent state they are in infants and savages, and come forth in adults and cultivated minds, but can not be developed in the souls of the lower creatures. They look at truth self-evident and necessary. Herbert Spencer admits, perhaps inconsistently, that there are such in our nature; represents necessity of belief as their characteristic and their

test; and holds resolutely by the principle that the known phenomena involve the great unknown on which he is ever falling back. Mr. Mill accounted for the supposed fundamental law of belief by association of ideas. We are glad to find this theory abandoned as being utterly unfit to explain the nature of truths possessing the consent of all men in all ages. We venture to predict that the boasted discovery of Spencer will not run so long a career as the association theory of Hume and Mill, and that it will be seen in the end to be quite as illusive. The one theory like the other may account for certain accompaniments, but neither can explain the necessary conviction. Spencer's theory confounds two things which ought to be carefully separated:—a propensity or tendency to feel and act in a particular way, produced by circumstances, and capable of becoming hereditary with a principle of reason which has been in man's nature from the beginning and gazes on and guarantees immutable truth.

A personal God. This is the result of the separate truths which have passed before us. The traces of intelligence, of purpose, of order, of harmony, of life, of thought, in man, who is conscious of personality, all carry us up to One who is the cause, and who must himself possess the qualities which he has produced.

Dr. Tyndall does not wish to be called an atheist. In commenting on a resolution passed by the presbytery of Belfast, he declares that he merely ignores the existence of *their* God. But what are the nature and character of the God retained by him? It is a God unknown and unknowable, as Tyndall expresses it, "a power absolutely inscrutable to the intelligence of man." In this style of remark the materialists are led by Herbert Spencer, who took advantage of, and followed out to their consequences, certain rash expressions employed by Sir W. Hamilton and Mansel—the two leading philosophic authorities at the time when this modern Titan was commencing his war against the gods who rule in Olympus. Mr. Spencer condescendingly hands over this unknown land to religion, which however has shown no inclination to part with its rich inheritance in possession, for a title to a property in the *terra incognita*. In that Book from which so many take their religion, God is represented as so far unknown, because we are finite and he is infinite, but also so far known because we are formed in his image. "The heavens declare the glory of God." "The earth is full of his praise." Paul did observe in Athens an altar with an inscription to the unknown God, but he takes advantage of this to say, "Whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you." And he declares that the invisible things of

God are clearly seen, "being understood (*νοούμενα*, the strongest phrase the Greek language can supply) from the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead." The inspired writers everywhere encourage us to seek and to know the Lord. What a miserable prospect, to be obliged to look out forever on this impenetrable darkness, where there may indeed be a power, to which, however, we would feel as little inclination to pray, as to a cold mountain or the hard rock. Surely they are "miserable comforters," who have nothing to say, when they are brought, as they often must be, into the presence of the widow, the fatherless, the motherless, of those suffering from incurable disease, the despairing and the dying, except "there is a mysterious power beyond the visible, but ye need not look to it, for you can not know whether it has any love or pity for you."

The question may be put, and is put, What evidence have we that there is such an unknown power? On their principles we believe they have none. They tell you that there is a necessary conviction which requires a belief in something beyond the visible. But the question arises, May not this necessary belief be accounted for in the way in which Mr. Spencer accounts for other necessary beliefs, by ascribing it to an hereditary feeling, gendered by our ever coming to something unknown? Whatever the fathers of this nescient philosophy may do, from some remaining hereditary feeling handed down from the superstitious age of their ancestors, and not yet obliterated, the children trained by them are marching on in the road which has been opened to them, and affirming that we have no reason whatever for believing in this unknown region, except a subjective feeling which we can account for, and which will disappear in a few generations. This young race of thinkers will farther tell you, and others will agree with them, that this unknowable God is not worth contending for.

In order to furnish some sort of satisfaction to themselves when they feel how little they have left, and not to scare others by the emptiness and loneliness of the prospect, materialists are ever falling back on some *unknown power*. But if they know it to be a *power*, they know something of it, it is not absolutely "inscrutable." We ask them how they know it to be power, and we show them that on the same grounds we may know it to be something more, to be vastly more, to be also, intelligence, wisdom, and goodness. Every one who has thought on the subject perceives how large a portion of our knowledge is obtained by the use of the principle of cause and effect. It is a favorite maxim of Aristotle that we can, properly speaking, be

said to know things only when we know their causes. How do we reach such a common truth as that the persons walking past us on the street are beings possessed of intelligence and feeling? It is evident on the one hand, that we do not by the senses perceive their souls as we perceive their bodies; and on the other hand that we are not immediately conscious of their souls as we are of our own. We are certain that we are surrounded by intelligent men and women, because we see effects which we know from our own experience imply an intelligent cause. It is on a like principle that we argue from the visible effects in the world that there is a power beyond, a power so far known. But by a like process, that is by the argument from effect, we argue that there must be a benevolence beyond, to account for the benevolence we see in nature.

Prof. Tyndall tells us, in a passage of the Preface to his Address, in which he seems to express genuine feeling:

"I have noticed during years of self-observation, that it is not in hours of clearness and vigor that this doctrine (that of material atheism), commends itself to my mind; that in the presence of stronger and healthier thought it ever dissolves and disappears, as offering no solution of the mystery in which we dwell and of which we form a part."

Upon this we have to remark that the younger pupils trained in the school are beginning to say "we need no solution except the solution of hereditary experience"; and some of them will add, "we do not wish to be troubled in our employments and pleasures by any solution drawn from a world of which we have no evidence and which is at best a world of darkness." We are also tempted to say that we doubt whether it is by "self-observation" of feelings which may vary from day to day, and from hour to hour, that we are most likely to get a reasonable and settled conviction. We venture farther to hint that the theoretical opinion which Prof. Tyndall holds, and to which he is seeking to proselytize others, may be fostering these hours of "weakness and doubt" of which he speaks, and hindering those times of "stronger and healthier thought" which would lead him to find a "solution of the mystery of the world in which we dwell," not to be found, he acknowledges, in a material atheism, but surely to be found somewhere.

He believes in a region "outside of science," and admits "the unquenchable claims of the emotional nature." "Physical science can not cover all the demands of man's nature." But is there not a risk of this blank system undermining our grander sentiments by

showing that this region outside of science is a region of darkness? Our feelings, in order to be permanent, and that they may not be killed by the malaria of "weakness and of doubt" must be founded on *conviction*, and on a conviction which can justify itself. He who removes the ground of the conviction is doing as much as within him lies, to undermine and scatter the emotions. Nature can raise within us feelings of awe, sublimity, and love, only so far as it is pervaded by intelligence and goodness. What are these feelings, what their nature and origin, that we cherish them, or allow them to have any influence over us? Are they simply the product of atoms that have fortunately combined in a certain way in a time of "stronger and healthier thought," but may separate in an immediately succeeding hour of "weakness and of doubt?" If they are not, then we have here something which atoms can not explain, and the whole theory is left in ruins. If they are, then the feelings will be cherished only when the atoms happen to meet and form them, and are in themselves no better than no feelings, or feelings of "weakness and of doubt." True, the tendencies gendered by hereditary training, or by the spirit prevailing around, may continue these nobler feelings for a time after the conviction and belief have gone; but it will be only for a time, and they will ere long die down into indifference,—just as the glow of the evening sky fades speedily into darkness, after the sun, whose beams produced it, sinks beneath the horizon. We are convinced that the tendency of this empty theory, and its actual influence, so far as it is adopted by the rising generation, is to uproot those grander sentiments of awe and of love, which are the most interesting, enlivening, and influential elements in our moral and religious nature. Will reverence and confidence, and inspiring hope and fervent affection, continue when men believe only in the interaction of atoms in a closed globe surrounded by darkness which may be felt? But Prof. Tyndall is right when he speaks of "the unquenchable claims of the emotional nature." Our natural and spontaneous feelings will be found stronger in the end than any artificial form of speculative unbelief; and they will burst forth at times like a fountain, in spite of all the efforts to repress them. But they have such power because the waters are deep down in our nature and constitution, and fed by the sky above and the earth around, penetrated by heavenly influences.

THE HEART OF AFRICA. *Three Years' Travels and Adventures in the Unexplored Regions of Central Africa, from 1868 to 1871. By Dr. George Schweinfurth. Translated by Ellen E. Frewer. With an Introduction by Winwood Reade. In Two Volumes. With Maps and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers.*

THIS charming book puts its worst foot foremost. The introduction is provoking by its meagerness, and more so by its inaccuracies. It is unworthy of Mr. Winwood Reade, whose expedition to the Niger proves him better able to imitate a great traveler's exploits than he is to describe or appreciate them. The style of the translation is often careless, and in a few passages very inelegant though it mostly represents well the transparent, lively, and unpretending original. These defects must be noticed before other qualities, if at all, since it is impossible to think of them after taking a step or two with Dr. Schweinfurth as guide. For his work is a model book of travel; full of interest as a personal narrative of adventure in regions as strange as dreamland, yet to the thoughtful reader this interest is subordinated, almost suppressed, by the author's master passion and unremitting struggle to extend the boundaries of knowledge. While Christian philanthropy inspired the first great explorations of Livingstone—while the sportsman's zest for new dangers of the field drove Baker from the jungles of Ceylon to the deserts of Nubia—Schweinfurth, equal to either in singleness of purpose, bends all his energies to the collection of new truths for the stores of science. Mr. Winwood Reade mistakes, when he says of him that he "can claim two qualifications which no African traveler has hitherto possessed. He is a scientific botanist, and also an accomplished draughtsman." Some previous explorers of the Nile were botanists of high rank; some of them could sketch, perhaps, quite as well as Schweinfurth. His superiority lies in this, that he is a man of general scientific culture, trained in the accurate observation of nature. This qualification, the want of which in Dr. Livingstone has been so strongly emphasized by Mr. W. D. Cooley, has not been possessed to the same extent by any other African explorer. To professional students, the book is of course mainly valuable for the sake of the special sciences which the author has been able to enrich with new materials; and in the publications, which he has made since his

return, upon African Geography, Ethnology, Philology, and Botany, in the Berlin "*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*," and other journals of equal standing; and particularly in the great work to which he has now for many months shut himself up in Riga, of arranging and studying his own unparalleled collection of African plants, and the important additions to it which other explorers have sent him. But even to the public at large, Dr. Schweinfurth's scientific culture is of the highest value. No writer better knows than he, how, without repelling by technical language, or assuming special knowledge in the reader, to adorn his page with observations and reflections, such as no common-place traveler could make; and it is impossible to follow his watchful and richly-furnished mind in its wanderings, and doubt that such a guide would fill any journey with absorbing interest, were it along a beaten track, and through the oldest of familiar scenes. For the great gift of science to her disciples is less the mere knowledge of facts than enlarged experience—the sharpening and elevation of the perceptions to discern boundless material for thought in that which the rude mind passes as insignificant.

We must add that Dr. Schweinfurth's narrative is inferior to very few even in the features that attract the most universal interest, in personal adventure calling for all forms of manliness, in scenes of danger and trouble, and in surprising discoveries. If any fault could be found with the thrilling and faithful narratives of Sir Samuel Baker, it is that circumstances compelled the writer to be his own hero, and that neither author nor reader can escape from the consciousness of this. It would be unjust to say that Baker ever transgresses the limits of good taste, but Schweinfurth never approaches them. In this respect his story recalls the imperishable records of travel given us by Darwin in his "*Voyage of the Beagle*," and by Wallace in his "*Malay Archipelago*"; writers as impersonal in their observations of fact as Humboldt or Thucydides, who yet, as if in spite of themselves, win every reader to a deep human sympathy with their own experiences. Surely perfect modesty is no other than the disciplined love of truth, the highest charm which culture can bestow on character.

Many substantial additions to knowledge were secured by Dr. Schweinfurth's three years in the heart of Africa, of the nature of which we can here give but the most general indications. The great problem of the Nile sources, the favorite theme of geographical speculation from the times of Herodotus, Aristotle, and Ptolemy until now, is not yet fully solved, but the volumes before us contribute much to

explain and limit the progress made in late years toward its solution, mainly by the labors of Speke, Grant, Baker, and Livingstone. Since the discovery of the Nyanza Lakes, it has been generally assumed that the vast reservoir of the Albert Nyanza must drain a large extent of country lying west and south of it; and Baker, who from its eastern shore discerned cataracts plunging from the face of lofty cliffs opposite, could not doubt that its watershed, the backbone of Africa, lay far beyond them. But Schweinfurth, the first white man to reach the region west of the lakes, found there, as he half expected to find, upon the strength of native rumors reported by Heuglin and Parcet, a large river running westward, which information from various sources compels him to regard as the upper waters of the Shary, the noble stream which, after a long curve to the west, through the very region to which many geographers were looking for the Nile fountains, flows northward into Lake Tchad. This important discovery, together with Livingstone and Stanley's assurance that Lake Tanganyika has no northern outlet, renders it improbable that the basin of the Albert Nyanza extends far to the southwest, so as to receive, for instance, the waters of the Lualaba, as indicated upon several provisional maps of Central Africa, published since Stanley's return. The most probable hypothesis now seems to be that the basin in question is closely shut in upon the west and south; and that the Nyanza Lakes are mainly supplied by the rainy season in highlands east and southeast of them, as the Blue Nile is from those of Abyssinia. The White Nile, indeed, is as nearly uniform in volume as the Mississippi, while the Blue Nile is the most variable stream in the world; but this may be fairly explained by the vast lakes which store up for the former the rains of a season, and pour them out continuously through a narrow channel, while, for want of such reservoirs, the Blue Nile carries with it every variation of its supply nearly two thousand miles to the sea.

Of a higher, and, for the present, a more determinate value, are Dr. Schweinfurth's observations upon two singular tribes of natives, the Monbottoo and the Akka, or "Pygmies." It would have been a memorable event, had he merely discovered the existence of these races; the one, a brown people in the midst of blacks, who have made attainments in some of the arts of life, and especially in working iron, seemingly unparalleled among savages; of whom the men are "scrupulously and fully clothed" while the women go naked; who have built a royal palace containing a hall which would be regarded in London or New York as extraordinary, alike in its dimensions and

in the lightness and strength of its architecture, yet who are one and all the most habitual, unblushing cannibals now known among men; —the other, a people shorter by a foot than the average of humanity, and with strangely beautiful hands; noted for nimbleness and valor, for cunning and cruelty; a race doubtless akin to the Bushmen of South Africa, and to Du Chaillu's Obongos, and forming with these "the scattered remains of an aboriginal population now becoming extinct." But Dr. Schweinfurth has done much more: he made his home for a number of weeks among the Monbottoo, carefully studying their peculiarities of structure, mind, and habits of life; and although his opportunities to observe the Akka were prematurely cut short, his account gives a clearer view of their nature than the ordinary tourist would readily acquire of the nations nearest of kin to ourselves. The single pygmy whom the traveler succeeded in bringing away, died on the journey to Europe; but two of the Akka have more recently been sent by the Italian traveler Miani, who died in Central Africa, as a present to King Victor Emanuel, and are now the study of ethnologists and the wonder of the populace at Rome. These, at the respective ages of eleven and sixteen are, the one three feet nine inches, the other four feet three inches in height. Dr. Schweinfurth's "Nsewne," who had attained his full growth, measured four feet seven inches. It may surprise some readers that an observer so exact in his scientific method should seek to connect recent discoveries with the obstinate traditions, or rather myths, of antiquity, and deem it important to call attention to the pygmy tribes, which, in the period before all human knowledge, fought with the cranes that frequented the great lakes of the upper Nile. But Dr. Schweinfurth is himself the first to deprive his own reference of significance; for he says: "These dwarf races differ in hardly any thing from the surrounding nations, except in size. It would be an utter mistake to call them dwarfs, either in the sense of the ancient myths, or in that of *lusus naturæ*." He evidently regards them as a declining variety of man, the physical growth of whose ancestors was at some remote period stunted by causes which are still as obscure to us as those of the negro's blackness or of the American Indian's high cheek-bones.

By profession a botanist, Dr. Schweinfurth has brought back the materials for a far more accurate study of the Flora of Central Africa than has ever yet been attempted; and this in spite of a fire which destroyed his journals and many of his collections, when he was nearly ready to return. It is in the Munich "Jahresbericht der Geographischen Gesellschaft" that he has begun to publish the results of this

study, and to similar communications special students must look for his conclusions. In the narrative before us, however, though addressing the general reader, he does so with a fullness of intelligence, of zeal for his own branch of science, and of keen and accurate observation in all that belongs to the vegetable kingdom, which express the accomplished botanist, and which none can read without feeling the powerful attractions of the science. No other popular book of travels describes to us so picturesquely the general aspects of nature in forest and field; or so distinctly points out to us the new wonders offered to the discerning eye by vegetation in a strange land. We come to acacia-groves a hundred miles square:

"From the larvæ of insects which have worked a way to the inside, their ivory-white shoots are often distorted in form and swollen out at their base with globular bladders about an inch in diameter. After the mysterious insect has unaccountably managed to glide out of its circular hole, this thorn-like shoot becomes a sort of musical instrument, upon which the wind as it plays produces the regular sound of a flute." (I., 97, 98.)

Hence Dr. Schweinfurth names this new species the *acacia fistula*. What follows is still more strange:

"The peculiarities which affect the growth of the acacia appear to be transmitted to a very remarkable extent. On a former journey I took some seeds to Cairo, which already had produced some trees of a very considerable size. These trees exhibited the special appearances of the parents: below the prickles were the same excrescences and insect borings; not only was this the case in the Park of Esbekieh in Cairo, but it also occurred in several other situations; which left the problem to be solved, how was it that the insect survived in the seed, or how did it contrive to get to its tree in Cairo?" (I., 98, 99.)

We pass through regions producing "a long list of plants which elsewhere are either red or blue, but here are invariably white" (I., 229); a fact which the traveler records, but which the botanist can not explain. Here is a climbing passion-flower, whose bright green leaves draw blisters, on which animals will browse, though it kills them, and which makes it impossible to introduce the camel into the land. Its stem is half underground, and throws up "a strange protuberance some cubic feet in contents, from whose end a number of long climbing stalks shoot upward." (I., 135.)

Such notices might be extracted in great numbers, but they must be read in connection with the narrative, in order to enter into the scientific enthusiasm of the author. It is while studying such types and their distribution that Dr. Schweinfurth writes:

"Already have I expressed my happiness at having thus reached the object of my cherished hopes—my satisfaction at thus finding life to be with me an idyl of

African nature. My health was unimpaired, and never before had I been less hindered in prosecuting my pursuits. I felt alone in the temple of creation. The people around me were somewhat embarrassing. Their wickedness, with its attendant impurity, stood out in sad contrast to the purity of nature; but it did not much disturb the inner repose of this still life. In sickness every thing is sad, and the craving for home is not to be suppressed; but whoever, in the robustness of health, can imbibe the fresh animation of the wilderness, will find that it stamps something of its unchanging verdure upon his memory; his imagination will elevate it to a paradise, and the days spent there will enroll themselves among the very happiest of his life." (I., 224.)

Some light is thrown on the serene temper and keen delight in nature shown in this passage, as well as on our traveler's moral ascendancy among the degraded men to whom he refers, by a passage in a paper contributed by him to a learned journal soon after his return, but which he has modestly excluded from these volumes:

"The vile custom of many Europeans to purchase female slaves, or to cultivate intimacies with the native women, was steadily avoided by me, and my moral purity contributed vastly to convince the Nubians that I was a superior being." (Petermann, *Mittheilungen*, 1871, p. 39.)

THE ENGLISH IN IRELAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. *By James Anthony Froude. Three Volumes. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.*

ENGLISH historic writing has seen strange changes since the day when we read Hume and Smollett with unquestioning faith. Cromwell is no longer a blood-thirsty rebel; Henry the VIII. is the model of a robust, hearty Englishman; Elizabeth, a weak coquette, and we can shed no more sentimental tears for Mary of Scots. We are indebted to Mr. Froude for much of this "disillusion;" and although some call his history romance, we are confident that his criticisms will in the main be confirmed. Perhaps the history of Ireland would seem too purely insular to call out the genius of such a writer; yet he has been able to make it one of the most absorbing of narratives, and indeed to mingle his colors so richly that we seem to be reading of no remote island, but the story of the Reformation, the strife of the great powers in Europe, and even a large chapter in our American revolution. His best powers and his faults are visible in this book. We can not conceal certain defects, which belong to his whole school. He has at times a surplus of philosophic theory, and aims rather to prove a foregone conclusion in political ethics than to give impartial fact; he deals too largely in smart epigram, and even in sensational sketching, better suited to

"Blackwood" than the dignity of history. The preliminary chapter is an instance where Shakespeare's portrait of Welchman, Scot, and Irishman is introduced in a full art-criticism by way of preface. But with all this, his range and method of marshaling all his material are wonderful; his style most vivid, and one of his marked powers is such interweaving of the documentary and literary remains of the time as to make us feel that we are reading a page of contemporary life.

We can give only a rapid review of the work. All who have read his volumes on Henry and Elizabeth, know the views of Irish history of which this is the continuation. It has been called an arrogant abuse of Ireland. We can not indeed accept his whole judgment of the national character, nor do we love the tone of political Cæsarism with which he settles the fate of the Celtic race as the predestined prey of the British lion. Yet if he has a scorn of some Irish traits, he is as honest in his exposure of the stupidities of his own countrymen; and certainly no book has appeared which has lashed both sides more unsparingly. In the main his position is doubtless true, that the little island must have become part of one empire; but while Wales and Scotland were absorbed at last, it was the fate of Ireland to be the victim of the most vacillating policy. No history is more astounding than this of two hundred years of blundering injustice. No sketch of the darkest time of feudalism, or of colonial wars with the savage, is fuller of horrors, of smugglers, riots, massacres; and all this in the eighteenth century, while a few miles apart was a peaceful civilization. The history begins with a masterly sketch of events from the Norman Conquest, and the riveting of the Papacy on free Ireland by the second Henry. That is a strange fact, and not to be forgotten. The famous Poyning's Act, as early as Henry VII., establishes the line of policy, to which England adhered with such fatal obstinacy, of an Irish parliament, yet bound by the law of the conquering country. It was hence all political discord grew. Ireland was an independent kingdom in name, without its rights; always grasping at dreams of nationality, never gaining them; yet never becoming English. England was always ruling as if over a conquered race; sometimes cruel, sometimes compromising; calling this a united country, yet jealous of its commercial and manufacturing privileges. The same inherent contradiction was carried out in the Church policy. An English Establishment was fastened, at the Reformation, on the island, national at home, but here the mother of discords; hated alike by the Protestant of Ulster and the Papist.

Each succeeding time repeats the same errors. The first tragedy of the rival religions, the massacre of 1601, when 37,000, at the lowest reckoning, are killed in two months, ends in the death of half a million at the close. The short, stern episode of Cromwell's conquest follows. We can not accept Mr. Froude's view of it, as the model of civil or religious policy; yet it is plain that its great features, abolition of a phantom Parliament, just punishment of crimes without respect of parties, and wise fostering of native commerce, were worthy of the statesmanship of the Protector, and far to be preferred, with all their accompanying sternness, to the weak measures of other reigns. With the Restoration, the shifting diplomacy of the past begins anew. The hybrid constitution is restored, and its fruit with James is the rise of the Jacobite league, in which Ireland becomes the nest of rebellion. Again it is subdued; but in spite of William's liberal design, all goes in the old routine. The Irish woolen trade is heavily taxed, native labor discouraged, and absenteeism becomes a growing evil. The Catholic is deprived of power, yet his intrigues are winked at; the Establishment sternly represses all other Protestants, and makes them its worst enemies. Now follows what is styled the Penal Era, when England rules with a heavy hand. Sydney's toleration bill is rejected by the prelates in 1692, yet the established church does nothing to show its national character. We hear in 1728 of only 600 clergy, and of Dean Richards, with fourteen parishes, "asking for more." Pluralities are the common evil, but dissenters are not allowed more than the bare right of religious meeting, and even their marriages by Protestant ministers are illegal. This is the Christian side of the history. Legislation runs in the same groove. Nothing is done to foster native industry; 20,000 laborers emigrate from Ulster to America; smugglers are found in every port. Landlords desert their estates, and the taxation falls on the poor cottier. The corruption of state management can not be better told than in the disgraceful history of the Pension list. Great men arise, like Swift, but they can not cure these evils; and even Swift, although a keen-eyed patriot in matters of trade, is a fierce bigot for the Establishment. With George III. an honest effort is made for reform, but it is too late. Even a Pitt can not stay the results of the past; and so we stumble through dreary Irish bogs of statecraft, compromise, riot, anarchy, until all ends in the great effort for independence. The long period is sketched with brilliancy, and the men who led it are brought before us in their heroism or their folly, from Grattan to Napper Tandy. Our readers will find

an episode in the American revolution, which shows Mr. Froude's noble love of liberty. But we do not think that he has done justice to the character of Grattan, or the movement which he guided. It was not strange that even such a genius should waste itself in volcanic passion, when it could only wring from England a tardy justice, too long withheld to save his country. Ireland gained a seeming independence, but it had not the education needed to keep it; and after another rebellion, which sacrificed its warm-hearted but visionary patriots like Emmet, the eighteenth century closes with no better solution of the political puzzle than the age before.

It is, we confess, with almost a sense of despair we review such a history. We have the warmest sympathy with the efforts of a generous statesmanship in our own time; and if we were never before convinced that disestablishment was an act of the barest justice, we should surely be after the revelation of Mr. Froude. But it may well stagger wiser men than Gladstone to know whether that or any measure can avail to-day. Whatever the future of Ireland, however, this book will give us a better knowledge of its strange and sad destiny. We may talk as we please about the Celtic race, but none can read this work of an author as intensely Saxon as he can be, yet too honest to hide the truth, without feeling that it was not the native character, not even chiefly a Romish religion, but a long misrule, that has ruined a brave and noble people. No nation, Saxon or Celt, could have escaped their doom. The whole history is summed in the saying of the Irish orator: "The sowing of the dragon's teeth has brought the harvest of armed men." It may be well to heed the lesson. It may be well to-day for English statesmen to try the novel experiment of justice long enough to know, whether it be not, on the whole, better than church-sinecures, commercial jealousy, absenteeism, and mounted regiments, to make a united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

THE EARTH AS MODIFIED BY HUMAN ACTION. *A New Edition of Man and Nature.* By George P. Marsh. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

THE volume before us is an edition, under a new title, and with a wealth of fresh illustration afforded by the progress of physical science during the past twelve years, of the work of Mr. Marsh published in 1863. Meanwhile an edition has been issued in Italian, at Florence (1870). The change of title in the present issue must be

regarded as wholly fortunate. "Man and Nature" might mean many things which were not intended to be embraced within the scope of Mr. Marsh's work. It would, perhaps, from the order of the subjects named, be more likely to suggest the influence of nature upon man, than the power of man over nature. The title as it stands is thoroughly descriptive. Man can work deep and permanent change in nature, in many of those of her features which most concern him. He can not, indeed, affect the relations of the earth as a whole, to the central source of light and heat. Equator and ecliptic are fixed beyond the reach of his power. He can not alter the substantial shape of the earth, nor make its axes equal, were he to labor all the ages through, to that one end. He can not level the mountains, nor fill up the seas, nor essentially change the structure of the least of the continents. His efficiency is confined to the immediate surface of the globe he inhabits. He may, indeed, sink shafts two thousand feet, and bring up water and coal and oil from the very "bowels of the earth"; he may tunnel the mountain, and pass through from kingdom to kingdom with his "chariots and horses" of iron; but the primary condition of such operations is that they be confined to the narrowest areas. The hand will cover the mouth of the artesian well; the miner leaps across the yawning pit; the tunnel is so narrow that the opening which glows with the light of day, dwindles to a point and disappears, and darkness comes down upon the traveler when he has passed but a little way on his journey.

The power of man to deal at all broadly with nature, is restricted to a few feet depth. But within that space, what prodigious effects may he not work? We speak not of the "perpetual miracle" of growing crops, where, for all the miracles, man has every year to start again on the same course of toil, from the same beginning; nor of the results of his labor in direct contravention of the provisions of nature, as where vineyards are built out from the solid ledge, with earth brought in baskets up the mountain side; but of effects, vast and durable, wrought by man standing close at the springs of nature's various agencies, and with an expenditure of force more or less considerable, diverting and directing those agencies to his own purposes.

He may not only reclaim from ocean the very ground on which he builds his habitation; but, without sinking a spade in the soil or importing the least foreign material by the labor of his own hands, or even dropping a seed, he may cover with vegetation a desert of drifting sands. Without transporting one basketful of earth, he may clothe the rocky skeleton of the mountain with blooming life. By

nothing more than protecting nature from abuse, he may transform vast tracts of pasty soil, unsuited for human residence, and scarcely more cultivable than the waves of the sea, into fertile gardens; he may restore the torrent-swept ravine—fittest earthly type of hell, to whose dreary and forbidding aspect the pencil of Doré would not add one feature of horror—to vernal life and beauty.

Such wonders can man work. Nor does he effect these changes only as he confines his care and concentrates his energy within narrow limits.

“Soils to which no nutritious vegetable was indigenous, countries which once brought forth but the fewest products suited for the sustenance and comfort of man—while the severity of their climate created and stimulated the greatest number and the most imperious urgency of physical wants—surfaces the most rugged and intractable, and least blessed with natural facilities of communication, have been brought in modern times to yield and distribute all that supplies the material necessities, all that contributes to the sensuous enjoyments and conveniences of civilized life. The Scythia, the Thule, Britain, the Germany, and the Gaul, which the Roman writers describe in such forbidding terms, have been brought almost to rival the native luxuriance and easily won plenty of Southern Italy; and while the fountains of oil and wine that refreshed old Greece and Syria and Northern Africa have almost ceased to flow, and the soils of those fair lands are turned to thirsty and inhospitable deserts, the hyperborean regions of Europe have learned to conquer, or rather compensate, the rigors of climate, and have attained to a material wealth and variety of product that, with all their natural advantages, the granaries of the ancient world can hardly be said to have enjoyed.” (p. 11.)

But great as is man's power in directing the forces of nature to beneficence and blessing, his natural responsibility for the use of that power is one from which he can not escape. As he may turn the desert into a garden, so he may, by abuse of nature—an abuse that at the best brings him little enjoyment, an abuse that may be wholly a wanton wastefulness—he may curse earth's richest soils with barrenness.

“The fairest and fruitfulest provinces of the Roman Empire, precisely that portion of terrestrial surface, in short, which, about the commencement of the Christian Era, was endowed with the greatest superiority of soil, climate, and position, which had been carried to the highest pitch of physical improvement, and which thus combined the natural and artificial conditions best fitted it for the habitation and enjoyment of a dense and highly refined and cultivated population, are now completely exhausted of their fertility, or so diminished in productiveness as, with the exception of a few favored oases that have escaped the general ruin, to be no longer capable of affording sustenance to civilized man. If, to this realm of desolation we add the now wasted and solitary soils of Persia and the remoter East, that once fed their millions with milk and honey, we shall see that a territory larger than all Europe, the abundance of which sustained, in by-gone centuries, a population scarcely inferior to that of the whole Christian world at the present day, has been entirely withdrawn

from human use, or at best, is thinly inhabited by tribes too few in numbers, too poor in superfluous products, and too little advanced in culture and the social arts, to contribute any thing to the general moral or material interests of the great commonwealth of man." (pp. 4, 5).

Not all of this has been accomplished by the heedless or ignorant meddling of man, destroying that equilibrium which nature established through the proportions and relative positions of land and water, the atmospheric precipitation and evaporation, the thermometric mean, and the distribution of vegetable and animal life. Something, much, of this blighting has come from wanton destruction, in which the evil passions of man have been enlisted to furious fanaticism, in dealing devastation all around, on things animate and inanimate alike. But the blows thus given have wounded only the smaller veins that lay beneath the surface. It was by the indirect agency of man that the deeper wounds were given by which the arteries of nature's life-giving circulation were severed, till province after province now lies exhausted of all beneficial property, and, for all the purposes of man, dead; deserts, where once were all the gardens of Europe and Asia.

"Vast forests have disappeared from mountain spurs and ridges; the vegetable earth accumulated beneath the trees by the decay of leaves and fallen trunks, the soil of the Alpine pastures which skirted and indented the woods, and the mold of the upland fields, are washed away; meadows, once fertilized by irrigation, are waste and unproductive, because the cisterns and reservoirs that supplied the ancient canals are broken, or the springs that fed them dried up; rivers famous in history and song, have shrunk to humble brooklets; the willows that ornamented and protected the banks of the lesser water-courses are gone, and the rivulets have ceased to exist as perennial currents, because the little water that finds its way into their old channels is evaporated by the droughts of summer, or absorbed by the parched earth before it reaches the lowlands; the beds of the brooks have widened into broad expanses of pebbles and gravel, over which, though in the hot season passed dry-shod, in winter, sea-like torrents thunder; the entrances of navigable streams are obstructed by sand-bars; and harbors, once marts of an extensive commerce, are shoaled by the deposits of the rivers at whose mouths they lie; the elevation of the beds of estuaries, and the consequently diminished velocity and increased lateral spread of the streams which flow into them, have converted thousands of leagues of shallow sea and fertile lowland into unproductive and miasmatic morasses." (pp. 3-4).

It is especially in view of possibilities like these that Mr. Marsh's book was written, its avowed object being,

"To indicate the character and, approximately, the extent of the changes produced by human action in the physical conditions of the globe we inhabit; to point out the dangers of imprudence and the necessity of caution in all operations, which, on a large scale, interfere with the spontaneous arrangements of the organic or the inorganic

world ; to suggest the possibility and the importance of the restoration of disturbed harmonies and the material improvement of waste and exhausted regions." (Preface.)

While Mr. Marsh's work is, thus, not a new one, it comes almost as new to the American public, so great has been the interest developed, since the date of its first appearance, in the physical inquiries to which it relates. Twelve years ago, the matters of which Mr. Marsh treats were only of curious interest to us. Our woods: Were they not exhaustless? Irrigation: What need had we to bring lands under cultivation by artificial and expensive agencies, when the unsurveyed public domain amounted to fifteen hundred million of acres, vaguely assumed by the public and the press to be all of the same exuberant fertility with the prairies of Illinois and Iowa?

Within the period now closing, we have been brought very sharply to a realizing sense of our natural limitations. "The axe of the pioneer" has ceased to be the emblem of our civilization. We have seen the rapid extension of railways stripping the eastern half of the continent of its tree-covering, at a rate which strikes even the vulgar mind with apprehension, and which, to the student of physical geography, threatens vast mischief to the national aspirations. We have come to see that, as Mr. Marsh says, "We are even now breaking up the floor, and wainscoting, and doors, and window-frames of our dwelling, for fuel to warm our bodies and seethe our pottage" (p. 54). From scientific associations, and from "Granger" halls alike, goes up the warning cry, and already the questions of forestry in the east have nearly attained the rank of a political issue.

But sharper still, and more impressive, has been the correction administered to our national conceit by the experience of the last twelve years in the settlement of that mighty West, toward which the star of empire was believed to be moving in a steady and unfaltering course. We have seen population labor painfully up the incline from the Missouri westward, and we have come to expect a far different rate of progress after passing the line of two thousand feet. And as the trans-continental railways have extended their surveys across those vast elevated plains, and through the passes of the mountains, and as the irrepressible "prospector" has gone over hill and through canon with eyes ever open for wood, for water, and for gold, we have learned, not without dismay, that the unoccupied public domain is very far from being all of the same high quality as the valley of the Genesee, which allured the early emigrants from New England, or the valleys of the Wabash, the Illinois, and the Des Moines, which called from the Eastern and Middle States their

swarms of hardy pioneers; or even as the valleys of the Kansas, the Neosho, and the Nemaha, which received the semi-political immigration of 1855-6. Stories of barren plains hundreds of miles in extent, of lava-overflow, sterile and forbidding, of regions swept by tornadoes and devastated by winter torrents, of tracts, each large enough to form an Eastern State, in which naught but sage-brush or chaparral grows, and where the aspect of nature is wilder than that of the Scottish Highlands — accounts like these have now become familiar to our people. We no longer look to "the West" as an exhaustless resource. We no longer feel our former assurance of a population rapidly increasing, only to occupy more and more desirable soils. Already the really available lands remaining to the government, after completing the endowment of canals and wagon-roads, railways, common schools, and agricultural colleges, are computed by millions of acres, and not by hundreds of millions. Already States are appearing in Congress with appeals for the inauguration of schemes of irrigation on the scale of those of Italy, and even of India. Already we are learning, even at the East, to attribute most unwelcome changes of temperature and humidity to our reckless disturbance of the equilibrium of nature. In such a time, and among a people thus aroused by the necessity of husbanding resources till lately believed to be exhaustless, and of protecting their heritage from abuse and waste, a treatise so able and learned, so clear and truly popular as this of our minister at Rome, can not fail to command wide attention; and to prove of value, not more from the information it conveys, than from its influence in suggesting and guiding inquiry.

ANALYTICAL MECHANICS. *Ninth Edition, Revised and Corrected.*
By W. H. C. Bartlett, Late Professor in the U. S. Military
Academy, at West Point. A. S. Barnes & Co.

THIS new and improved edition of a book, which has long held its place as a standard treatise of the highest authority in the scientific instruction of our country, merits special attention to some of its peculiar features.

In the first edition, published some twenty years ago, the learned author not only announced that "the whole doctrine of Mechanics" may be embodied in, and deduced from, one single mathematical formula, but he actually performed the laborious task thus indicated, by first demonstrating that formula and then deducing from it, algebraically, all the well known and established principles of mechanics.

Four years afterwards, in the second edition, he extended the same formula to the mechanics of molecules, embracing the true theory of acoustics and physical optics.

The book has been highly valued by many of our ablest scientific instructors, and has remained steadily in use at the U. S. Military Academy, even since the resignation of its author; but in none of the former editions was it as fully stated and shown, as is now done in the ninth edition, that the fundamental formula is only the algebraic expression of what is now generally called the law of the *Conservation of Energy*.

Thus that great law expressed in exact algebraic form, and not merely enunciated in ordinary words, was not only used by Prof. Bartlett in the instruction of his classes at the Military Academy, but was also published and demonstrated by him to be, what it is now generally considered, the great fundamental law of action in physical phenomena.

Content thus to have anticipated others in the comprehensive mathematical perception and use of a great truth, no attempt was made by him to popularize it, or to change the nomenclature of mechanical science. During the twenty years which have since elapsed, such changes have, however, been made by others, some of which, rapidly becoming familiar to scientific readers, it has been thought well to adopt. Thus, for example, *kinetic energy* is substituted for *vis viva*, or *living force*.

Much has been printed of late years to popularize a knowledge of the Law of Energy, and it has also been the theme upon which eloquent lecturers have delighted to discourse, proclaiming it the great discovery of the age.

We have no wish to detract from the merit of the popularizers of science; nor do we even claim for Prof. Bartlett, that to him alone is the world indebted for the mathematical discussion of the Law of Energy. But we do believe him to have been the first who, in a complete treatise, mathematically deduced from that law the whole doctrine of mechanics, and his book to be still the only one in which that is done.

It is, therefore, with entire confidence that this excellent treatise will long continue to hold its high place in the use and estimation of those best qualified to judge, that we now commend it to them. And we also take pleasure in inviting their attention to the new matter added in this ninth edition for the purpose of making it an exposition of the most recent, as well as of the most important improvements which have taken place in this branch of exact science.

A HISTORY OF NORTH AMERICAN BIRDS. *By Spencer F. Baird, Thomas M. Brewer, and Robert Ridgway. In Three Volumes. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.*

IT is an undeniable fact that, at the present time, no other branch of natural history so widely occupies the popular mind, or awakens so large a degree of interest, as ornithology. It is a favorite study with old and young; and one may well rejoice because it is so.

The literature of North American birds has been hitherto—comparatively speaking—vast in quantity and meager in quality; and of the number of authors, not more than a half-dozen have been thought worthy to rank as authorities. At least three very notable exceptions to this apparently sweeping assertion, have lived and labored and won renown, since the opening of the century. Up to the time of the appearance of Mr. Audubon's work, Mr. Alexander Wilson's volumes on American ornithology furnished the only systematic treatises. In the year 1827, the first volume of Audubon's great work appeared, and the last in 1839. Subsequently, a new completed edition was published in 1844. Meanwhile, in 1832 and 1840, Mr. Nuttall had published additions of his "Manual of the Ornithology of the United States and Canada."

Each of the foregoing works marked, in varying degrees, an advance in the history of the science; and since then, "no work relating to American ornithology, of a biographical nature, has been presented to the public, with the exception of some, of limited extent, such as those of Giraud, on the Birds of Long Island, in 1844; De Kay's Birds of New York, 1844; Samuel's Ornithology and Oölogy of New England, 1868, and a few others." Mention ought to be made, also, of Prof. Baird's work on American Birds, which was published as the ninth volume of the Pacific Railroad Series, and which, though exceedingly technical in its descriptions, possesses an acknowledged worth and importance to special students; and, also, of Dr. Cone's book, "A Key to North American Birds," which appeared in 1872. It will thus be seen that, with the exception of the last-named work, nearly fifteen years have elapsed since the publication of any extended account of American ornithology; and nearly a third of a century since the appearance of any systematic and biographical account.

In the work now before us, and of which three volumes have appeared—the fourth, on the Water Birds, being announced for next year—we recognize an achievement founded upon stupendous

energy, scholarship, and research. By comparing this latest treatise with others which have preceded it, we may readily discover how much a new work of the kind was needed. During recent years, our knowledge of the western portion of the continent has steadily increased; and the disclosures of the regions which lie between the Missouri plains and the Pacific Ocean, also those of Alaska and of Northwestern America, point out very strikingly the inaccuracies of Audubon and Nuttall, together with their inadequacy to furnish a satisfactory account of the subject.

The authors of the present work have enjoyed unusual opportunities to perfect it. The unrivaled collections of the Smithsonian Institution, which have been brought together by the labors and research of a long series of years, and which have been largely increased by the Pacific Railroad explorations, have been carefully consulted and compared; while the voluminous manuscript records of the Institution, prepared by various hands, have also been examined and brought into use.

The object of the new History of North American Birds may be briefly stated in its own words: "To give, in as concise a form as possible, an account of what is known of the birds, not only of the United States, but of the whole region of North America north of the boundary line of Mexico, including *Greenland on the one side, and Alaska with its islands on the other.*" It will thus be seen that the geographical scope of the work affords one of its most important features. For a long time past, the fauna of Greenland has been, strangely enough, neglected. Our own writers were excluded from treating the subject, solely on account of the lack of sufficient material; and, on the other hand, European writers, though possessing far better facilities, did not care to treat it, because they were much in doubt as to whether Greenland belonged to their field, or to somebody else! That the island belongs to North America zoologically, as well as geologically, there is, now, not the slightest question.

Inasmuch as the preparation of the work has been shared by three gentlemen, each of whom is to be held alone responsible for his own portion, perhaps some general and distinguishing account ought to be given of the labors of the individual writers. The arrangement of the matter is such that it is very easy to trace these individual labors; and, at the same time, there are such perfect unity and harmony, such closely allied features of excellence, and so thorough a mutual understanding of what is required and of what is not, evinced throughout the volumes, that one is amazed, not so

much by the profundity of the work, as by the learned efficiency and self-adjustment of the authors.

Prof. Baird and Mr. Ridgway are solely responsible for the technicalities of the work, which include the descriptions of the families, genera, and species, and also, the analytical and synoptical tables. Prof. Baird's former publications have, in a very large measure, formed the basis of these descriptions: but the material has been carefully reworked, and many additions have been made, especially by the junior editor, and information enlarged down to the latest date. The manner in which this subject matter has been treated, is highly creditable to the authors. Never before, at least in America, have the topics been dealt with so exhaustively, and with such remarkable clearness, accuracy, and force. Nothing important appears to be wanting; while, at the same time, it would be difficult to detect any remarks either of a superfluous or of an exuberant nature.

The abundance of material which the authors were permitted to consult, has naturally occasioned a fullness in the narratives—a heavy accumulation of facts in the smallest possible compass. There is scarcely a phrase that does not mark an item of information, or that seems to have been inserted for purposes of grace or rhetorical embellishment. This fullness is most apparent in the synoptical tables, which are so arranged that they can but inspire the greatest confidence. Herein, of course, the best work of the authors has been expended; and, for instance, in the treatment of the first family, the Turdidæ, which fills more than fifty pages of the first volume, we note how careful the writers have been to discriminate between, and to classify, nominal species, to enumerate authorities for the sake of comparison, and to distinguish the special and universal characteristics of the family and genera. We are disposed to think that the authors are too arbitrary in their conclusions on matters which have hitherto, or are likely henceforth, to occasion any doubt. There are in every science, disputed points; and in every system of ornithology there will arise, as a matter of course, questions which no two writers may decide alike. In the reduction of accredited species, and in the solution of vexed propositions, there are manifested an ingenious striving after truth and a remarkable self-conviction that the truth is always stated. The former action is so generally successful, that any surpassing credulousness on the part of the authors ought, indeed, to be overlooked, even though, in certain instances, it should seem to bespeak either prejudice or insufficient knowledge.

However valuable these technical portions of the work must neces-

sarily prove to the scientific reader, it is the biographical portions which mark its grandest feature, and which impart to it a universally popular interest. The account of the habits, the movements, the methods of nesting, and the character of the eggs of the numerous species, has been wholly prepared by Dr. Brewer, whose reputation as an oölogist is unquestionable, and who, in his special line has, we should suppose, no rival in any part of the world.

One very naturally asks himself, while he is perusing these charming narratives, what is there about the art of writing bird-biographies that prevents so many writers from excelling in it? We can recall quite a number of would-be biographers, who, in their endeavors to paint the life of the feathered tribe, have invariably commenced well, then lapsed into poetry, and finally into nothingness. Dr. Brewer is not one of this sort. Whether it be in the pages of some stately volume, or in an ephemeral magazine article, he is equally at home and interesting.

Dr. Brewer's descriptions of bird-life bespeak the wanderer in green fields and forests, rather than the toiler among books. He sees with his own eyes, and hears with his own ears, and loathes to shape his knowledge at second-hand. And he writes so easily, so simply, so unaffectedly, and with so much natural feeling, that all his stories seem to possess an artistic coloring with a concealment of the art. In this respect his writings mark a decided contrast to those of preceding ornithologists; and even the narratives of Audubon, so highly extolled and valued, appear tame beside them.

We have only one real fault to find with the work under notice. Of course, authors in general know more about their own works than the majority of the readers, and their sources of information are more familiar to them than to the public. This familiarity is frequently apt to give rise to carelessness on their part in the manner of quotation or reference. Some of the references in these volumes greatly mislead, while others utterly fail to convey any idea of the authorities intended. We regret these blemishes the more, because it is quite impossible, in the present advanced stage of the work, to rectify them.

Of the typographical appearance of the work, nothing need be said beyond what the publishers are justified in asserting, that "it surpasses anything of the kind ever published in America." The illustrations—which were executed for the most part by Mr. Ridgway and Mr. Henry W. Elliott—consist, first, of a series of outlines exhibiting the peculiarities of the wing, tail, bill, and feet of each genus; and second, of a supplementary series, including a full-length figure of

one species of each genus. Then again, there is a series of plates containing one or more profile figures of the head, generally life-size, of every species of American birds.

The illustrations have been very carefully drawn and engraved. They compare very favorably with most of the well-known colored plates, and in points of fidelity and natural effect they fulfill the highest demands of the art. The pictures, without the text, would convey a very satisfactory idea of the several species; and we doubt whether any thing surpassing them has ever appeared in another work of similar character.

After what we have already said, it would appear superfluous to express any further commendations of the work. We have ventured to intimate such an opinion of its worth as would only be justified by the appearance of the complete work; but there is not the smallest doubt in our mind but that the fourth volume, when it shall have been issued, will be found to be, like its predecessors, an example of the highest worth and excellence.

We are inclined to the belief that this history will, for many years to come, be universally and justly recognized as the chief authority on our North American Birds.

STATISTICAL ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES. *Part II.—Population, Social and Industrial Statistics. Part III.—Vital Statistics.* Francis A. Walker. 1874.

THE province of statistics, while it does not on the one hand strictly extend to the investigation of the causes which produce the class of phenomena with which it deals, can not on the other hand fairly be limited to the mere collection and tabular arrangement of the facts relating to those phenomena. It properly includes, without encroaching upon the domain of the political and social sciences, such treatment of its data as will most facilitate their interpretation and comparison, the recognition of their mutual relations, and the discovery of the causes which underlie and modify them.

In this view, the admirable work of General Walker forms an appropriate supplement to his labors as superintendent of the late census. It may safely be characterized as the most valuable contribution to the comparative statistics of the United States that has ever appeared. Briefly described, its object is to present in a graphical form, by means of appropriately devised maps, charts, and diagrams, the statistical condition of the United States in respect to its

physical, social, vital, and industrial elements, as shown by the census of 1870, and the process of development in various relations by comparison with former enumerations. It is divided into three parts, of which only II. and III. have as yet appeared, and is unaccompanied by letter-press, except a very instructive paper on the comparative geographical distribution of the population, showing the progress of the nation from 1790 to 1870.

The preparation of a work of this nature requires a thorough familiarity with the materials for its construction, a clear perception of the relations of the facts to be exhibited, fertility in devising and tact in selecting the methods for their representation, and that conscientious regard for accuracy essential to all scientific efforts.

If evidence were needed of the full qualification in these respects of the accomplished compiler for his task, a careful examination of the Atlas itself would supply it. And while there may be a difference of opinion as to the degree of success achieved in the illustration of some of the subjects—such, for example, as that of the constituent elements of the population of the various States in Plate XX., or that of church accommodation in Plate XXXI.—the criticism would relate to the possibility of any intelligible treatment of such subjects by delineative methods, and consequently to the advisability of their introduction into such a work as this at all, rather than to the propriety of the particular mode of representation adopted.

Apart from such incongruities as those to which we have just referred, the work in question is a most forcible illustration of the superiority of graphical representation over the tabular form, in the elucidation and interpretation of statistics. Though requiring discrimination in its use, the former is generally not only a better means of illustrating ascertained facts, but also, in intelligent hands, may be made a powerful instrument in revealing new relations, and suggesting paths of research which would otherwise remain unexplored. The true law of interdependence of a series of numbers might elude the scrutiny of the sharpest mind, while a line representing them would render their connection obvious at a glance. A single half hour employed in attentively turning over the pages of this Atlas will impress upon the mind a more vivid, comprehensive, and permanent conception of the social and industrial organization of the country in its various phases of development, than days of laborious study of the corresponding numerical tabulations in the volumes of the census.

With these general remarks on the nature and methods of the work under consideration, we proceed to a rapid summary of its contents.

The first chart of Part II. (Plate 15 in order of the whole series) shows the successive acquisitions of territory, and the changes in political divisions during the past century. Following this (Plates 16-19) is a series of nine maps, exhibiting for each decennial period from 1790 to 1870 inclusive, the geographical distribution of the population by means of five gradations of shading, corresponding to as many degrees of average density of settlement, from a specific population of from two to six to the square mile, as the lowest, to one of ninety and more to the square mile, as the highest in the scale. Thus the successive stages of our astonishing growth from a nation of four millions to one of nearly forty millions of people, in the space of eighty years, are placed before us in such a manner that the movement of the population seems to take place under our very eyes; and it is a curious and instructive study to note in detail the progress of the human tide in its westward flow over the land from the Atlantic seaboard.

The feature which this series of plates brings to view most strikingly is the constant tendency to the formation, beyond the general frontier line, of detached patches of color in localities favorable to population, at first of insignificant proportions, but increasing during each decade; the subsequent projection of branches toward the main body, which itself seems to develop sympathetically in the direction of these outlying masses; the formation of a broad connecting band; and finally the complete absorption of the outlying groups by the advancing main body, which in the meantime has been deepening in tint simultaneously with the extension of its area. The foregoing process, in continuous action, seems to be the normal law of growth of our population, and its operation can be distinctly discerned to-day, in the feelers cautiously thrown out from the East along the lines of the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas rivers, toward the Rocky Mountain settlements in Colorado and New Mexico.

Plate 20 is an attempt, not attended with great success, to depict intelligibly by means of colored geometrical diagrams, the proportional native, foreign, white, and colored elements of the population of the several States. Succeeding this (Plates 21-28) are maps constructed similarly to those already described, showing the geographical distribution of the colored population, of the population of foreign parentage, of the general foreign population, and of the principal foreign national elements, respectively, according to absolute density as well as the proportion to the aggregate population.

The statistics of illiteracy are illustrated by Plates 29 and 30; and

those of church accommodation, occupation, and school attendance, by colored diagrams, which, however, are of questionable value as aids to the conception or the memory of the facts sought to be represented.

Plates 33 to 35 are devoted to the geographical distribution of wealth, public indebtedness, and taxation, and are among the most interesting of the work to the statesman and political economist. The same remark applies to the fiscal chart (Plate 35^a) showing the course of the public debt by years, from 1789 to 1870, together with the proportion of the total receipts from each principal source of national revenue, and the proportion of the total expenditures for each principal department of the public service, for the same period.

Plates 36 and 36^a are allotted to the delineation of the range and degree of cultivation of the principal crops, the area of improved lands in farms, and other agricultural statistics.

Turning to Part III., we have first (Plate 37) a suggestive map of the relative distribution of the sexes over the area of the United States, followed by a series of diagrams (Plate 38 and 39), in which the classification of the population by age and sex is very clearly dealt with, the native and foreign elements of the several States being separately treated. These diagrams admit of ready comparison, and, did space permit, we should like to draw attention to the marked peculiarities of the population-curves in different localities, in connection with the circumstances which give rise to the distinctive variations.

Plate 40 exhibits the birth-rate, taking as the index of that element, the proportion of the number of children living, under one year of age, to the aggregate population.

The subject of mortality occupies a series of six plates (41 to 46) which are not only of great value to the student of medical science, but will prove a fruitful source of instruction to those who are intrusted with the management of our life insurance institutions. The mortuary statistics of the census, although worthless for the purpose of ascertaining the absolute death-rate, are susceptible of furnishing much trustworthy evidence in regard to the distribution and proportional fatality of various classes of diseases, geographically considered, as well as the relative characteristics of the mortality from different causes examined with reference to age and sex. Properly to review the information contained in this series of mortality charts would require of itself an article of no inconsiderable length.

The remainder of the work is occupied with the subject of blindness, deaf-mutism, idiocy, and insanity.

Viewing the work as a whole, it is beyond question the most valuable contribution to the study of the comparative statistics of the United States that has ever been published; and it is to be regretted that it should not attain a much wider circulation than its mode of publication will probably admit.

THE FRENCH HUMORISTS FROM THE TWELFTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. *By Walter Besant, M. A. Boston: Roberts Brothers.*

MR. BESANT is not so favorably known here as he is at home in England, where his first book, entitled "Studies in Early French Poetry," published a little more than a year ago, became deservedly popular and insured for its author no small degree of reputation. We are somewhat surprised that a volume of such interest and importance should not have received the honor of a reprint in this country.

Mr. Besant is no second-rate critic; neither could we, in view of his faults, place him in the highest rank. He is a thorough student of his chosen subject, a deep, but not always a judicious thinker, patient of research, and is possessed of a keen, perceptive faculty to an extent which we rarely find in a *littérateur* of his sort. At the same time, he is prolix in his statements, and, although confessedly a master of good English, shows a tendency toward indefiniteness and indecision in expressing his thoughts. His clauses read easily, and the effect is pleasing; his analysis of character is generally correct, and his pen-pictures of great personages are wrought with exceeding grace and skill. If the reader can only forget the self-conceit of the author, and is willing to pass lightly over his arrogance, and oftentimes, too positive judgments, he will, we assure him, peruse the volume with much interest, and will thank Mr. Besant for having provided a feast of so many varieties in and out of season.

The title-page of the volume clearly indicates its contents. The author's aim is to supplement, in a measure, his earlier work, and to select, out of every century from the twelfth downward, such of the representative writers as naturally belong to the Humorist school. These sketches—or chapters, if you choose—open with an analytical and brief historical account of the *Chanson*, which is then followed by the story of Rutebeuf the Trouvère, the Romance of the Rose, Eustace

Deschamps, Rabelais, Montaigne, Scarron, Molière, Béranger, and a dozen or more of other writers, either well-known, or almost forgotten.

In the present notice of the volume, we can do no more than merely glance at some of the author's statements with regard to the more famous writers. We may say, here, that the book itself is a sort of literary revelation. Hard students of French literature will glean from it many facts heretofore unknown to them; while the majority of readers who skim but lightly over the field, will lament the destruction of many a pretty fancy, which they have been taught to cherish. Indeed, after reading the book, we almost regret that our ignorance should become so enlightened.

For example: The chapter on Rabelais is one of the most interesting in the whole work. We approach it, however, full of prejudice, and with half-conscious feeling that we ought to pass it by. You recall what Pope said about him, picture him as a jovial priest, and a jack of all trades and sayings, "a hog for appetite and a monkey for tricks"—in fact, just what he was not, the "curé of Meudon"—and are then disappointed by the assertion of Mr. Besant, that Rabelais "never satirizes Christianity," that he "*knew more* than any other man of the time," and was "a great moral teacher, the like of whom Europe had not yet seen."

"A great moral teacher. Yes. But it would have been better for France if his book, tied to a millstone, had been hurled into the sea. . . . The filth and dirt of Rabelais do not *take hold* of the mind—a little cold water washes it off. . . . He destroyed effectually, perhaps for centuries yet to come, earnestness in France. He found men craving for a better faith, believing that it was to be found, and left them doubting whether any system in the world would give it. Great and noble as are many of the passages in Rabelais, profoundly wise as he was, I do believe that no writer who ever lived has inflicted such lasting injury on his country."

In refutation of the common plan of attributing the coarseness of Rabelais to the tastes of the age, our author indignantly asks, "Where is the taste 'of the age' in Erasmus? There has been no time in the world's history, from Catullus downward, where those who have sinned in this way have done so in deference to the 'taste of the age.'"

The chapter on Montaigne is thoroughly readable, but does not abound in such startling episodes and revelations as does that on Rabelais. At the very outset, Mr. Besant declares him to be "the most remarkable writer, the most original, the most delightful, that France has ever produced"—a statement which will be regarded by very many readers as not far from the truth. But not all the wit and

eloquence of this author can solve for us that eternally vexed question, "whether Montaigne was a Christian."

"Like all the men of his time, he had a creed, a kind of pill, to be taken when it might be wanted. The time had gone by when such men as Rabelais and Dolet hoped to bring the world to Deism; the scholars had accepted the inevitable position of orthodoxy, and while giving all their activity and interest to heathenism, were zealous supporters of the lifeless creed. Montaigne a Christian? Compare his morality with that of the Gospels; read how the dread of death is breathed upon every page of his book; remember how he says that to pretend to know, to understand aught beyond the phenomenal, is to make the handful greater than the hand can hold; the armful larger than the arms can embrace; the stride wider than the legs can stretch—'a man can but see with his eyes and hold with his grasp.' Try then to remember that we are not in the nineteenth century, but in the sixteenth; that Montaigne died in the act of adoration, and cease to ask whether the man was a Christian? There was no better Christian than Montaigne in all his century."

We should like to ask Mr. Besant, what constitutes a Christian; and what is that standard of moral intuition by which he judges for all the world the "greatest writer of France?"

The essay on Scarron is a disappointment. Scant mention is made in it of Madame de Maintenon, and the only new opinion advanced with regard to the poet is the following:

"I think that Scarron took to writing because there was nothing else in the world at which he could occupy himself and make a little money. The cast and tone of his thought were doubtless affected, to a certain extent, by his bodily sufferings. Indeed, every bodily defect, deformity, and weakness, must have its own effect, prejudicial to the intellect; and he alone, perhaps, can be a perfect writer who has a sound and perfect physique."

We pass now to La Fontaine, whom every body thinks that he knows by heart, simply because La Fontaine wrote fables, and these fables are read by school-boys. But if Mr. Besant's picture of Rabelais is a surprise, what shall be said of La Fontaine? Witness these sentences:—

"While he had no virtue himself, he drew to himself and retained the affections of virtuous men."—"He had no constancy, and yet he attracted the love of women." "He was a bad husband and a bad father."—"He never performed a duty, or recognized a tie; yet he never lost a friend—save once by a kind of an accident."—"He lived an utterly godless life, but died the death of a saint. He lived for himself, wholly and unreservedly, but was never called selfish; and in early life he sat down with the avowed intention of doing nothing, claiming from the world the simple right of enjoyment; and his right the world conceded."

This is a picture of the great fable-writer from the author's view—a picture, to say the least, full of paradoxes and strange contradictions.

Yet, in his last days, we find La Fontaine wearing a hair shirt, practising rigors, repenting of his "godless life," and writing to a friend: "Oh! mon cher, mourir n'est rien; mais songes-tu que je vais comparaître devant mon Dieu! Tu sais comme j'ai vécu. Avant que tu reçoives ce billet les portes de l'éternité seront ouvertes pour moi." And when he died, "all France," says the author, "burst into tears, and every body felt with his nurse, 'Dieu n'aura pas le courage de le damner.'"

The essay on Boileau is chiefly remarkable for its final assertion, in capital letters,—HE WAS NOT A POET; of Molière we learn more as regards the dramatist than as regards the man. The chapter on Beaumarchais will prove especially attractive to American readers: while that on Béranger abounds in brilliant and instructive passages.

"Béranger sums up the poetry of the *esprit gaulois*. In him is the gayety of the *trouvères*, the malice of the *fabliaux*, the *bonhomie* of La Fontaine, the clearness of Marot, the *bonne manière* of Villon, the sense of Regnier. Something, at first inexplicable, there is, which we miss in him. I have discovered what that is we look to be led, and every where we find him following. Where the crowd is thickest, there is Béranger; where the tide is flowing, thither drifts his bark with all the rest; amid the crowd we find their prophet; we look for the voice of a man, and we hear the voice of the multitude."

We have but one opinion of the "French Humorists." It deserves to be read, but had best not be studied; the information which it contains will prove useful to the reader of French literature but will baffle the scholar. To peruse the volumes without thinking, to receive the author's opinions without weighing them, and to credit his assertions without investigating the strength of their foundations, would be a very rash proceeding indeed. Those who deplore the present moral degeneracy of the human race will, we imagine, derive much benefit from a perusal of the book.

RECENT ITALIAN PUBLICATIONS.

Literary Studies (Studii Litterarii). By Giosuè Carducci. 1 vol. Leghorn: Vigo. Signor Carducci, professor of Italian literature in the university of Bologna, is well known in Italy as a poet, under the *nom de plume* of Enotrio Romano, and he was recently introduced to the foreign public by M. Etienne in the "Revue des Deux Mondes." The passions occasionally appear to influence this republican critic, but he never loses his mastery over them, and utilizes them to throw a more vivid light on his picture. Being a Tuscan, Carducci is a man

of perfect taste, whose language is always well chosen, and whose style is terse and vivacious. Very few critics are as learned as Signor Carducci, and none better than he knows how to employ erudition with delicacy and reserve. The critical studies of Signor Carducci, contained in this volume, are entitled as follows: The Development of the National Literature; The Poetry of Dante; The varied Literary Fortune of Dante; The Music and Poetry of the Italian Beau Monde in the Fourteenth Century.

The Messiah according to the Hebrews (Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei). A Study by David Castelli. 1 vol. Florence: Le Monnier. Signor Castelli, who is a Pisan Jew of high cultivation, already well known among Italian scholars for his works relating to the literature of the Hebrews, shows himself in this new book to be an excellent historian and critic. The calmness of his judgments and his pure and ardent love of truth command, from its very first pages, the respect and sympathy of the reader. He does not allow himself to be diverted from his diligent researches for the idea of the Messiah as embodied in the Old Testament and the Talmud, by either the illusions of the imagination or the fear of displeasing any sect of intolérants, be they atheists or believers, Christians or Jews; but relies upon giving satisfaction to all those who conscientiously love the truth. The work of Signor Castelli, which is very well written, will not fail to take a high position in contemporaneous Italian literature, both for the diligence and accuracy of its actual research and for the rare toleration and impartiality of its reasoning.

Eight months at Rome during the Ecumenical Council (Otto mesi a Roma durante il Concilio Vaticano). The Impressions of a Contemporary. By Pomponio Leto. 1 vol. Florence: Successors to Le Monnier. The anonymous author (whose real name may be disclosed to American readers—Marchese Vitelleschi di Roma, a member of Parliament) modestly announces that his book does not presume to be either a history or a journal, although its publication was begun during the Council, in the columns of a newspaper; neither is it a treatise, as one might occasionally suppose, by the gravity with which it discusses the various subjects under consideration by the Council. It is a work which is written independently of the classified literary forms above mentioned, but which will nevertheless remain a worthy monument of contemporaneous Italian literature. As the author has adopted a pseudonym belonging to a past age, even so he shows himself to be free from those passions which unsettle our present condition. With a slight touch of scepticism, he runs over the

proceedings of the Council and there detects the provocations which led to a ridiculous and monstrous error. He is not of opinion that the consequence of the errors of the Catholic Church accentuated in the Vatican, should lead to a declaration of war against the papacy, but he gives us to understand that he is persuaded of the necessity of allowing it to die a natural death. And as he looked on with not impassive, although unprejudiced eyes, at the ruin of the Catholic Church, whose doom was sealed at the moment when she assisted at the apotheosis of her own infallible head, he wished, with reason, for the revival of religious feeling in Italy, which, in spite of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, is almost entirely extinct. This work describes the latest phase through which Catholicism has passed, and the importance such a book will have in the history of religion can therefore be readily understood.

Patria ed Amore. Lyric Poems. By Laura Beatrice Oliva Mancini. Posthumously edited, with a Preface and Biographical Notes, by Terenzio Mamiani. 1 vol. Florence: Le Monnier. The verses of this lamented Neapolitan poetess, who was the wife of our most celebrated living lawyer, show in their rapid lyric movement the inspired character of improvisation, and at the same time demonstrate the familiarity of their writer with the classics, since the form they assume partakes largely of the antique. This is especially noticeable in those songs and stanzas which best display the art and genius of the gentle and intrepid Neapolitan, who, after having courageously incited her country to revolt, sang triumphal hymns in commemoration of its uprising, and who, after the ardent struggles of political life were over, dedicated the gentle harmonies of her lyre to the sacred joys of domestic life, divided between a mother's and a wife's affection.

International Law. Introductory Lectures. (Diritto internazionale: Prelezione). With an Essay on Machiavelli, by P. S. Mancini, Professor in Ordinary of International, Public, Private, and Maritime Law in the University of Rome, and also Member of Parliament. 1 vol. Naples: Marghieri. The publication of this volume is the response to an earnest desire expressed by the numerous admirers, which the genius and science of Signor Mancini have won for him, in Italy and elsewhere. A lecture by Mancini was always regarded as a kind of event in the university year; a limited number of copies were printed separately and at different times, so that they became very rare; he was therefore wisely advised to publish collectively in the one neat volume which forms a part of the "Library of Legal and Social Science," published at Naples by Marghieri. These lectures, written

and given to the press within a period of twenty years, present an admirable character of harmonious and progressive unity, from the first correct and explicit statement of the law of nationality in the principle of the national conscience (which Prince Bismarck does not seem disposed to admit), followed by the forcible demonstration that the subjects of the law are not the *states*, but the *nations*, till we come to the later lectures, in which, it being no longer necessary to prepare Italy for her autonomy, Mancini points out the civil functions which every people, but especially the Italian, should fulfill toward humanity. Mancini's ideas are admirable for their clearness and simplicity, and will soon become a popular and influential inheritance for Italy. They are the outgrowth of the popular conscience, which Mancini's clear perception fathomed so successfully; for when at his first exposition of them, they struck the scientists as being entirely original, they touched a familiar chord in that national conscience to which Mancini had found the key.

Economy of Peoples and of States. (Economia dei popoli degli Stati). By Fedele Lampertico. 1 vol. Milan: Treves. When a man of genius occupies himself with the elucidation of an old subject, its renewal is always the result; the author frequently infuses into it something of his own artistic comprehension, and out of a book of science, creates a work of art. For this reason the introduction to a course of political economy by the gifted and genial economist of Vicenza—Prof. Fedele Lampertico, will be heartily welcomed. Our task here is but to announce it, and to quote its fine conclusion:

“Considering production, distribution, circulation, and consumption in relation to the benefits rather than the profits to be derived therefrom, and regarding them not as mechanical operations or chemical combinations, but as actual organic functions, the general idea of this organism should previously be taken into account, in order to detect in nature and natural agents, plastic and immediate principles, that is to say, the matter through which human labor rises to dignity, and the power to evolve beneficial results, and in man those fundamental functions by which economical organism becomes possible and active.”

Conceived in this light, economical science should, by rights, take its place among the moral sciences.

Pompeii and its Ruins (Pompei e le sue rovine). By Pier Ambrogio Curti. 3 vols., illustrated. Milan: Saurito. Naples: Detken. Although so much has been written upon Pompeii, interest in the subject never flags. This fact is proved by the work of Signor Curti. There are travelers' guides, poetical and artistic guides to Pompeii, and it has been the theme of splendid romances, as well as of special

dissertations; but Signor Curti's book shows us that until now the best of all was lacking, that is to say, a work which should be acceptable to scholars, and also should not be too serious and matter-of-fact for the mass of the reading public. Signor Curti's by no means unimportant knowledge of ancient Roman life enables him to reveal much that was hitherto unknown in regard to Pompeii, and confirms the fact that its monuments are of great assistance to writers desirous of representing the manners and customs of Roman civilization nearly two thousand years ago. The erudition of the author, in Latin literature, although very profound, is never obtrusive. Signor Curti's tact teaches him how to interest the reader, and while what he relates is all authentic history, he gives it relief by sundry characteristic particulars which render it as fascinating as a romance.

Carlo Matteucci, and the Italy of his day (*Carlo Matteucci e l'Italia del suo tempo*). By Nicomede Bianchi, derived from *Unpublished Documents*. 1 vol. Rome: Turin: Florence: Bocca Bros. The fame which Matteucci acquired as a physicist, by his works on electricity, is world-wide, but as a political writer he is not known outside of Italy, and but little even there. Carlo Matteucci more than once turned his attention from his important scientific investigations to those of politics and administration. It is no wonder then that Signor Bianchi, one of the best contemporaneous Italian historians, should in this book treat of the works of Matteucci in their relation to Italy itself. Signor Bianchi procured from the widow of Matteucci (an English woman, Robina Young,) every variety of precious documents, and since no one possesses in a greater degree than he, the art of converting a dry document into an eloquent page of history, the book is rich in such pages. Carlo Matteucci owed every thing to himself; to his self-esteem, and also to his excessive ambition. This, Signor Bianchi's book shows, by following every passage in the life of the great scientist, from his earliest youth to that sad day for Italy and for science on which his premature death took place.

History of Italian Education (*Storia della pedagogia Italiana*). By Emmanuele Cesi. 2 vols. Milan: Carrara. Education, an art and a science, born in Greece, was nurtured in Rome, and as late as the middle ages, the system of instruction at Rome succeeded in keeping the studies of the day in good repute. At the renaissance of Italian art, the art of instruction was also greatly improved, while it accompanied the advance of civilization in Italy. The universities and academies were the first to adopt reforms in their regulations, and, to the glory of Italy, were also the first to

introduce experimental methods in scientific researches. Celesia, who is a learned Genoese historian and *littérateur*, and also director of the university library there, has a clear comprehension of his subject. He does not include in his History of Instruction professional teachers alone, but also all those men whose works have tended to modify Italian education, and eventually civilization itself. Being a man of his time, and knowing of how much importance it is to ameliorate the educational organization by practical examples of what is now in vogue, Signor Celesia has wisely devoted three-fourths of the second volume to the calculation of the influence which might be exerted by a few conscientious preceptors, and writers of educational works, to promote the progress of learning and civilization in Italy. These pages of contemporaneous literary history are for the most part new and highly instructive, and we do not hesitate to affirm, that this excellent record of Italian instruction, not only chronicles the past labors in its behalf, but that it will itself exert an important educational influence in the future.

History of Philosophy in Sicily (Storia della Filosofia in Sicilia). From Ancient Times and the Nineteenth Century. By Vincenzo di Giovanni. 2 vols. Palermo: Pedone Tauriel. This is a work which commands attention from the name of its author, who is a worthy follower of that Sicilian philosophy which he here so admirably sets forth; for the singular influence the Sicilian philosophy exerted over what was called the Italic (founded by Pythagoras, and concluded in our day by Terenzio Mamiani), and for the numerous unpublished expositions of Sicilian philosophy, which are excellently arranged by Prof. di Giovanni. The first volume treats of ancient scholastic, and modern philosophy, and includes the philosophers of the last century, among them Vincenzo Miceli. The second volume discusses at some length the proceedings of Sicilian philosophy in our century, and contains in an appendix, besides essays on the doctrines of various philosophers, the interesting correspondence between the Sicilian philosopher Salvatore Mancino, and the French philosopher, Victor Cousin.

The Protestant Revolution (Della Rivoluzione Protestante). Historical Discourses by Ercole Ricotti. 1 vol. Rome: Turin; Florence: Loescher. Ercole Ricotti, who is a professor at the university of Turin, is also a rare historian; he saves his readers much precious time by neither saying too much nor too little on what it is essential for them to know, and for this reason his book should more properly be entitled Historical Aphorisms, than historical

discourses. What Signor Ricotti deems important, is to state and determine, in a precise manner and with an impartial spirit, the principal problems of history; when these are well established, secondary facts come in naturally and almost spontaneously. Each one of the forty-four discourses contained in this volume is based upon an usually authentic historic origin, illustrated by a few eloquent examples, and clearly demonstrated in their most important developments. The reader who closely follows an historian generally agrees with him, even when he would be better pleased if things were stated differently. Thus for example in the third discourse, where the apogee of the Papacy under the Pontificatè of Innocent III. is set forth, the reader assents to this undoubted historical fact: but we expect that a penetrating critic like Ricotti, who is certainly not ignorant how Protestants make use of the figure of Innocent III. to combat Catholicism (see the work of Count de Gasparin on Innocent III.), should also give an account of the evils that Innocent III. was the means of inflicting upon religion, and who, while ostensibly its champion, was in reality with all his political power sustaining religious schisms. But if Ricotti himself, who judges very hastily, is unable to explain these various questions, his book will have success as a guide and safe basis for an ample historical comment upon the reform made by a Catholic country with the aid of complete liberty and independence of criticism.

Selected Poems of Giuseppe Regaldi (Poesie scelte di Giuseppe Regaldi). With a Preface by Eugenio Camerino. 1 vol. Florence: Successors to Le Monnier. Giuseppe Regaldi of Novara, who was formerly a celebrated improvisatore, is now professor of history in the University of Bologna. He has experienced the poetic life, and still breathes its atmosphere, loving light, and sweet sounds, and every form of beauty and grandeur. His verses are soft, melodious, rhythmical, and majestic, and his themes are always pure and exalted; the songs are all high-toned, and occasionally partake of a prophetic character. The Bible, Homer, and Dante, have lent their aid to give them dignity, by supplying the pure source from which they flow, and eventually expand into stately rivers of verse, bearing upon their waves many sparkling gems, worthy of preservation. The lover of turmoils and tempests will not care for these poems, but he who admires the serene heavens and the tranquil ocean will delight in the genius of Regaldi.

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EDGAR ALLAN POE.

“AN IMMORTAL INFAMY!” Thus Mr. George Graham styled Griswold’s characterization of Edgar Poe. Moreover, he declared it to be “dastardly,” “false,” and nothing but the “fancy sketch of a perverted, jaundiced vision.” Twenty-four years, however, have elapsed, and Griswold’s “Memoir of Edgar Poe,” frequently and authoritatively as its accuracy has been impugned, still prefaces the Works, and still continues to be the only biography extant—the only life upon which so many sketches are founded—of America’s most remarkable writer. Whether national pride or personal spite repressed investigation it is needless to inquire; our purpose is simply to tell the truth.

Hero worship is as rampant in the United States as in any other of the so-called civilized countries, and even the Chinese custom of ennobling the ancestors, dead and buried though they may be, of a man who has done any thing notable, is not unknown to the Americans. It is not strange, therefore, to learn that a gentle lineage has been found for Edgar Allan Poe, and that the daring deeds and reckless bravery of his ancestry have been unearthed and rechronicled to prove that his virtues and vices came by right of birth. “Good wine needs no bush,” and a man needs no coat-of-arms to ratify his right of entering the Temple of Fame. For our part, we are contented to begin Edgar Poe’s story with his birth, which occurred at Boston, on the 19th of January, 1809. In 1815 his youthful parents both died, within a few weeks of each other, of consumption, leaving Edgar and two other children utterly destitute. Although only six years old at this time, the boy is stated to have been already noted for his precocity and beauty, and would seem to have gained the

admiration, if he did not win the affection of his godfather, Mr. Allan, a wealthy and intimate acquaintance of his deceased parents. Mr. Allan adopted him, and although little that is reliable can be learned of his early days, it may be worth record that a tenacious memory and a musical ear are said to have enabled him to learn by rote and declaim with great effect, the finest passages of English poetry to the evening visitors at his godfather's house. Scarcely, however, had the little orphan time to get accustomed to his new home, when he was taken away to Europe by the Allans, and, in his seventh year, left at a school in Stoke Newington, then a distinct town, but now a portion of London. His adopted parents could not have entertained any very great love for the poor child, or they would hardly have left him for five years, and at such a tender age, in a strange school in a foreign country. Be their feelings what they may, Poe seems to have looked back upon his sojourn in England with any thing but ungrateful reminiscences. That he declared the description of the school and school life in his tale of "William Wilson," a faithful reproduction of his own residence in the Stoke Newington Manor House School, is probably correct; while much, doubtless, of the gloom and glamour of his writings had their origin in the strangeness and friendlessness he must have experienced during his stay in that foreign and "excessively ancient house." The dreamy walks and mouldering dwellings that abounded in the neighborhood could not fail to exert a strong influence upon a mind so morbidly sensitive as Poe's, nor can it be doubted that at the same time, in the *lustrum* of his life spent in England, he acquired a portion of that curious and *outré* classic lore which in after years became one of the chief ornaments of his weird and wonderful works.

In 1821 the lad was recalled to America, and placed by his adopted father at an academy in Richmond, Virginia. Mr. Allan seems to have been really proud of his handsome and precocious godson, and to have indulged him in all that money could purchase, but neither alternate pettings and punishings, nor the state of domestic affairs at home, were well calculated to draw out the proud yet affectionate boy's better feelings. Through life Poe was sensibly acute to kindness, and when he was, or *believed* himself repulsed by human beings, his intense longing for sympathy drove him to seek for companionship in the society of dumb creatures: "There is something in the unselfish and self-sacrificing love of a brute," he remarked, "which goes directly to the heart of him who has had frequent occasion to test the paltry friendship and gossamer fidelity of mere *man*." In the

best and most consistent work on Poe which has yet appeared,* a very characteristic and well verified anecdote is related of him, referring to the time when he was a student in the Richmond Academy. While it strikingly illustrates his tenderness of feeling and the constancy of his attachments, it but too clearly demonstrates how little affection or sympathy the young orphan found at his adopted home.

"He one day," says Mrs. Whitman, "accompanied a schoolmate to his home, where he saw for the first time Mrs. Helen S——, the mother of his young friend. This lady on entering the room, took his hand and spoke some gentle and gracious words of welcome, which so penetrated the sensitive heart of the orphan boy, as to deprive him of the power of speech, and, for a time, almost of consciousness itself. He returned home in a dream, with but one thought, one hope in life—to hear again the sweet and gracious words that had made the desolate world so beautiful to him, and filled his lonely heart with the oppression of a new joy. This lady afterward became the confidante of all his boyish sorrows, and hers was the one redeeming influence that saved and guided him in the earlier days of his turbulent and passionate youth."

Haplessly for the poor lad, the lady was herself overwhelmed with fearful and peculiar sorrows, and at the time when her guiding voice was most needed, died. But her poor boyish admirer could not endure the thought of her lying lonely and forsaken in the chilly grave, and for months after her decease he would nightly visit the neighboring cemetery in which she was entombed, to sob out his sorrow over the last resting-place of his first and never-forgotten friend. When the nights were very dreary and cold, when the autumnal rains fell and the winds wailed mournfully over the graves, he lingered longer, and came away most regretfully.

For many years, if not for life, the memory of this unfortunate lady tinged all his fancies and filled his mind with melancholy things. Within a twelvemonth of his death, writing to a friend, the truest friend, in all probability, of his "lonesome latter years," Poe broke through his usual reticence as to his early life, and confessed that his exquisite stanzas beginning, "Helen, thy beauty is to me," were inspired by the memory of this lady—"the one idolatrous and purely ideal love" of his tempest-tossed boyhood. In the early versions of his juvenile poems, the name of Helen frequently recurs, and it was undoubtedly to this lady that he inscribed "The Pæan," a boyish piece which he subsequently greatly improved, both in rhythm and expression, and republished under the musical name of Lenore. In this little-known incident of Poe's life, Mrs. Whitman is undoubtedly

* "Edgar Poe and his Critics." By S. H. Whitman.

justified in believing may be found "a key to much that seems strange and abnormal in the poet's after life." In those solitary churchyard vigils, with all their associated memories, should doubtless be sought the clew to the psychological phenomena of Poe's strange existence, and that mind, as he himself remarked, which should strive to reduce his "phantasm to the common-place," must know and even study this phase of his being. The imagination which could so steadfastly trace, step by step, the terrible stages of *sentience in death*, as Edgar Poe's does in his weird, "Colloquy of Mono and Una," must, indeed, have been that of one who had oft and o'er sought to wrest its earthly secrets from the charnel-house.

Returning to the more common-place records of the future poet's story, he is found described at this period of his life, as remarkable for general ability and feats of activity, for his wayward temper, extreme personal beauty, power of extemporaneous tale-telling, and his precocious knowledge of languages, mathematics, and different branches of the natural sciences. Truly a long list of accomplishments, and one that if not vouched for by something more substantial than the *ipse dixit* of an admirer might well be discredited. Thoroughly well-grounded, apparently, in these various studies, he was sent by his adopted father to the University of Virginia, at Charlottesville, in further pursuit of learning. Poe signed the matriculation book of the Institution, on the 14th of February, 1826, and remained in good standing until the termination of the session in the following December. Short as was his university career, he left sufficient traces behind him to make *alma mater* not only able but willing to refute the aspersions cast upon her distinguished child by Griswold and his followers.

"He entered the schools of Ancient and Modern Languages," says his classmate Mr. Wertenbaker, now Secretary to the Faculty, "attending the lectures on Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, and Italian. I was myself a member of the last three classes, and can testify that he was tolerably regular in his attendance, and a successful student, having obtained distinction at the Final Examinations in Latin and French, and this was at that time the highest honor a student could obtain, the present regulations in regard to degrees having not then been adopted. Under existing regulations he would have graduated in the two languages above named, and have been entitled to diplomas."

From the same official source we learn that Prof. Blatterman having, on one occasion, desired his Italian class to render a portion of Tasso's poem into English verse, not as a class exercise, but as a beneficial method of study, Poe was the only student who responded to

the suggestion, and for his performance was highly complimented by the Professor. Such conduct, it is not surprising to learn, obtained him a good reputation among the Professors, while his uniformly sober, quiet, and orderly demeanor gained him an equally favorable character among the officers of the university; the records of which "attest that at no time during the session did he fall under the censure of the Faculty." It will sound strange to those who did not know him to find that not only was Poe liked by the governing powers, but also that he was a great favorite among his classmates. Besides his naturally pleasing manner, he was great at athletic feats, a thing which always gains the admiration of young men, especially of students. One of his deeds of hardihood, and one which, if not proved by good authority, might have been relegated to the depths of that limbo where so many of the wonders told of Poe should be consigned, was the swimming from Ludlam's wharf to Warwick, on the James River, a distance of six miles, against a strong tide. When the truth of this story was questioned, Poe, who hated contradiction, obtained a certificate of the fact from several witnesses. This document declared, moreover, that "Mr. Poe did not seem at all fatigued, and walked back to Richmond immediately after the feat, which was undertaken for a wager." Such confidence had the poet, indeed, in his swimming powers, that he asserted his belief that on a favorable day he could swim across the English Channel, from Dover to Calais. In addition to all these occupations, he is stated to have attended debating societies, taken long rambles in the Blue Ridge mountains, and, as he was a clever draughtsman, to have had the habit of covering the walls of his dormitory with rough charcoal sketches. A very interesting and suggestive memento of his residence at Charlottesville is a copy from the register, of a list of books which Poe borrowed from the library while he was a student: Rollin's "*Histoire Ancienne*;" "*Histoire Romaine*;" Robertson's "*America*;" Marshall's "*Washington*;" Voltaire's "*Histoire Particulière*;" and Dufief's "*Nature Displayed*." Those who have studied his works know what good use he made of this selection.

But this wonderful catalogue of accomplishments must not be accepted as entirely without alloy. Poe was not superhuman in his virtues. His morbid sensibility and proud self-reliance, both separately and conjointly, often led him into mischief. It has been told that his venturesome swimming feat was undertaken for a wager: in that he was successful; but success could not always attend his deeds of daring. A love of cards led him into extravagance, and he him-

self is averred in conversation with a classmate, to have regretted his waste of money, confessing to a total indebtedness of \$2,000; certainly no very large sum for the heir of a wealthy man, but enough, apparently, to excite the anger of his adopted father, if unproved statements may be accepted as facts. Poe returned home, but the following year, 1827, roused by the efforts the Greeks were making to emancipate themselves from the Turkish yoke; uncomfortable, undoubtedly, at home; and probably emulous of Byron, whose example had excited the chivalric boys of both continents, he and an acquaintance, Ebenezer Burling, determined to start for Greece and offer their aid to the insurgents. Why, is not stated, but Mr. Burling did not go, while the embryo poet did; at least so it is declared, although what became of him—where he went and what his adventures were—is still unknown. Poe seems to have been very reticent upon the subject of his year's absence, and to have left uncontradicted the various stories invented, and even published during his life-time, to account for the interregnum in his history. The legend of his having gone to St. Petersburg and got involved in difficulties that necessitated ministerial aid for his extrication, must be abandoned, as must also the suggestion made by the anonymous author of a scurrilous paper, that Poe came to London and formed the acquaintance of Leigh Hunt and Theodore Hook, and lived "as that class of men—dragging out a precarious existence in garrets, doing drudgery work, writing for the great presses and for the reviews, whose worldwide celebrity has been the fruit of such men's labor." The ignorance displayed by these words of English men and letters, needs no comment.

Poe does not reappear upon the scene until the beginning of March, 1829, reaching Richmond, Virginia, too late to take a last farewell of his adopted mother, she having been interred the very day before his return home. Mrs. Allan seems to have exercised a conciliatory power in the household, where, it is said, it was frequently needed, and the poor lad, who in after life invariably spoke well of this lady, doubtless soon felt the effects of her loss. Mr. Allan does not appear to have received his adopted son very cordially, but when Poe expressed his willingness to devote himself to the military profession, he exerted his influence and obtained a nomination to a scholarship in the West Point Military Academy. As each cadet at this institution was allowed twenty-eight dollars monthly, the poet, for such he now was, was, to some extent, rendered independent of his godfather's support. Poe's first known essay in literature, a little vol-

ume of poems, entitled "Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and other Poems," was published this year in Baltimore. Although Lowell, Margaret Fuller, and others of the poet's reviewers speak of an earlier volume of poems, as published in 1827, and state that it received very flattering notice from the veteran author John Neal, the 1829 edition is the earliest discoverable vestige of Poe's literary powers. The West Point records prove that Poe was admitted as a cadet on the 1st of July, 1830. He is declared to have entered upon his new mode of living with customary energy, but speedily discovered how totally unsuited to him now were the strict discipline and monotonous training of the Military Academy. The wayward and erratic course of existence to which he had long been accustomed, together with the fact of his having been so long a time sole master of his own actions, rendered it impossible for him to submit to the galling restraints of this institution. A fellow cadet with him at the Academy speaks of "his utter inefficiency and state of abstractedness at that place. He could not, or would not," he remarks, "follow its mathematical requirements. His mind was off from the matter-of-fact routine of the drill, which, in such a case as his, seemed practical joking, on some ethereal, visionary expedition. He was marked," adds the writer, "for an early grave." The place, indeed, was utterly unsuited to one of Poe's age, temperament, and experience; it was but another edition of Pegasus at the plough, and the climax was, as would not have been difficult to have foreseen that, on the 7th of January, 1831, he was tried by a general court-martial, "for various neglects of duty and disobedience of orders," to which he could but plead *guilty*, and, therefore, in the grandiloquent style of the academy officials, he was, on the subsequent 6th of March, "dismissed the service of the United States."

While still a cadet, and all unawed by the impending sentence, he published an enlarged edition of his boyish rhymes, as "Poems by Edgar A. Poe." This volume, like its predecessor, was for private circulation, and was dedicated to "The United States Corps of Cadets." This dedication appears to have drawn upon its unfortunate author the ridicule of his fellow cadets, and one of them, alluding to the contents of the little volume, says: "These verses were the source of great merriment with us boys, who considered the author cracked, and the verses ridiculous doggerel." Happily for literature, the opinion of "us boys" did not carry much weight, and Poe continued to write "verses" all regardless of West Point and its judgments. This little forgotten book—it contained only 124 pages—is very interesting, not only on account of its cleverly written prefatory letter of seventeen

pages, but also from the fact that it contains a large quantity of verse suppressed in subsequent editions of Poe's works. The omissions are as happy as have been the additions to these boyish poems, and notably mark the progress of their author's genius. No regard for the relics of his youth withheld Edgar A. Poe in after life from pruning away the excrescences of his juvenile verse; with unswerving hand the critic clipped and molded his material into artistic unity.

Whatever may have been Mr. Allan's ideas as to the expulsion of his adopted son from the Military Academy, he received the prodigal, and apparently, on the old footing. Poe had not been back long in Richmond before he became attached to a Miss Royster, and ultimately, it is believed, engaged to her. For reasons unknown, Mr. Allan was utterly opposed to the match, and, as without his aid, matrimony was out of the question, the engagement seems to have been broken off. A violent quarrel took place between the old man and his godson, and the result was that they parted, never to meet again. Poe is stated to have now started off with the intention of proceeding to Poland to assist the Poles in their struggle against Russia, but does not appear to have left the American shores, probably restrained by the intelligence of the fall of Warsaw, an event which took place on the 6th of September, 1831. At this time, as if to complete the estrangement between the chivalric young poet and his godfather, Mr. Allan took unto himself a young wife "the beautiful Miss Paterson," and, as if to give the death-blow to all hope, Miss Royster married Mr. Shelton, a man of fortune. Aimless and resourceless, Poe's position was indeed a sad one. Whither he went and what he did is a mystery not yet unraveled, but that he tried to support himself by literature is pretty evident. It is alleged that during the dreary interregnum of the next two years some of his finest tales were written, but, be that as it may, he had to prove that the waters of Helicon were anything but Pactolian. In 1833, the proprietor of the Baltimore "Saturday Visitor" offered money prizes for the best prose story and the best poem. Poe, who was in that city, selected and sent in six of his stories under the title of "Tales of the Folio Club," and his poem of "The Coliseum." The well-known literary men who adjudicated upon this occasion unanimously decided that the author of "The Folio Club" tales, who was of course unknown to them, was entitled to both the premiums. With his usual recklessness, Griswold writes the story of the award thus:

"Such matters are usually disposed of in a very off-hand way. Committees to award literary prizes drink to the payer's health in good wines, over unexamined

manuscripts, which they submit to the discretion of publishers, with permission to use their names in such a way as to promote the publisher's advantage. So, perhaps, it would have been in this case, but that one of the committee, taking up a little book remarkably beautiful and distinct in caligraphy, was tempted to read several pages; and becoming interested, he summoned the attention of the company to the half dozen compositions it contained. It was unanimously decided that the prizes should be paid to 'the first of geniuses who had written legibly.' *Not another manuscript was unfolded.* Immediately the 'confidential envelope' was opened, and the successful competitor was found to bear the *scarcely* known name of Poe."

A very slight examination of this story, apart from the direct evidence obtained against it, might have convinced any impartial reasoner, that in this, as in most of his unremitting efforts to under-rate Poe's ability, Griswold has overshot the mark. That honorable men, with reputations to maintain, could not be got to act in the way he describes, probably never crossed *his* brain, but his own knowledge of publishing might have taught him that "the publisher's advantage" would be promoted better by careful examination of the submitted manuscripts, than by leaving them unfolded. That Poe's name was entirely unknown, and not *scarcely* known to the adjudicators, need hardly be pointed out. It is gratifying to know, that not only was Griswold's assertion emphatically denied by Messrs. Kennedy and Latrobe, the two surviving adjudicators, but that the printed award itself contains evidence contradicting it. "Among the prose articles were *many* of various and distinguished merit," runs the statement, "but the singular force and beauty of those sent by the author of 'The Tales of the Folio Club,' leave us no room for hesitation in that department," etc. etc., which demonstrates two things: that there had been some doubt in the poem department, and that Poe was entirely unknown to the awarers of the prize. So much for the value of Griswold's testimony, circumstantial as it seems.

Mr. Kennedy, the well-known author of "Horse-shoe Robinson" and other popular works, was so interested in the unknown competitor that he invited him home, and Poe's response, written in his usual clear and exquisite caligraphy, proves to what a depth of misery he had sunk. "Your invitation to dinner has wounded me to the quick," he pathetically declares. "I can not come for reasons of the most humiliating nature—my personal appearance. You may imagine my mortification in making this disclosure to you, but it is necessary." Urged by the noblest feelings, the popular author at once sought out the unfortunate youth, and found him, as he declares, almost starving. Recognizing his worth, Mr. Kennedy at once became his friend, and it is interesting to know that nothing was ever done by Poe to forfeit

this friendship, as indeed Mr. Kennedy, when informed of the poet's decease, declared. It seems impossible to credit any of Griswold's stories of Poe's ungrateful behavior when we find so many persons testifying to his goodness of heart. Mr. Kennedy, so far from contenting himself with mere courtesies, assisted his young *protégé* to re-establish himself in the outward garb of respectability, and treated him more like a dear relative than a chance acquaintance. In his diary of this date he records: "I gave him clothing, free access to my table, and the use of a horse for exercise whenever he chose; in fact, brought him up from the verge of despair."

During this era in his life, his godfather's second wife having presented her husband with a son, Poe's prospects of inheritance were destroyed; indeed, when Mr. Allan died, in the spring of 1834, all expectations of receiving any portion of his wealth were put an end to, by a will in which he was not mentioned. Assisted by Mr. Kennedy, and other literary men, however, by constant drudgery he contrived to earn a livelihood. In August of this year a Mr. White, an energetic and accomplished man, projected the "Southern Literary Messenger." At the suggestion of Mr. Kennedy, Poe sent some of his stories to the new magazine, and in March 1835, Mr. White published, with some flattering comments, "Berenice." Mr. Kennedy had now had eighteen months' experience of Poe without finding any thing to alter his opinion of him, and in April wrote the following letter with reference to him to Mr. White:

"DEAR SIR—Poe did right in referring to me. He is very clever with his pen—classical and scholarlike. He wants experience and direction, but I have no doubt he can be made very useful to you. And, poor fellow! he is *very* poor. I told him to write something for every number of your magazine, and that you might find it to your advantage to give him some permanent employ. He has a volume of very bizarre tales in the hands of ———, in Philadelphia, who for a year past has been promising to publish them. This young fellow is highly imaginative, and a little given to the terrific. He is at work on a tragedy, but I have turned him to drudging upon whatever may make money, and I have no doubt you and he will find your account in each other."

Mr. White did, undoubtedly, find his "account" in his new contributor, and after the publication in the June number of the "Messenger," of "Hans Pfaall,"—three weeks previous to the appearance in the "New York Sun" of Mr. Locke's famous "Moon Hoax," be it noted—found Poe's reputation increasing so rapidly, that he was only too glad to act upon Mr. Kennedy's suggestion of permanent employ, and offered to engage him to assist in the editorial duties of his

magazine at a salary of five hundred and twenty dollars per annum. The young author willingly accepted the appointment, and removed, in September 1835, from Baltimore to Richmond, Virginia, where the "Messenger" was published. The following letter, written to his friend Kennedy, to acquaint him with the fact of his appointment, affords a sad picture of the terrible melancholia under which the poet then, and so frequently, suffered. This affliction, with which all who would know Poe thoroughly should be acquainted, was not merely the result of privation and grief, but, undoubtedly, to some extent, hereditary.

"RICHMOND, September 11, 1835.

"DEAR SIR—I received a letter from Dr. Miller, in which he tells me you are in town. I hasten, then, to write you, and express by letter what I have always found it impossible to express orally—my deep sense of gratitude for your frequent and ineffectual assistance and kindness. Through your influence Mr. White has been induced to employ me in assisting him with the editorial duties of his magazine, at a salary of five hundred and twenty dollars per annum. The situation is agreeable to me for many reasons; but, alas! it appears to me that nothing can give me pleasure or the slightest gratification. Excuse me, my dear sir, if in this letter you find much incoherency. My feelings at this moment are pitiable indeed. I am suffering under a depression of spirits, such as I have never felt before. I have struggled in vain against the influence of this melancholy; *you will believe me*, when I say that I am still miserable, in spite of the great improvement in my circumstances. I say you will believe me, and for this simple reason, that a man who is writing for *effect* does not write thus. My heart is open before you; if it be worth reading, read it. I am wretched and know not why. Console me—for you can. But let it be quickly, or it will be too late. Write me immediately; convince me that it is worth one's while—that it is at all necessary to live, and you will prove yourself indeed my friend. Persuade me to do what is right. I do mean this. I do not mean that you should consider what I now write you a jest. Oh, pity me! for I feel that my words are incoherent; but I will recover myself. You will not fail to see that I am suffering under a depression of spirits which will ruin me should it be long-continued. Write me then, and quickly; urge me to do what is right. Your words will have more weight with me than the words of others, for you were my friend when no one else was. Fail not, as you value your peace of mind hereafter.

"E. A. POE."

To this saddening wail of despair, Mr. Kennedy responded:—

"I am sorry to see you in such plight as your letter shows you in. It is strange that just at this time, when every body is praising you, and when fortune is beginning to smile upon your hitherto wretched circumstances, you should be invaded by these blue devils. It belongs, however, to your age and temper to be thus buffeted—but be assured, it only wants a little resolution to master the adversary forever. You will doubtless do well henceforth in literature, and add to your *comforts*, as well as your reputation, which it gives me great pleasure to assure you is everywhere rising in popular esteem."

"These blue devils" notwithstanding, the new editor worked wonders with the "Messenger."

"His talents made that periodical quite brilliant, while he was connected with it," records Mr. Kennedy, "and, indeed, in little more than a twelvemonth, Poe raised its circulation from seven hundred to nearly five thousand. This success was partially due to the originality and fascination of Poe's stories, and partially owing to the fearlessness of his trenchant critiques. He could not be made, either by flattery or abuse, a respecter of persons. In the December number of the "Messenger" he began that system of literary scarification—that crucial dissection of bookmaking mediocrities, which, while it created throughout the length and breadth of the States a terror of his powerful pen, at the same time raised up against him a host of, although *unknown*, implacable enemies, who, hereafter, were only too glad to seize upon and repeat any story—never mind how improbable—to his discredit. Far better would it have been for his future welfare, if, instead of affording contemporary nonentities a chance of literary immortality, by impaling them upon his pen's sharp point, he had devoted his whole time to the production of his wonderful stories, or still more wonderful poems. Why could he not have left the task of puffing or crushing the works of his Liliputian contemporaries to the ordinary 'disappointed authors?'"

During 1836, Poe devoted the whole of his time to the "Messenger" producing tales, poems, and reviews, in profusion; indeed, at Mr. White's suggestion, apparently, frittering away his genius over these latter. Early in the year, a gleam of hope seemed to break in upon his hapless career. In Richmond, where he was among his own kindred, he met, loved, and married his cousin Virginia, the daughter of his father's sister. Miss Clemm was but a girl in years, and was not unsuspected of inheriting symptoms of the family complaint, consumption; but, undeterred by this, or by his slender income, the poor poet was married to his kinswoman, and, it must be confessed, in happier circumstances, a better or more suitable helpmate could scarcely have been found for him, while marriage had the further advantage of bringing him under the motherly care of his aunt, Mrs. Clemm. In January 1837, Poe resigned the editorial management of the "Southern Literary Messenger," to accept the more lucrative employment offered him by Professors Anthon, Hawks, and Henry, on the "New York Quarterly Review" and probably to aid the first in his classical labors—a work for which his scholarly attainments rendered his services invaluable. Mr. White parted from Poe very reluctantly, and in the number of the "Messenger" containing the announcement of his resignation, issued a note to the subscribers, wherein, after alluding to the ability with which the retiring editor had conducted the magazine, he remarked, "Mr. Poe, however, will

continue to furnish its columns from time to time, with the effusions of his vigorous and popular pen." This incident is mentioned, and attention drawn to the fact, more than once acknowledged by Mr. White, that Poe *resigned for other employment*, because Griswold declares that he was dismissed for drunkenness.

From Richmond, Poe removed to New York, where he and his household took up their residence in Carmine street. Mr. Powell says, that in his writing for the "New York Quarterly Review," the poet "came down pretty freely with his critical axe, and made many enemies." An interesting sketch of Poe's *ménage* at this period of his history has been left us by the late Mr. William Gowans, the wealthy and respected, but eccentric New York bibliopolist. Alluding to the untruthfulness of the prevalent idea of Poe's character, the shrewd old man remarks:

"I therefore, will also show you my opinion of this gifted but unfortunate genius. It may be estimated as worth little, but it has this merit—it comes from an eye and ear witness; and this, it must be remembered, is the very highest of legal evidence. For eight months or more, one house contained us, us one table fed! During that time I saw much of him, and had an opportunity of conversing with him often, and I must say that I never saw him the least affected with liquor, nor even descend to any known vice, while he was one of the most courteous, gentlemanly, and intelligent companions I have met with during my journeyings and haltings through divers divisions of the globe; besides, he had an extra inducement to be a good man, as well as a good husband, for he had a wife of matchless beauty and loveliness, her eyes could match those of any houri, and her face defy the genius of a Canova to imitate; a temper and disposition of surpassing sweetness; besides, she seemed as much devoted to him and his every interest as a young mother is to her first-born. . . . Poe had a remarkably pleasing and prepossessing countenance; what the ladies would call decidedly handsome."

In addition to this testimony, Mr. Gowans, in conversation with Mr. Thomas C. Latta of New York, stated that he was a boarder in the house of Mrs. Clemm, and that Poe and his young wife, who was described as fragile in constitution, also boarded in the same building.

"They were in poor circumstances. Mr. Gowans lived with them several months, and he was often consulted by Mrs. Clemm as to the way and means, as the boarding-business did, not pay. He only left when the household was broken up. Of course Mr. Gowans had the best opportunity of seeing what kind of life the poet led. His testimony is that he (Poe) was uniformly quiet, reticent, gentlemanly in demeanor, and during the whole period he lived there, not the slightest trace of intoxication or dissipation was discernible in the illustrious inmate, who was at that time engaged in the composition of 'Arthur Gordon Pym.' Poe kept good hours, and all his little wants were seen to both by Mrs. Clemm and her daughter, who watched him as studiously as if he had been a child. Mr. Gowans," remarks Mr. Latta, "is himself a man of intelligence, and, being a Scotchman, is by no means averse to 'a two-handed crack,' but he felt himself kept at a distance somewhat, by Poe's aristocratic reserve."

During January and February of this year (1837), Poe contributed the first portions of "The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym," to the "Messenger," and encouraged by the interest it excited, he determined to complete it. It was not published in book form, however, until July of the following year. Griswold declares that it "received little attention" in America, and displaying his usual *animus* adds, copies of the work being sent to England, "and it being mistaken at first for a narrative of real experiences, it was advertised to be reprinted, but a discovery of its character, *I believe*, prevented such a result." The value of the biographer's *belief* is too well-known for any surprise to be felt at the fact, that in a short interval the story was several times reprinted in England, and did attract considerable notice, the "air of truth" which Griswold suggested was only in the attempt, having excited much interest.

In the fall of 1838, Poe removed to Philadelphia, and entered into an arrangement to write for the "Gentleman's Magazine" of that city. His talents soon produced brilliant effects upon this publication, and in May, 1839, he was appointed to the editorial management, "devoting to it," says Griswold, "for ten dollars a week, two hours every day, which left him abundant time for more important labors." What leisure his editorial duties may have left is unknown, but he certainly contrived to write for some other publications, and as several of his finest stories and most pungent critiques first made their appearance at this time it is to be presumed that he contrived to earn a fair livelihood. In the fall of 1839, he made a collection of his best stories, and published them in two volumes, as "Tales of the Grotesque and the Arabesque." This collection contained some of his most imaginative writings, and greatly increased his reputation. It included "The Fall of the House of Usher," a story containing his characteristic poem of "The Haunted Palace." Griswold avers that Poe was indebted to Longfellow's "Beleaguered City" for the idea of this exquisite poem, but that Poe asserted Longfellow owed the idea to him. As a rule, plagiarism is a charge easy to make but hard to prove, and as some if not all of the letters ascribed by Griswold to Poe, are evidently *fabrications*, his evidence will go for very little. It may, however, be pointed out that Poe's poem had been published long prior to Longfellow's, and not "a few weeks," as stated by Griswold, and in two different publications. The resemblance was probably accidental, but at all events Tennyson had worked out the same idea in "The Deserted House," published in 1830. In this same collection appeared Poe's favorite tale of "Ligeia." On a copy of this weird story, in my pos-

session, is an indorsement by the poet to the effect that "Ligeia was also suggested by a *dream*;" the "also" referring to a poem sent to Mrs. Whitman, and which, he wrote to her, "contained all the events of a *dream* which occurred soon after I knew you."

Notwithstanding the reputation which his tales brought him, he was frequently forced, by the *res angustæ domi*, to forsake his legitimate province in literature, and turn his pen to any project that proffered a certain remuneration. There is a story told of him by Griswold, on the authority, he asserts, of a Philadelphia paper, to support his denunciation of Poe as a wholesale plagiarist. Poe, so runs the legend, reprinted a popular work on Conchology, written by the well-known naturalist, Captain Thomas Brown, as by himself, "and actually took out a copyright for the American edition of Captain Brown's work; and, omitting all mention of the English original, pretended in the preface to have been under great obligations to several scientific gentlemen of this city." For ten years after Poe's death this utterly improbable story circulated wherever the poet's biography was told, and although many persons must have known its untruth, no one ventured to explain the facts, till ultimately it came under the notice of Prof. Wyatt, the person of all others best able to disprove the tale, which he did through the "Home Journal." A man of considerable erudition and scientific attainments, Prof. Wyatt was publishing a series of works on Natural History, and among them was a "Manual of Conchology:" to this, Poe, whose scientific knowledge was most comprehensive and exact, contributed so largely that the publisher was fully justified in putting his popular name on the title-page, although he only received a share of the profits. As both Brown's "Text Book," and Poe's "Manual" are founded on the system laid down by Lamarck, they necessarily resemble each other, but the absurd charge that one is plagiarized from the other can only have arisen from gross ignorance, or falsehood. About this same time Poe also published, as a sequence to such studies, a translation and digest of Lemmonnier's "Natural History," and other works of a similar character.

Toward the close of 1840, Mr. George R. Graham, owner of the "Casket," acquired possession of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and merging the two publications, began a new series as "Graham's Magazine." Mr. Graham was only too willing to retain the services of the brilliant editor, and he found his reward in so doing. Edgar Poe, assisted by the proprietor's liberality to his contributors, in little more than two years raised the number of subscribers to the magazine

from five to fifty-two thousand. His daring critiques, his analytic essays, and his weird stories, following one another in rapid succession, startled the public into a knowledge of his power. He created new enemies, however, by the dauntless intrepidity with which he assailed the fragile reputations of the small bookmakers, especially by the publication of his "Autography" papers. He also excited much criticism by the challenge contained in his papers on "Cryptography," wherein he promulgated the theory that human ingenuity could not construct any cryptograph which human ingenuity could not decipher. Tested by several correspondents with difficult samples of their skill, the poet actually took the trouble to examine and solve them, in triumphant proof of the truth of his proposition.

In April, 1841, appeared "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," the first of a series illustrating another analytic phase of Poe's many-sided mind. This story was the first to introduce his name to the French public, and, having caused a lawsuit not altogether conducive to a high estimate of the literary morality of France, gave an impetus to his reputation in that country, which culminated in the faithfully *vraisemblant* translations of Baudelaire, to whose efforts and genius are chiefly due the fact that Poe's tales have become standard classic works in the French language. Edgar Poe is, it should be pointed out, the only American writer really well known and popular in France, while in Spain, his tales early acquired fame, and have now become thoroughly nationalized, they, with the exception of those on Spanish subjects by Irving, Prescott, and Motley, being the only American works known in that country. In Germany Poe's poems and tales have been frequently translated, but, owing to their characteristics having been mistaken, it is only quite recently that they have attained any widely diffused celebrity amongst the *native* Germans.

In 1842 appeared "The Descent into the Maelstrom," a tale that in many respects may be deemed one of his most marvelous and idiosyncratic. It is one of those tales which, like "The Gold Bug," demonstrates the untenability of the theory first promulgated by Griswold, and since so frequently echoed by his copyists, that Poe's ingenuity in unriddling a mystery was only ingenious in appearance, as he himself had woven the webs he so dexterously unweaves. The tales above cited, however, prove Griswold's systematic depreciation of Poe's genius. They are the secrets of nature which he unveils, and are not the riddles of art: he did not invent the natural truth that a cylindrical body, swimming in a vortex, offered more resistance to its suction, and was drawn in with greater difficulty, than bodies of

any other form of equal bulk, any more than he invented, although apparently its first discoverer, the mathematical ratio in which certain letters of the English language recur in all documents of any length. He did not invent the "The Mystery of Marie Rogêt," but he tore away the mysteriousness and laid bare the truth in that strange story of real life. He did not invent, but he was the first to describe if not to perceive, those peculiar idiosyncrasies of the human mind so wonderfully but so clearly portrayed in "The Murders in the Rue Morgue," "The Purloined Letter," "The Imp of the Perverse," and other wonderful examples of his mastery over the mental chords and wheels of our being.

It was during his brilliant editorship, it is believed, of "Graham's Magazine," that Poe discovered and first introduced to the American public the genius of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and it was greatly due to him that her fame in America was coeval with, if it did not precede, that won by her in her native land. In May, 1841, he contributed to the Philadelphia "Saturday Evening Post"—a paper belonging to Mr. Graham—that *prospective* notice of the newly commenced story of "Barnaby Rudge," which drew from Dickens a letter of admiring acknowledgment. In this said notice the poet with mathematical precision explained and foretold the exact plot of the, as yet, unpublished story.

At the close of 1842, Poe resigned this post of joint editor and reviewer of "Graham's Magazine;" why or wherefore is not clearly known, but that it was not through drunkenness, as alleged by Griswold, his successor in the editorial duties, Mr. Graham's own testimony conclusively proves. Poe's cherished idea was to start a magazine of his own, but his resignation may perhaps be justly ascribed to that constitutional restlessness which from time to time overpowered him, and drove him from place to place in a vain search after the El Dorado of his hopes. The truth as to his severance from "Graham's," like so many of the details that enshroud and confuse his life's story, was probably purposely mystified by Poe, who had even a greater love than had Byron of mystifying the impertinent busybodies who wearied him for biographical information. It was shortly previous to this epoch in his life that he had the misfortune to make the acquaintance of Rufus Griswold, a man who, although several years Poe's junior in age, had by many years "knocking about the world," gained an experience of its shifts and subterfuges that made him far more than a match for the poet's unworldly nature. According to Griswold, his acquaintance with Poe began in the spring of 1841, by the poet

calling at his hotel and leaving two letters of introduction, and he follows up his account of the interview with the quotation of several letters purporting to have been written by Poe. The enmity of Griswold for Poe—"the long, intense, and implacable enmity"—spoken of by John Neal and Mr. Graham, is so palpable to readers of the *soi-disant* "Memoir" that it needed not the outside evidence which has been so abundantly furnished to prove it, and the wonder is, not so much that the biographer's audacious charges should have obtained credit abroad, but that no American should yet have produced so complete a refutation of them as could and *should* have been given years ago. Apart from deadly enmity, aroused by a subject of a private nature, the notorious compiler could not forgive Poe for exposing his literary shortcomings, and by so doing rescuing from him his victims. Many American *litterati* of the last generation know but too well how their fear or vanity contributed to the support of Griswold's power.

In the spring of 1843, the one hundred dollar prize offered by "The Dollar Magazine," was obtained by Poe for his tale of "The Gold Bug," a tale illustrative of and originating in his theory of ciphers. As usual Griswold, in alluding to it, can not refrain from displaying the cloven hoof, and knowing it to be the most popular of Poe's stories in America, refers to it "as one of the most remarkable illustrations of his ingenuity of construction and *apparent* subtlety of reasoning." In 1844 the poet removed to New York, whither his daily increasing fame had already preceded him, and where he entered into a more congenial literary atmosphere. In the cities in which he had hitherto exercised his talents, he was surrounded by provincial cliques, but in New York, as he now entered it, he found a nearer approach to metropolitanism, and therefore a fairer field for the recognition of his powers. "For the first time," remarks Griswold, completely ignoring the talent of all other American cities, "for the first time he was received into circles capable of both the appreciation and the production of literature." It has generally been assumed that the first publication Poe wrote for in New York was the "Mirror," but the author of a sketch of Willis and his contemporaries, contributed to the Newark "Northern Monthly" in 1868, referring to Poe as

"One who has been more shamefully maligned and slandered than any other writer that can be named," remarks: "I say this from personal knowledge of Mr. Poe, who was associated with myself in the editorial conduct of my own paper *before* his introduction into the office of Messrs. Willis and Morris;" adding, "for Mr. Willis's manly vindication of the unfortunate, I honor him."

Again, referring to this vindication of Poe from Griswold's accusation, he says:

"Mr. Willis's testimony is freely confirmed by other publishers. On this subject I have some singular revelations which throw a strong light on the causes that darkened the life, and made most unhappy the death, of one of the most remarkable of all our literary men, as an English reviewer once said, 'the most brilliant genius of his country.'"

In the fall of 1844, Poe was engaged as sub-editor and critic on the "Mirror," a daily paper belonging to N. P. Willis and General George Morris. Willis writing from Idlewild, in October 1859, to his fellow-poet and former partner, recalls to his memory that

"Poe came to us quite incidentally, neither of us having been personally acquainted with him till that time. . . . As he was a man who never smiled, and never said a propitiatory or deprecating word, we were not likely to have been seized with any sudden partiality or wayward caprice in his favor. . . . you remember how absolutely and how good humouredly ready he was for any suggestion; how punctually and industriously reliable in the following out of the wish once expressed; how cheerful and present-minded at his work, when he might excusably have been so listless and abstracted."

During the whole six months or so that Poe was engaged on the "Mirror," Willis asserts that "he was invariably punctual and industrious," and was daily "at his desk from nine in the morning till the evening paper went to press." At this period some of the most remarkable productions of his genius, including his poetic *chef-d'œuvre* "The Raven," were given to the world. This unique and most original of poems first appeared in Colton's "American Review" for February, 1845, as by "Quarles." It was once reprinted in the "Evening Mirror" with the author's name attached, and in a few weeks was known over the whole of the United States. It carried its author's name and fame from shore to shore; called into existence parodies and imitations innumerable; drew warm eulogies from some of the first of foreign poets, and finally made him the lion of the season. And for this masterpiece of genius—for this poem which has probably done more for the renown of American letters than any single work—it is alleged that Poe, then at the height of his renown, received the sum of ten dollars! Mrs. Browning, in a letter written soon after the republication of "The Raven" in England, says:

"This vivid writing—this *power which is felt*—has produced a sensation here in England. Some of my friends are taken by the fear of it, and some by the music. I hear of persons who are haunted by the 'Nevermore,' and an acquaintance of mine, who has the misfortune of possessing a bust of Pallas, can not bear to look at it in the twilight."

And then referring to Poe's "Mesmeric Revelations," which some journals accepted as a record of facts, the poetess resumes:

"Then there is a tale going the rounds of the newspapers about mesmerism, which is throwing us all into 'most admired disorder'—dreadful doubts as to whether it can be true, as the children say of ghost stories. The certain thing about it is the power of the writer."

The "Broadway Journal" was started by two journalists at the beginning of 1845, and in March Poe was associated with them in its management. He had occasionally written for it from the first, but had nothing to do with the editorial arrangements until the tenth number. One of the most noticeable of his contributions was a critique on the poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, to whom he shortly afterwards dedicated, in most admiring terms, a selection of his poems, published by Messrs. Wiley & Putnam. In July of this year, the sole supervision of the "Broadway Journal," devolved upon Poe, but it was not until the following October that he became proprietor as well as editor of this publication. His predecessors do not appear to have invested much money or talent in the undertaking, and when they retired and left the poet in entire possession of the publication, its acquisition would not appear to have added much to his worldly goods. In March, he gave a lecture in the library of the New York Historical Society, on the American Poets, and attracted much attention, not only by the originality and courage of his remarks, but by the fascination of his presence, his eloquence, and his personal beauty. The *furor* which his lecture created caused him to be asked to Boston, and in the autumn he accepted an invitation to recite a poem in the Lyceum of that city.

"When he accepted the invitation," avers Griswold—who assumes to have known Poe's innermost thoughts—"he intended to write an original poem, upon a subject which he said had haunted his imagination for years, but cares, anxieties, and feebleness of will prevented, and a week before the appointed night, he wrote to a friend imploring assistance. 'You compose with such astonishing facility,' he urged in his letter, 'that you can easily furnish one quite soon enough, a poem that shall be equal to my reputation.' . . . At last, instead of pleading illness, as he had previously done on a similar occasion, he determined to read his poem of 'Al Aaraaf.'"

It is difficult to say how much, if any, of this story is true. None knew better than Poe, that it was impossible for a poem equal to *his* reputation, to be composed in a week, or in any length of time, by Mrs. Osgood, the friend alluded to; but as the lady died before the "Memoir" was published, therefore Griswold, who was known to have

been her confidant, was safe in telling the tale. One who was present on the occasion of the said recitation, states that the lecture course of the Boston Lyceum was waning in popularity, and that Poe's fame being at its zenith, he was invited to deliver a poem at the opening of the winter session.

"I remember him well," he remarks, "as he came on the platform. He was the best realization of a poet in feature, air, and manner, that I have ever seen, and the unusual paleness of his face added to its aspect of melancholy interest. He delivered a poem that no one understood, but at its conclusion gave the audience a treat which almost redeemed their disappointment. This was the recitation of his own 'Raven,' which he repeated with thrilling effect. It was something well worth treasuring in memory. Poe," he adds, "after he returned to New York, was much incensed at Boston criticism on his poem."

The poet was not probably "incensed" to any very great extent, but doubtless found it a profitable hit for his journal to, as he styled it, "kick up a bobbery." A week after the lecture, therefore, he began to comment, in a tone of playful badinage, upon the remarks made with respect to it by the newspapers, especially the "Bostonian." Griswold reprinted nearly the whole of Poe's good-natured bantering in the "Memoir," and appears to have fancied something terrible was hidden in the jokes about the Bostonians and their "Frog Pond," and deems "it scarcely necessary to suggest that this must have been written before he had quite recovered from the long intoxication which maddened him at the time to which it refers." As "the time to which it refers" was evidently that of the lecture, and as it was written upward of a week after that event, and as Poe continued the discussion in the same tone three weeks later, as, indeed, the biographer notices, "the long intoxication" must, indeed, have been a lengthy one. But Griswold had no mercy. Although these hurried newspaper jottings were, he himself admits, written when Poe was suffering from "cares, anxieties, and feebleness of will," and when as he shows, the poor persecuted poet was in pecuniary difficulties, and, not being able to pay for assistance, was obliged somehow to write nearly all the "Journal" himself, yet, under all such conflicting ills, these few jocular, but overstrained jottings are unearthed and adduced as evidence of Poe's irretrievably bad nature.

During his possession of the "Broadway Journal," the labors of Edgar Poe must have been terrible: not only did the *res angustæ domi* compel him to contribute papers to other magazines, but week after week, he wrote the larger portion of the "Journal's" folio pages himself, besides performing the many duties of an editorial proprietor.

The "much friendly assistance," which Griswold—who said also that he was friendless—asserts he received in his management of the journal, being chiefly confined to the contribution of a few verses. He was only able to comply with this great strain upon his mental and physical strength by reprinting many of his published tales and poems in the columns of his paper, and even these were submitted to a close scrutiny, and innumerable alterations and corrections made in them. A journal of his own, in which he could give vent to his own untrammelled opinions, unchecked by the mercantile and, undoubtedly, more prudential views of publishers, had long been one of Poe's most earnest desires, and he attained his wish in the possession of the "Broadway Journal;" but poverty, ill-health, want of worldly knowledge, and a sick, a dying wife, to distract him, all combined to overpower his efforts. What could the unfortunate poet do? During the three months that he had complete control of the moribund journal, he made it, considering when it was published, and how, as good a cheap literary paper as was ever produced. All his efforts, however, were insufficient to keep it alive, so, on the 3d of January, 1846, he was obliged to resign his favorite hobby of a paper of his own. It may be pointed out that while in possession of the "Broadway," he availed himself of the opportunity of displaying his almost Quixotic feelings of gratitude—those feelings denied him by the ruthless Griswold—toward those who had formerly befriended him, and not only to the living, whose aid might continue, but toward those who had already entered into the "hollow vale." His generous tributes to departed worth are truer proofs of his nobility of heart, than any disproof the malignity of Griswold could invent.

In the winter of 1845-6, Edgar Poe was occasionally to be met with in the literary reunions of New York, and sometimes, says Mrs. Whitman, his fair young wife was seen with him. "She seldom took part in the conversation, but the memory of her sweet and girlish face, always animated and vivacious, repels the assertion, afterwards so cruelly and recklessly made, that she died a victim to the neglect and unkindness of her husband, who, it has been said, 'deliberately sought her death that he might embalm her memory in immortal dirges.'" Gilfillan declares that Poe caused the death of his wife that he might have a fitting theme for "The Raven;" but, unfortunately for the truth of that gentleman's theory, the poem was published more than two years previous to the event he so ingeniously assumed it to commemorate. Friend and foe alike, who knew any thing of Poe, bear testimony to the unvarying kindness and affection of the poet

for his young wife. "His love for his wife," says Mr. Graham, "was a sort of rapturous worship. I have seen him hovering around her when she was ill, with all the fond fear and tender anxiety of a mother for her firstborn—her slightest cough causing in him a shudder, a heart-chill that was visible. . . It was this hourly *anticipation* of her loss that made him a sad and thoughtful man, and lent a mournful melody to his undying song." Mrs. Whitman remarks, that it was for his dear wife's sake, "and for the recovery of that peace which had been so fatally imperiled amid the irritations and anxieties of his New York life, that Poe left the city and removed to the little Dutch cottage in Fordham, where he passed the three remaining years of his life."

In May, 1846, Poe began to contribute to "Godey's Lady's Book" a series of critiques on the "Literati of New York," "in which he professed," remarks Griswold with his wonted sneer, "to give some honest opinions at random respecting their authorial merits." These essays were immensely successful, but the caustic style of some of them produced terrible commotion in the ranks of mediocrity, as may be seen from Mr. Godey's notice to his readers respecting the anonymous and other letters he received concerning them. A Dunn-English, or Dunn-Brown, for he is doubly named, dissatisfied with the manner in which his literary shortcomings had been reviewed by Poe, instead of waiting, as Griswold and his followers did, for the poet's death, when every ass could have its kick at the lion's carcass, "retaliated in a personal newspaper article," remarks Duyckinck, in his invaluable "Encyclopedia," "and the communication was reprinted in the 'Evening Mirror' in New York, whereupon Poe instituted a libel suit against that journal, and recovered several hundred dollars." Griswold's account of the affair is that "Dunn English chose to evince his resentment of the critic's unfairness by the publication of a card, in which he painted strongly the infirmities of Poe's life and character." "Poe's article," he continues, "was entirely false in what purported to be the facts," and, to support this audacious misrepresentation, he, in reprinting the said article, inserted a number of personalities, the whole of which are absent from the real critique published in the "Lady's Book!" It is thoroughly characteristic of Griswold's utter recklessness that he declares Mr. Godey's refusal to print Poe's rejoinder to English in the "Lady's Book," sent on the 27th of June, led "to a disgraceful quarrel," and to the "premature conclusion" of the "Literati;" and that Poe "ceased to write for the 'Lady's Book' in consequence of Mr. Godey's justiable refusal to print in that

miscellany his 'Reply to Dr. English.' Poe's review of "English" appeared in the second or June number of the "Literati," and when Griswold's habitual recklessness is known, one is not surprised to find, upon reference to the magazine, that the sketches ran their stipulated course until the following October, and that after that date and until within a short time of his decease, Poe continued to contribute to the "Lady's Book;" nor is one surprised to find Mr. Godey writing to the "Knickerbocker" in defence and praise of the poet's "honorable and blameless conduct." In January, 1847, the poet's darling wife died, and in an autographic letter now before us, Poe positively reiterates the accusation that she,—“My poor Virginia, was continually tortured (although not deceived) by anonymous letters, and on her deathbed declared that her life had been shortened by their writer,” a writer whose infamy can only remain concealed through obscurity. The loss of his wife threw the poet into a melancholy stupor which lasted for several weeks; but nature reasserting her powers, he gradually resumed his wonted avocations. During the whole of the year Poe lived a quiet, secluded life with his mother-in-law, receiving occasional visits from his friends and admirers, and thinking out the great and crowning work of his life—"Eureka"—“that grand ‘prose poem’ to which he devoted the last and most matured energies of his wonderful intellect.” Toward the close of this “most immemorial year,” this year in which he had lost his cousin-bride, he wrote his weird monody of “Ulalume.” Like so many of his poems it was autobiographical, and the poet declared it was in its basis, although not in the precise correspondence of time, simply historical. The poem originally possessed an additional verse, but, at the suggestion of Mrs. Whitman, this was subsequently omitted, and the effect of the whole thereby greatly strengthened.

Early in 1848, Poe announced his intention of delivering a series of lectures, with a view to raise a sufficient sum to enable him to start a magazine of his own; the magazine to be called “The Stylus,” and to be “entirely out of the control of a publisher.” To get the requisite number of subscribers he purposed, he wrote to Willis,

“To go South and West, among my personal and literary friends, old college and West Point acquaintances, and see what I can do. In order to get the means of taking the first step, I propose to lecture at the Society Library, on the 3d of February, and, that there may be no cause of *squabbling*, my subject shall *not be literary* at all. I have chosen a broad text—‘The Universe.’”

The lecture was delivered in the library of the Historical Society; it was upon the cosmogony of the universe, and formed the sub-

stance of the work he afterward published as "Eureka, a Prose Poem." Mr. M. B. Field, who was present, says:

"It was a stormy night, and there were not more than sixty persons present in the lecture room. . . . His lecture was a rhapsody of the most intense brilliancy. He appeared inspired, and his inspiration affected the scant audience almost painfully. His eyes seemed to glow like those of his own 'Raven,' and he kept us entranced for two hours and a half."

Such small audiences, despite the enthusiasm of the lecturer, or the lectured, could not give much material aid toward the poet's purpose. Poor and baffled, he had to return to his lonely home at Fordham to contemplate anew the problems of creation; or to discuss with stray visitors, with an intensity of feeling and steadfastness of belief never surpassed, his attempted unriddling of the secret of the universe.

Notwithstanding his many admirers, and the friendly co-operation of Mr. Thomas C. Clarke, of Philadelphia, who was to have been the publisher, Poe was unable to get the minimum number of subscribers necessary to start the magazine upon a sound basis; nor did his first lecture, as is palpable, render much assistance toward "the means of taking the first step." In the early summer of the same year, Poe lectured at Lowell, on the "Female Poets of America," and in the lecture paid some very high compliments to the "pre-eminence in refinement of art, enthusiasm, imagination, and genius" of Mrs. Whitman, certainly the finest female poet New England has yet produced. Griswold says Mrs. Whitman had first been seen by Poe,

"On his way from Boston, when he visited that city to deliver a poem before the Lyceum there. Restless, near midnight, he wandered from his hotel near where she lived, until he saw her walking in a garden. He related the incident afterward in one of his most exquisite poems, worthy of himself, of her, and of the most exalted passion."

But the beautiful widow lived on, unconscious of the fierce flame she had aroused in the poet's heart, although, about the time of the above-named lecture, the first intimation reached her, in the shape of the exquisite lines "To Helen," alluded to by Griswold, commencing, "I saw thee once—once only—years ago." The poem was unsigned, but the lady had already seen Edgar Poe's exquisite handwriting, and knew, therefore, whence it came. In September, the poet, having obtained a letter of introduction from a lady friend, sought and obtained an interview with Mrs. Whitman. The result of this and several subsequent meetings was the betrothal of the two poets, but in the following December their engagement came to an

end. The real cause of the rupture between Poe and his *fiancée* has never been published, but there is direct evidence of the utter falsity of the diabolical story repeated in nearly every memoir of the poet. On the evening before what should have been the bridal morn, says the veracious biographer, Poe committed such drunken outrages at the house of his affianced bride, as rendered it necessary to summon the police to eject him, which, he remarks, of course ended the engagement. This misstatement being brought under the notice of the parties concerned, Mr. William I. Pabodie, of Providence, Rhode Island, wrote a direct and specific denial of it, which appeared in the "New York Tribune," on the 7th of June, 1852. "I am authorized to say," remarks Mr. Pabodie, who, it is scarcely necessary to mention, was an eminent lawyer, as well as a man of considerable literary ability, "not only from my personal knowledge, but also from the statement of ALL who were conversant with the affair, that there exists not a shadow of foundation for the story above alluded to." The same letter goes on to state that its writer knew Poe well, and at the time alluded to was with him daily. "I was acquainted with the circumstances of his engagement, and with the causes which led to its dissolution," continues Mr. Pabodie; and he concludes his letter with an earnest appeal to Griswold to do all that now lies in his power "to remove an undeserved stigma from the memory of the departed." Griswold should have acknowledged that he had been misinformed, and should have done his best to obviate the consequences of his accusation. Not so: he wrote a savage letter to Mr. Pabodie, threatening terrible things if he did not withdraw his statement. Mr. Pabodie *did not withdraw*, but in a second letter brought forward incontrovertible proofs of other falsifications indulged in by the author of the "Memoir," who remained, henceforward, discreetly silent.

During the larger portion of 1848, Poe continued his studies, which at this period were chiefly philosophical, at his home in Fordham. Beyond a few reviews and "Marginalia," he would appear to have given his whole time to the completion of "Eureka," the various knotty points of which last and grandest effort of his genius he was wont to descant upon with an eloquence that electrified his hearers into belief. He could not submit to hear the claims of his work coolly discussed by unsympathetic and incompetent critics, and after it was published in book form, and thus made public property, he addressed a stinging letter to the "Literary World," in reply to a flippant critique of the work which had appeared in the columns of that paper. The winter of 1848-9, and the spring of the latter year, Poe passed at

Fordham, and during this time he is alleged to have written a book entitled "Phases of American Literature;" and Mr. M. A. Daly states that he saw the complete work, but the manuscript would seem to have disappeared. After Poe's death the larger portion of his papers passed through Griswold's hands, and this will doubtless account for all deficiencies. In the summer, Poe revisited Richmond, and spent between two and three months there, during which time he delivered two lectures, in the Exchange Concert Room, on "The Poetic Principle."

"When in Richmond," says Mr. Thompson, "he made the office of the 'Messenger' a place of frequent resort. His conversation was always attractive, and at times very brilliant. Among modern authors his favorite was Tennyson, and he delighted to recite from 'The Princess' the song 'Tears, idle tears'—and a fragment of which,

"When unto dying eyes
The casement slowly grows a glimmering square,"

he pronounced unsurpassed by any image expressed in writing."

For Mr. Thompson, whom he inspired with an affection similar to that with which he inspired all with whom he had personal dealings, he wrote much of his sparkling and vivid "Marginalia" as well as reviews of "Stella" (Mrs. Lewis), and of Mrs. Osgood. To his probity and general worth Mr. Thompson, who saw so much of him in his latter days, bears feeling testimony. In 1853, writing to Mr. James Wood Davidson, the talented author of "Living Writers of the South," Mr. Thompson remarks:

"Two years ago, I had a long conversation, in Florence, with Mr. Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning, concerning Poe. The two poets, like yourself, had formed an ardent and just admiration of the author of 'The Raven,' and feel a strong desire to see his memory vindicated from moral aspersion."

Unfortunately the vindication has been slower than the aspersion to make its way in the world.

Edgar Poe had not been long in Richmond on this occasion of his final visit before it was rumored that he was engaged to the love of his youth, Mrs. Shelton (*née* Royster), who was now a widow. He never alluded in any way to such an engagement to his friend Thompson, intimate as he was with him, but there would appear to have been some truth in the report, and on the news of his death, Mrs. Shelton went into widow's mourning for him. On the 4th of October he left Richmond by train, with the intention, it is supposed, of going to Fordham to fetch Mrs. Clemm. Before his departure he complained to a friend of indisposition, of chilliness, and of exhaustion, but nevertheless determined to undertake the journey. He left the cars at Baltimore, and several hours later was discovered in the

streets insensible. How he was taken ill no one really knows, and *most* of the absurd reports circulated about his last moments must, necessarily, be absolute inventions. The most trustworthy idea is that the unfortunate man was seized by a gang of ruffians, "cooped," stupefied with liquor, dragged to the polls, and having "voted the ticket placed in his hands," was then left in the street to die. When found he was in a dying state, and being unknown, was taken to the Washington University Hospital, where he died on Sunday the 7th of October, 1849, of inflammation of the brain. The following day his remains were buried in the burial-ground of Westminster church, close by the grave of his grandfather, General David Poe. No stone marks the spot where he lies.

In telling the true story of Edgar Poe's life it is impossible to utterly ignore the fact—a fact of which his enemies have made so much—that toward the close of his melancholy career, sorrow and pecuniary embarrassment drove him to the use of stimulants, as affording the only procurable nepenthe for his troubles. "A less delicate organization than his," remarks one of his acquaintances, "might have borne without injury, what to him was maddening." "I have absolutely *no* pleasure in the stimulants in which I sometimes so madly indulge," he wrote, some months before his death, to a dear friend who had tried to hold forth a saving hope. "It has not been in the pursuit of pleasure that I have periled life and reputation and reason. It has been in the desperate attempt to escape from torturing memories—memories of wrong and injustice and imputed dishonor—from a sense of insupportable loneliness and a dread of some strange impending gloom." There is no necessity for us to touch heavily upon this terrible *trait* in the character of Edgar Poe—this sad, sickening infirmity of his "lonesome latter years:" his error, if such it may be styled—the impulse which blindly impelled him to his destruction—injured no one but himself; but certainly no one before or since has suffered so severely in character as a consequence of such a fault. Other children of genius have erred far worse than Poe ever did, inasmuch as their derelictions have injured others, but with them the world has dealt leniently, accepting *their* genius as a compensation. But for poor Edgar Poe, who wronged no one but himself, the world, misled greatly, it is true, as to his real character, has hitherto had no mercy. The true story of his life has now been told; henceforth let him be judged justly; henceforth let his errors be forgotten, and to his name be assigned that place which is due to it in the glory-roll of fame.

THE NEW YORK GOLD ROOM.

FOR nearly a fortnight after the New York banks suspended specie payments, on the 31st of December, 1861, there was no regular gold market. The transactions in the precious metals had been confined to the counters of the dealers in bullion and uncurrent money, who asked for it a small but gradually advancing premium. The first formal dealings in gold took place in Wall street—or rather in William street—on Monday the 13th of January, 1862, and all the transactions on that day were at 103. The existence of the New York Gold Room practically began at that date—although the Gold Exchange was not organized until a year and three quarters afterwards. Thenceforward gold was regularly dealt, both at the Stock Exchange and on the Street. The stock-brokers, however, deemed it unpatriotic to buy gold, and—believing the premium could not long be maintained—they had a *penchant* for selling it “short,” or, in other words, for future delivery, without having it in possession, hoping for a decline that would allow them to buy at a profit, and so cover their contracts. But finding that it continued to rise, they desisted from this, and ultimately passed a resolution refusing to deal in it at all at the Board. To this they steadily adhered ever afterwards, excepting that when the Black Friday panic occurred, involving the closing of the Gold Room, they for the time being provided for gold dealings, and an attempt was made to establish a gold department of the Stock Exchange, but the proposition was rejected.

The early infancy of the Gold Room was passed in the “Coal Hole” in William street, between Beaver and Exchange Place, and just below the passage-way then leading to the Stock Exchange—a dark, repulsive basement, since improved, and converted into a restaurant. The apartment was shared by its first inmates, a host of stock operators and “curb-stone” brokers—a class which has since become extinct—who afterwards organized as the Open Board of Brokers. Although speculation in gold soon became active, the premium ruled low for six months after the suspension. During the first four months of 1862, the extreme variations in the premium were from 1 to 3½

per cent. only. In May it rose from 2 to 4 per cent., and in June steadily advanced to $9\frac{1}{2}$, but military reverses sent it up to 20 in July, although it fell to $12\frac{1}{2}$ in August, from which point it gradually moved upward to 34 before the close of the year. In March 1863, it rose to $71\frac{3}{4}$, but declined to $22\frac{1}{8}$ in August, and advanced again to 54, from which point it continued to ascend till the 11th of July, 1864, when the highest figure it ever attained was reached. The large war expenditures, the spread, and uncertain duration of the conflict, and the steady augmentation of the volume of the currency, naturally stimulated speculation for a rise in gold, and the people at large participated in it to an extent that recalled historical memories of the Tulip Mania in Holland, and of the South Sea Bubble in England. Importers bought gold, not only to pay their foreign indebtedness, but to secure themselves against any depreciation of the currency that might occur between the time of the purchase of their goods abroad and that of their being marketed at home, as well as to provide for the payment of customs' duties. Merchants, manufacturers, and others engaged in legitimate business bought it to protect themselves against loss on their stocks of merchandise, and the private bankers with European connections—commonly called foreign bankers—bought it for shipment against their bills of exchange whenever the notes for sterling were high enough to make such shipments profitable. But the purchases for commercial purposes were a mere drop in comparison with the ocean of speculative transactions. The mercantile community, and the foreign bankers, not content with satisfying their trade wants became, in most instances, heavy speculators, while nearly all the professional stock-jobbers in Wall street operated in gold as fully as in securities. Men of all pursuits, all over the country, who had funds sufficient to furnish the necessary ten per cent. margins—five per cent. is now more than sufficient—became gold speculators, and the telegraph wires were all day long bearing their orders to brokers to buy, or sell. Lawyers and editors, clergymen and doctors, learned professors and illiterate store-keepers, bank officers and farmers, dentists and architects, publishers and authors, army paymasters and government clerks, gamblers and gentlemen, saints and sinners—a mighty and a motley host, composed of good, bad, and indifferent elements—rushed to the Gold Room, either *in propria persona* or through the medium of a sweltering multitude of brokers, whose cries and gesticulations in times of excitement—and they were many—bordered upon the frantic. Some of the latter made large fortunes with great rapidity, their commission of

twelve dollars and a half on every ten thousand dollars in gold, bought or sold, often amounting to thousands of dollars a day.

The heaviest speculative orders were sent from Washington and Baltimore, and next to these, from Louisville, Kentucky, owing to these cities being in close communication with the seat of war and the rebel lines; and the operators there, almost to a man, were "bulls" in feeling, and strong Secessionists. But though seldom or never found selling "short" they were quick to sell out their "long" gold—that is the gold they were carrying—whenever the Confederate arms met with a reverse, and as quick to buy it back again when the market seemed to "touch bottom." As news-getters these men were like hawks in search of prey, and those at Washington in particular seemed to scent victory, or defeat, with unerring sagacity, and when they were buying or selling, it became a habit with brokers and operators in the secret to follow suit. The so-called Washington party was composed not only of the private bankers, and nearly all the bank officers, in the city, but of many influential members of both houses of Congress, lobbyists, clerks, and others, in the Government offices, with facilities for obtaining early war news, and a large floating population of army contractors, and speculators who had taken up their residence there for the purpose of getting early intelligence of important events, whence they telegraphed their orders to their brokers in Wall street. Every man in the War Department, and the Executive Mansion, who was so situated as to be able to communicate valuable information in advance of the newspaper dispatches, was approached by the gold operators, and in most instances an arrangement existed between the former and the latter, for mutual profit. The Washington newspaper correspondents were particularly active in gleaning and telegraphing news to Wall street houses, for use in the Gold Room; some of these men were paid by a salary from each firm that, in their own vernacular, they "kept posted," while others, and the majority, were compensated by the profits on purchases, or sales, of gold made on their account by the parties whom they thus informed. Almost every individual speculator in the Gold Room, whose transactions were large enough to make it of consequence, had a correspondent at the national capital, who sent him a telegraphic dispatch as occasion required. Sometimes information so communicated was of great advantage to speculators, but more frequently it had been "discounted" in the Gold Room before there was time to act upon it, owing to the same advices being simultaneously received by many others, or in consequence of news from one quarter being

neutralized by news from another, as well as owing to local speculative influences, such as determined efforts to "bull" or "bear" the market by large individual operators, or cliques, in which case the struggle between the contending elements would wax fierce and loud, and the Gold Room would present a howling mass of agitated forms and flashing eyes, suggestive of some of the scenes in Dante's "Inferno."

Immediately after the receipt of news of an unexpected victory, or defeat, the Babel of voices in the "Coal Hole" arrested the attention of passers-by in William street, and through the tremendous uproar and the confusion of sounds could be heard some voice louder than the rest, exclaiming, perhaps—"I'll give a half for a hundred—half for a hundred—five-eighths for a hundred." "Sold" would be the responsive cry of some one near, by which the initiated looker-on would know that a hundred thousand dollars in gold had been bought at a certain price of which the fraction was $\frac{5}{8}$, although no mention of thousand had been made in the transaction, the latter being the unit, and it being always tacitly understood that the number offered, or bid for, implied so many thousands, and that the fraction named was over and above the even figure last previously quoted. The sale in question, it may be assumed, was at 110 $\frac{5}{8}$.

"Ten at three-quarters," some seller would shout, with an energy that under other circumstances might have seemed to savor of desperation.

"Take 'em," would be the rejoinder of the buyer, and ten thousand at 110 $\frac{3}{4}$ accordingly changed hands.

Gold bought or sold thus was in the "regular way," namely, to be delivered on the next day, all transactions being so considered where no time was mentioned, such as "Buyer three," or "Seller three"—meaning so many days' option to deliver to the buyer or seller—or "cash," signifying deliverable on the same day. In dealings on the Stock Exchange, short options were and still are frequent, but in gold they have always been comparatively rare, the custom of borrowing from day to day to make deliveries when gold has been sold "short" being universal, and by the lending and borrowing system, contracts can be kept out for any length of time, as in the case of stocks.

Men and boys were, meanwhile, to be seen running in and out of the dingy basement, as if their lives depended upon the rapidity of their movements, and very soon there would be a grand chorus of bidders. "Twelve for fifty" from a dozen mouths, would be drowned by—"An eighth for fifty"—"a quarter for fifty"—"a half for fifty"—"three quarters for ten"—"thirteen for a hundred," the premium

mounting up as fast as the bids could be uttered. This was a sure indication of bad news for the Union from the seat of war, just as a pressure to sell at declining figures would have been significant of good news. But gigantic leaps in the gold market in a single day were unknown during the first two years of the suspension—although there were wide fluctuations in the spring of 1863—the popular expectation having been that the war would be a short one, and none were probably more sanguine as to its speedy termination than Mr. William H. Seward, whose sixty days predictions will long be remembered.

Sectional feeling often entered largely into the bull and bear contests in the Gold Room, and Union men and rebel sympathizers fought their battles sometimes, as much to gratify this as to make money. In days when the air was full of exciting war news, they would shriek, and wave their hats and their hands, and shake their fists, and cast savage glances at each other; and sing "John Brown" and "Dixie," and sway to and fro like demons preparing for combat. On such occasions, the scene seemed to be one of fury and turmoil, and it is not surprising that men sometimes came to blows in the heat of passion.

The active speculation in gold, coupled with its rapidly advancing premium, was denounced by the pulpit and the press, as the scandal of the time, and on the 18th of February 1863, the Legislature of the State of New York passed a law prohibiting any one from loaning more than par in currency on coin, or bullion; but this exerted no perceptible effect upon the course of the market for the precious metal. On the 3d of March 1863, Congress passed a bill to the same effect, now also imposing a strong tax of one half per cent., and six per cent. interest, on all contracts having more than three days to run, for the purchase or sale of gold or silver, or for loans on such. Gold fell from 171 to 139 before the close of the month, but rallied to 157 on the 1st of April. Wall street was then the scene of rampant speculation in stocks under the leadership of Anthony W. Morse, and borne up by the rising volume of the currency, every thing the bulls touched advanced rapidly. There was more money to be made by buying securities, than gold, and consequently speculation was diverted to a certain extent from the latter to the former. Moreover, the capture of Fort Wagner revived hopes of a speedy termination of the war, and hence the current of speculation was so far in favor of a fall in gold, that it touched the before quoted figure of 122 $\frac{1}{8}$ in August. After this the inflation of prices not only kept pace with, but outran the inflation of the currency, and gold rapidly

reacted upward. Americans became a nation of speculators. Cotton, breadstuffs, and provisions, were speculated in as freely as if they had been stocks, and the fact of their value, as measured by the currency, having been a constantly fluctuating one, fomented speculation, which so added to the uncertainties of legitimate business, as to invest trade itself with the risks of speculation. The Produce Exchange became, like the Stock Exchange, the theatre of active and extensive bull manipulations, and a prey to cliques. We heard at different times of parties controlling all the wheat, pork, butter, lard, rice, whiskey, and other commodities in the market, and occasionally of a "corner" in one or the other of these, just as we had become accustomed to hear of the sharp corners in Wall street. The cotton market was, at the same time, as much used as a gambling arena as the Gold Room.

This riotous speculation naturally fostered reckless extravagance, on the principle of "easy come, easy go," and a lavish and ostentatious style of living was in vogue among those enriched by the war, this being especially the case with those who had acquired wealth by army contracts, and oil wells in Pennsylvania. The "shoddy aristocracy" vied with the "petroleum aristocracy" in its display of diamonds, equipages, stately mansions, and "purple and fine linen," but the essence of vulgarity was discernible in both.

The *nouveau riche*, however, and speculators and speculation generally, suffered a heavy blow in April 1864, when Mr. Chase visited New York, and sold several millions of gold, and then retained their proceeds in the sub-treasury. The money market had been previously active at seven per cent., owing to the great demand for loans to carry forward the immense bull speculations in stocks, and this action of the Secretary of the Treasury—which was evidently designed for the purpose it accomplished—resulted in such extreme monetary stringency, that holders of blocks of speculative stocks were unable to carry them, and being forced to sell, a sweeping panic immediately followed, in which stocks declined from twenty to fifty per cent., and Morse and a number of his followers failed disastrously. This revulsion, although attended by a temporary decline of a few per cent. in gold, was quickly followed by an advance to higher figures than were previously current, the fluctuations of the month having been from 166½ at the opening to 184 near the close. Mr. Chase, further bent on breaking down the gold speculation, which he rightly regarded as a national evil, gave notice through the sub-treasury that greenbacks, at a fixed rate, to be announced from day to day, would be received in lieu of

gold for customs' duties. This created a flurry among the gold speculators, and large speculative sales for a decline were made, but after a few days' experience it was found that the price fixed by the Treasury failed to govern the Gold Room, the quotations there having advanced considerably beyond the government rate. Mr. Chase, too, saw that the public credit would suffer by a course that kept coin from flowing into the Treasury. The plan was therefore abandoned, and this being construed into a government defeat, the bulls availed themselves of the opportunity to rapidly run up the premium, much to the loss of the mercantile community, which was largely "short" of gold in anticipation of a heavy decline consequent on the cessation of the demand for duties.

Mr. Chase now advocated the abolition of the Gold Room, and the subject attracted much attention in Congress, the result being that on the 17th of June the celebrated Gold bill was passed—a law which took effect on the 21st of the same month. Thereupon the Gold Room was closed, and the importers who had favored the bill, chuckled at the prospect of cheap gold, while the unthinking portion of the public at large—the great majority—looked on expectant of a like result. But the effect of large issues of irredeemable paper was not thus easily to be legislated away, nor speculation in the gold value of those promises to be extinguished, by a mere enactment closing the regular market for the precious metal. The act in question made it unlawful to contract for the purchase or sale of coin or bullion, to be delivered on any other day than that on which the contract was entered into, or on any other terms than those of an actual delivery and payment in full for such in lawful money, or to sell any of the same unless already in the possession of the seller, or to borrow or loan currency on either; or to sell or buy gold other than at the ordinary place of business of the seller or purchaser. Foreign exchange was subjected to exactly the same regulations, excepting that ten days' contracts were permitted in it. All contracts made in violation of the act were declared void, and violators were to be held guilty of a misdemeanor, and punished with a fine of from one to ten thousand dollars for each offence, or imprisonment from three months to a year, or both.

The abolition of the Gold Room, involved in this unwise, not to say absurd law, was its worst feature, for it closed the door to competition among *bona fide* holders of coin, as well as among speculative sellers. The real holders of gold were thus isolated, and each individual of their number was free to ask whatever price he pleased for the metal. Every one naturally wanted the highest price obtainable, and there

began a rise faster than ever in the Gold Room. Those who had to pay customs' entries and foreign indebtedness became alarmed, and rushed to the offices of the bullion dealers in Wall street, to make their gold purchases at the going price, whatever that might be, fearing that it would soon be still higher. Those who had sold "short" were still more apprehensive of the future course of the premium, and in trying to "cover" their contracts accelerated the upward movement. No quotations for gold were made on the Stock Exchange, or on the street, and purchasers had to run from office to office, inquiring the price at which holders were willing to sell. Leading merchants and bankers, who had urged upon Congress this prohibitory legislation, now wrote and telegraphed to Washington, imploring the repeal of the Gold bill. The whole country was alarmed by the rocket-like ascent of the premium following its passage, and Congress, amazed and rebuked by the advance—gold having sold at 198 on the 20th of June, and at 250 before the end of the month—repealed the bill on the 2d of July, and the bears began to breathe a little more freely. Sunday, and "the Fourth" followed, and on the morning of the 5th, the Gold Room was re-opened; but the tug of war had yet to come. The bulls were prepared to twist the "shorts," and as the outstanding contracts for future delivery were large, they found it easy to control the floating supply of "cash" gold—that is the coin available for immediate delivery—and so force the bears to buy to make their deliveries, unless they preferred the alternative of borrowing at exorbitant rates each day, to keep their contracts good. The market was virtually cornered. The highest price on the 5th of July was 249. On the 6th, it had risen to 261½, on the 7th to 273, on the 8th to 276½. On the 9th it remained steady, and on Monday the 11th leaped up to 285. The bears quivered with rage and excitement, or abandoned the contest in despair. Gilpin's News Room, at the corner of William street and Exchange Place—to which the gold market had been removed before this from the Coal Hole—was turned into a scene of tumult, vociferation, agony, and disorder, that might be likened, for want of a better illustration, to Pandemonium. Men who were losing thousands every hour, or every minute, were there, shouting themselves hoarse, their hands uplifted and their eyes rolling in frenzy, while their countenances indicated that they were undergoing mental tortures colloquially described as equal to those of the damned. Others were there, emboldened by and wildly elated with their own success, and tempting fortune by testing their luck to the utmost, apparently believing with the poet, that—

"He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dares not put it to the touch,
To gain, or lose, it all."

A surging, writhing mass of humanity shook the Gold Room, and the sound of many voices filled the air, while men with anxious and fevered faces rushed in and out of the clamorous confusion with a semi-frantic celerity such as might have been expected of them if their lives or fortunes had been dependent on the result of a moment. The din would rise and fall like the roar of a tempest, but every few minutes new men would rush in, and yell far above the storm, and then rush out again after executing their orders; and day after day the exciting drama of gold was repeated. Meanwhile the whole country looked on with apprehension. The "Corner"—for such it may be termed—culminated on the 11th of July, and after the Gold Room had closed on that day, private transactions took place at still higher figures than any chronicled during the regular hours of business, one of these, it was rumored, being at a price above 300. But although the market had reached "top," it showed stubbornness in yielding. On the 19th of July, sales were made at $268\frac{3}{4}$, on the 6th of August at $261\frac{3}{4}$, and on the 2d of September at $254\frac{1}{2}$. By the end of that month, however, there was a decline to 191; yet so erratic was the course of speculation, that on the 9th of November the price touched 260 again. On that day General Sherman began his memorable and triumphant march through Georgia to the coast, and gold never afterward reached that altitude, but on the whole steadily declined, until it sold at 125 in March 1866, in consequence of the successes of the Union armies, culminating in the overthrow of the rebellion. This was a lower point than had been reached at any time since August 1863, and the extreme and rapid decline was as much due to speculation for a fall as the enormous advance to 285 had been owing to speculation for a rise. The loyal element was now in the ascendant in the Gold Room, where the rebel element had so long held sway, and where it was forced at last to speculate for a fall, or accept the alternative of ruin. As, however, gold values for commodities of all kinds declined with the premium on the precious metal, importers and merchants with large stocks of foreign or domestic merchandise, suffered heavy losses in consequence, just as they had previously made enormous profits by the rise in prices attending the upward movement of gold. Although resulting in no very serious commercial disturbance, this extreme decline produced much stagna-

tion of trade, and the business community became as anxious and impatient to witness an advance in gold, as they had been before to promote a fall. The market was largely "oversold," and in June it reacted to 167 $\frac{3}{4}$. The unsettlement of values produced by these fluctuations was much deplored by conservative traders, but was the life of speculation; and strictly legitimate trading was too slow and tame a way of making or losing money in the estimation of most men, during and for a year or two after the war, to be attractive. Games of hazard seemed to be preferred to moderate certainties, and it was not until Mr. McCulloch had persevered in contracting the currency for two years, that people sobered down after the prolonged intoxication produced by excessive paper money issues and gigantic war expenditures. Congress passed the bill authorizing this contraction early in April 1866, by which the total withdrawal of greenbacks during the six months following its passage was limited to ten millions, and the contraction after that time to four millions per month.

All who applied were admitted to Gilpin's News Room, to deal in gold, on payment of twenty-five dollars a year, and as regards light, air, and space, this place was a vast improvement upon the dingy Coal Hole. On the 14th of October 1864, the most prominent of the brokers and speculators in gold—who had been without any organization up to that time—met, after preliminary action, and adopted a constitution and by-laws, for the "New York Gold Exchange," and thereupon proceeded to the election of its officers—including a president and two vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer—from among themselves.

On the 3d of March 1865, Congress passed an act—by which that of March 3, 1863, was virtually repealed—imposing a tax of one tenth of one per cent. on all sales, or contracts for the sale, of coin or bullion; and with this tax, as with the previous one if paid, brokers uniformly charged their customers, in addition to the usual commission of one eighth of one per cent. But after remaining in force several years, it, with the tax on sales generally, was abolished, and the traffic in gold was entirely freed from legislative interference. Soon after its organization, the Gold Exchange was removed from Gilpin's Room to the premises at the northeast corner of William and Beaver streets, previously occupied by the "Outside Board," which subsequently became the "Open Board" of Stock-Brokers. There speculation was conducted in the same rampant manner as before, and the gold gamblers, not content with operating all day down-town, speculated until late every night up-town at the Evening

Exchange—a Wall Street excrescence of the times, which was happily uprooted by the action of the Regular and Open Stock Boards, on the 24th of August 1865, prohibiting the attendance of their members there; and to this course the Gold Exchange also conformed on the following morning.

From the ranks of demoralized speculators at this night haunt, men had emerged branded with crime, like a member of an old and extensive banking house, who forged a million and a half of gold certificates of the Bank of New York, and lost their proceeds, after having made and lost—according to his own statement—six millions of profits. At the time these forgeries were committed, deliveries of gold were commonly made by such certificates, issued against the deposit of coin by dealers, an arrangement having been completed with the bank referred to for this purpose, in consequence of the risks and losses attendant upon the old method of delivering the coin in bags, the messengers employed being usually boys, as in the case of stock deliveries. The messengers had in several instances been robbed in the open street, and in others, had themselves decamped, or tried to decamp, with the coin, while dishonesty crept into the practice in other ways. The canvas bags were marked with the amount of their contents, but on counting the latter, it was a not uncommon experience to find one or more coins missing, or to detect a few spurious pieces in their midst, or even lumps of lead, which had been added to make up deficiencies of weight caused by the surreptitious extraction of gold. As the Bank of New York gold certificates were declared by the Gold Exchange to be “a good delivery,” they passed from hand to hand, and were held with as much confidence as gold itself, and hence it was that the criminal mentioned was enabled to hypothecate them in Wall Street as collateral for loans without exciting suspicion, for they were mere gold checks drawn by the dealers having gold accounts with the bank, in the same manner as they would have written out an ordinary currency check, and certified by the bank.

The discovery of these forgeries in August 1865, naturally caused the gold checks to be distrusted, and the Gold Exchange in casting about for a surer means of facilitating the exchanges between brokers, hit upon the expedient of establishing the Gold Exchange Bank as a clearing-house. The rule of the latter, and also of the Gold Room, is that all dealers must hand in, before half past-twelve, daily, a list of the parties to whom they have to deliver, and from whom they have to receive gold, respectively, with a statement of the amounts, and

their checks for the differences against them, if there be any, and when the differences are in their favor, the bank by two o'clock—prior to which hour all the exchanges are made—gives its checks for these, and the business of the bank for the day may then be considered over.

From the William street corner, the Gold Room was removed in August 1865, to the more commodious premises it has since occupied in New street, where the familiar indicator—showing the quotation, and denoting every change in it—looked out from one of its windows as it had previously done on Beaver street, and Exchange Place.

By this time, however, the speedy termination of the war was foreseen, and Chancellorsville, Shiloh, Donelson, Seven Pines, and the Wilderness, had passed into history. The wild fluctuations with which the country had become familiar, were not to continue. Fortunes could no longer be as easily made or lost in a day, in the Gold Room as before, and the great tide of speculation rolled on with a more even flow. The financial panic of 1866 in London had, however, some influence in disturbing it, after the excitement consequent on Lee's surrender and the capture of Mr. Davis passed away. It had been the policy of Mr. McCulloch, as it has been that of his successors, to sell some of the surplus gold at frequent intervals, but at that time the sales were made privately, and generally through one man, who thus became known as the Government broker. In consequence of the panic, those indebted to Europe, and particularly the American correspondents of European houses with cash balances here, were instructed to make immediate remittances in gold, and their purchases gave a strong upward tendency to the premium. It afterwards transpired that the broker in question had an order to sell all the gold the market would take at 130, and fresh and more unfavorable news from England having arrived late in the afternoon of the 22d of May, the price leaped above the Treasury limit, and the broker indiscreetly supplied the demand to a multitude of greedy bidders who fought desperately to get as much of what he sold as possible. More than thirty millions were thus disposed of before the broker in question retired from the scene that evening, a piece of Treasury mismanagement—to speak mildly—which not only unduly depleted the Government coin reserve for the benefit of the London money market, but gave the Treasury a much lower price for the gold than it could have obtained by selling gradually, for on the following day gold sold at 138 $\frac{1}{8}$, on the second day afterwards, at 141 $\frac{1}{2}$, and three weeks later—on the 16th of June—at 160. But for this

heavy sale of gold, and its consequent immediate shipment to England, the panic there would probably have been much more disastrous than it actually was.

The price of gold has always been very sensitive to foreign news of a disturbing character, whether political or financial, owing to the large amount of American securities held in Europe, the sympathy of the premium with the foreign Exchange Market, and the immense influence that war, to which the United States might be a party, would exert upon it. Every change in the Bank of England rate of discount has its effect in raising or lowering the rate of exchange for sterling at "short sight" here, and indirectly in affecting the price of gold. Hence, unscrupulous speculators have often concocted false cable despatches, and circulated false rumors in relation to foreign affairs, for the purpose of misleading others, and so influencing the premium. The same has likewise been frequently done by similarly disreputable persons on the Stock Exchange, to influence prices there. While Louis Napoleon was on the French throne, the state of his health was the source of a good many false reports, and "the Man of December" died many deaths in the Gold Room, before war finally left him—a ruler no more—to expire in exile. The effect of conflicting war news of importance during the rebellion may be imagined from the considerable fluctuations which were caused by such minor matters as these spurious European despatches. There was nothing, either at home or abroad, which the most unscrupulous of the gold operators held sacred, when it could be used or misrepresented to answer a temporary speculative purpose, and this is still the case to a certain extent; but the fluctuations being slight compared with what they had been, the inducement to manufacture false reports was correspondingly less. Most of the members of the Gold Exchange—numbering, in 1874, about four hundred and sixty—are also members of the Stock Exchange, or of firms represented there, and the slang phrases of the street are as much in vogue in the one place as the other.

From 1866 to 1874 the history of the Gold Room would have been monotonous—excepting a brief flurry at the beginning of the Franco-Prussian war in July 1870, which carried the premium up to $122\frac{3}{4}$, and a decline following the crisis, in November 1873, to $6\frac{1}{4}$ —but for the remembrance of Black Friday. The day thus distinguished was the 24th of September 1869, and it witnessed a rise in gold from $144\frac{1}{4}$ on the previous evening, to $162\frac{1}{4}$ before noon, when the attempted "corner" collapsed, engulfing the conspirators who had engineered

it in difficulties which would have ruined any men but those who had control of the Erie Railway, and a corrupt judiciary; and early in the afternoon the price declined to 131½. The Gold Exchange Bank failing to make its clearings, and business, as a consequence was brought to a stand in the Gold Room, while a violent panic raged on the Stock Exchange, produced by the distrust, and monetary stringency, growing out of the dead-lock in gold. The Gold Room was closed from the morning of the 25th of September to the 5th of October, when it was re-opened to transactions in the clearing house, but it was not until the 21st of October that the deferred clearings in the Gold Bank were made, so that the receiver in charge was enabled to declare his first dividend to its creditors. It was then announced that \$310,000 of its \$500,000 capital had been lost in addition to its surplus of \$360,000, but a proposition was made to convert it into a clearing house only, and this having been accepted by the Gold Room, it was re-opened as such on the 22d of the following November, and has since suffered no interruption of its business. As the details of this conspiracy, and the disasters attending it, would require the space usually devoted to an entire article, we are precluded from giving them a place in the present paper; but as one of the great events in the history of Wall street, Black Friday will never be forgotten.

The history of the Gold Room furnishes a commentary on that of the United States since the beginning of the present era of irredeemable currency, which is not without value; but much of it will never be written, although it entered into the daily life of the people, and while exerting an influence coextensive with the nation itself, passed away unrecorded. It is to be found in isolated fragments engraved on the tablets of human memory in hundreds of thousands of individual instances, where the fortunes of men were directly or indirectly materially affected by it, and as they die it dies with them, reminding us that all written history must of necessity be imperfect.

Every lover of his country should earnestly desire to see the day when the Gold Room will have become a thing of the past, and United States notes be equivalent to gold—the money of the world. And for that consummation let us all devoutly labor and pray.

HEBREW POETRY.

MORE than one-third of the Old Testament is poetry. This fact is concealed, and much of the beauty of the Bible lost to many readers by the uniform printing of poetry and prose in our popular Bibles. The current versicular division is purely mechanical, and does not at all correspond to the metrical structure or the laws of Hebrew versification.

The poetry of the Old Testament is contained in the "Poetical Books," which in the Jewish canon are included among the "Hagiographa" or "Holy Writings," namely, Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. Besides these, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and most of the Prophets, are likewise poetic in sentiment and form; and a number of lyric songs, odes, and prophecies, are scattered through the historical books.

The poetic sections of the New Testament are the "Benedictus" of Zachariah, the "Magnificat" of the blessed Virgin, the "Gloria in Excelsis," the "Nunc dimittis" of Simeon, the Parables of our Lord, the Anthems of the Apocalypse, and a number of poetic citations scattered through the Epistles.

Sometimes the prose of the Bible is equal to the best poetry, and blends truth and beauty in perfect harmony. It approaches also, in touching the highest themes, the rhythmical form of Hebrew poetry, and may be arranged according to the parallelism of members. Moses was a poet as well as an historian, and every prophet or seer is a poet, though not every poet is a prophet. The same is true of the prose of the New Testament. We need only refer to the Beatitudes and the whole Sermon on the Mount, the Parables of our Lord, the Prologue of St. John, the seraphic description of love by St. Paul in the thirteenth chapter of Second Corinthians, and his triumphant pæan at the close of the eighth chapter of Romans, which, in the opinion of Erasmus, surpassed the eloquence of Cicero.

In this wider sense the Bible begins and ends with poetry. The retrospective vision of the first creation, and the prospective vision of the new heavens and the new earth are presented in language

which rises to the summit of poetic beauty and power. There can be nothing more pregnant and sublime in thought, and at the same time more terse and classical in expression than the sentence of the Creator:

“Let there be light! And there was light.”

Is there a loftier and more inspiring conception of man than that with which the Bible introduces him into the world, as the very image and likeness of the infinite God? And the idea of a paradise of innocence, love, and peace at the threshold of history, is poetry as well as reality, casting its sunshine over the gloom of the fall, and opening the prospect of a future paradise regained. Then, passing from the first chapter of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse, how tender and affecting is St. John's description of the new Jerusalem—the inspiring theme of all the hymns of heavenly home-sickness from “*Ad perennis vitæ fontem*” to “*Jerusalem the golden*,” which have cheered so many weary pilgrims on their journey through the desert of life!

Hebrew poetry has always been an essential part of Jewish and Christian worship. The Psalter was the first, and for many centuries the only hymn-book of the Church. It is the most fruitful source of Christian hymnody. Many of the finest English and German hymns are free reproductions of Hebrew psalms; the 23d Psalm alone has furnished the key-note to a large number of Christian hymns, and the 46th Psalm to Luther's masterpiece: “*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*.”

As among other nations, so among the Jews, poetry was the oldest form of composition. It precedes prose, as youth precedes manhood, and as feeling and imagination are active before sober reflection and logical reasoning.

Poetry and music were closely connected, and accompanied domestic and social life in seasons of joy and sorrow. They cheered the wedding, the harvest, and other feasts. They celebrated victory after a battle, as the song of Moses and the song of Deborah; they greeted the victor on his return. The shepherd sung while watching his flock, the hunter in the pursuit of his prey. Maidens deplored the death of Jephtha's daughter in songs, and David the death of Saul and Jonathan, and afterwards Abner. Love was the theme of a nobler inspiration than among the more sensual Greeks, and the Song of Songs celebrates the Hebrew ideal of pure bridal love, as reflecting the love of Jehovah to his people, and prefiguring the union of Christ and his Church.

In a wider sense all true poetry is inspired. The civilized nations

of antiquity, particularly the Greeks, regarded it as a divine gift, and poets as prophets and intimate friends of the gods; and all the ceremonies, oracles and mysteries of their religion were clothed in poetic dress. There is, however, a twofold inspiration, a divine and a satanic; and the poetry which administers to pride and sensual passion, idolizes the creature, ridicules virtue, and makes vice attractive, is the product of the evil spirit.

The poetry of the Hebrews is in the highest and best sense the poetry of inspiration and revelation. It is inspired by the genius of the true religion, and hence rises far above the religious poetry of the Hindoos, Parsees, and Greeks, as the religion of revelation is above the religion of nature, and the God of the Bible above the idols of the heathen. It is the poetry of truth and holiness. It never administers to trifling vanities and lower passions; it is the chaste and spotless priestess at the altar. It reveals the mysteries of the divine will to man, and offers up man's prayers and thanks to his Maker. It is consecrated to the glory of Jehovah and the moral perfection of man.

The most obvious feature of Bible poetry is its intense theism. The question of the existence of God is never raised, and an atheist—if there be one—is simply set down as a fool. The Hebrew poet lives and moves in the idea of a living God, as a self-revealing, personal, almighty, holy, omniscient, all pervading, and merciful Being, and overflows with his adoration and praise. He sees and hears God in the works of creation, and in the events of history. Jehovah is to him the Maker and Preserver of all things. He shines in the firmament, He rides on the thunderstorm, He clothes the lilies, He feeds the ravens and young lions, and the cattle on a thousand hills, He gives rain and fruitful seasons; He is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, of Moses, David, and the prophets. He dwells with Israel, He is their ever present help and shield, their comfort and joy. He is just and holy in his judgments, good, merciful and true in all his dealings. He overrules even the wrath of man for his own glory and the good of his people.

To this all-pervading theism corresponds the anthropology. Man is always represented under his most important moral and religious relations, in the state of innocence, in the terrible slavery of sin, or in the process of redemption and restoration to more than his original glory and dominion over the creation. Hebrew poetry reflects in fresh and life-like colors, the working of Gods law and promise on the heart of the pious, and every state of his experience, the deep emo-

tions of repentance and grief, faith and trust, gratitude and praise, hope and aspiration, love and peace.

Another characteristic of Bible poetry is the childlike simplicity and naturalness with which it sets forth and brings home the sublimest ideas to readers of every grade of culture who have a lively organ for religious truth.* The scenery and style are thoroughly oriental and Hebrew, and yet they can be translated into every language without losing by the process—which can not be said of any other poetry. Greek and Roman poetry have more art and variety, more elegance and finish, but no such popularity, catholicity, and adaptability. The universal heart of humanity beats in the Hebrew poet. It is true, his experience falls far short of that of the Christian. Yet nearly every phase of Old Testament piety strikes a corresponding chord in the soul of the Christian; and such are the depths of the Divine Spirit who guided the genius of the sacred singers that their words convey far more than they themselves were conscious of, and reach prophetically forward into the most distant future. The higher order of secular poetry furnishes an analogy. Shakespeare was not aware of the deep and far-reaching meaning of his own productions, and Goethe said that the deepest element in poetry is “the unconscious,” (*das unbewusste*), and that his masterpiece, the tragedy of Faust, proceeded from the dark and hidden depths of his being.

The peculiarities of Hebrew poetry culminated in the Psalter, the holy of holies in Hebrew literature. David, “the singer of Israel,” was placed by Providence in the different situations of shepherd, courtier, outlaw, warrior, conqueror, king; that he might the more vividly set forth Jehovah as the Good Shepherd, the ever-present Helper, the mighty Conqueror, the just and merciful Sovereign. He was open to all the emotions of friendship and love, generosity and mercy; he enjoyed the highest joys and honors; he suffered poverty, persecution, and exile, the loss of the dearest friend, treason and rebellion from his own son. Even his changing moods and passions, his sins and crimes, which, with their swift and fearful punishments, form a domestic tragedy of rare terror and pathos, were overruled and turned into lessons of humility, comfort, and gratitude. All this rich spiritual biography from his early youth to his old age, together

* Not less in relation to the most highly cultured minds than to the most rude—not less to minds disciplined in abstract thought, than to such as are unused to generalization of any kind—the Hebrew Scriptures, in the metaphoric style, and their poetic diction, are the fittest medium for conveying, what is their purpose to convey, concerning the Divine Nature, and concerning the spiritual life, and concerning the correspondence of man—the finite, with God—the Infinite. Isaac Taylor on “Spirit of Hebrew Poetry,” p. 50.

with God's merciful dealings with him, are written in his hymns, though with reference to his inward states of mind, rather than his outward condition, so that readers of every different situation or position in life, might yet be able to sympathize with the feelings and emotions expressed. His hymns give us a deeper glance into his inmost heart and his secret communings, than the narrative of his life in the historical books. They are remarkable for simplicity, freshness, vivacity, warmth, depth, and vigor of feeling, childlike tenderness and heroic faith, and the all-pervading fear and love of God. Professor Perowne of Cambridge, in his excellent Commentary on the Psalms, of which a third edition has just appeared, gives the following truthful description of David:

"As David's life shines in his poetry, so also does his character. That character was no common one. It was strong with all the strength of man, tender with all the tenderness of woman. Naturally brave, his courage was heightened and confirmed by that faith in God which never, in the worst extremity, forsook him. Naturally warm-hearted, his affections struck their roots deep into the innermost centre of his being. In his love for his parents, for whom he provided in his own extreme peril—in his love for his wife Michal—for his friend Jonathan, whom he loved as his own soul—for his darling Absalom, whose death almost broke his heart—even for the infant, whose loss he dreaded—we see the same man, the same depth and truth, the same tenderness of personal affection. On the other hand, when stung by a sense of wrong or injustice, his sense of which was peculiarly keen, he could flash out into strong words and strong deeds. He could hate with the same fervor that he loved. Evil men and evil things, all that was at war with goodness and with God—for these he found no abhorrence too deep, scarcely any imprecations too strong. Yet he was, withal, placable and ready to forgive. He could exercise a prudent self-control, if he was occasionally impetuous. His true courtesy, his chivalrous generosity to his foes, his rare delicacy, his rare self-denial, are all traits which present themselves most forcibly as we read his history. He is the truest of heroes in the genuine elevation of his character, no less than in the extraordinary incidents of his life. Such a man can not wear a mask in his writings. Depth, tenderness, fervor, mark all his poems."

In its religious character, as just described, lies the crowning excellency of the poetry of the Bible. The spiritual ideas are the main thing, and they rise in richness, purity, sublimity and universal importance immeasurably beyond the literature of all other nations of antiquity.

But as to the artistic and esthetic form, it is altogether subordinate to the contents, and held in subserviency to the lofty aim. Moses, Solomon, and David, Isaiah, and the author of Job possessed evidently the highest gifts of poetry, but they restrained them, lest human genius should outshine the divine grace, or the silver pitcher

be estimated above the golden apple. The poetry of the Bible, like the whole Bible, wears the garb of humility, and condescends to men of low degree, in order to raise them up. It gives no encouragement to the idolatry of genius, and glorifies God alone. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory."

Hence an irreligious or immoral man is apt to be repelled by the Bible; he feels himself in an uncongenial atmosphere, and is made uneasy and uncomfortable by the rebukes of sin and the praise of a holy God. He will not have this book rule over him or disturb him in his worldly modes of thought, and habits of life.

Others are unable to divest themselves of early prejudices for classical models; they esteem external polish more highly than ideas, and can enjoy no poetry which is not cast in the Greek mold, and moves on in the regular flow of uniform metre and stanza. And yet these are no more essential to true poetry than the music of rhyme, which was unknown to Homer, Pindar, Sophocles, Virgil, and Horace, and was even despised by Milton as "the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre, as the jingling sound of like endings, trivial to all judicious ears, and of no true musical delight." This is indeed going to the opposite extreme; for although rhyme and even metre are by no means necessary, especially in the epos and drama, they belong to the *perfection* of lyric poetry, which is the twin sister of music.

If we study the Bible poetry on its own ground, and with unclouded eyes, we may find in it forms of beauty as high and enduring as in that of any nation, ancient and modern. Even its artless simplicity and naturalness are sometimes the highest triumphs of art. Simplicity always enters into good taste. Those poems and songs which are the outgushing of the heart, without any show of artificial labor, are the most popular, and never lose their hold on the heart. We feel that we could have made them ourselves, and yet only a higher order of genius could produce them.

Where is there a nobler ode of liberty, of national deliverance and independence, than the song of Moses on the overthrow of Pharaoh in the Red Sea? Where a grander panorama of creation than in the 104th Psalm? Where a more charming and lovely pastoral than the 23d Psalm? Where such a high view of the dignity and destiny of man as in the 8th Psalm? Where a profounder sense of sin and divine forgiveness than in the 32d and 51st Psalms? Where such a truthful and overpowering description of the vanity of human life and the never-changing

character of the holy and just, yet merciful God, as in the 90th Psalm, which has been styled "the most sublime of human compositions, the deepest in feeling, loftiest in theologic conception, the most magnificent in its imagery?" Where have the infinite greatness and goodness of God, his holiness, righteousness, long-suffering and mercy, the wonders of his government, and the feeling of dependence on Him, of joy and peace in Him, of gratitude for his blessings, of praise of his glory, found truer and fitter embodiment than in the Psalter and the Prophets? Where will you find such sweet, tender, delicate, and exquisite expression of pure innocent love as in the Song of Songs, which sounds like the singing of birds in sunny May from the flowery fields and the tree of life in Paradise? Isaiah is one of the greatest of poets as well as of prophets, of an elevation, a richness, a compass, a power and comfort that are unequalled. No human genius ever soared so high as this evangelist of the old dispensation. Jeremiah, the prophet of sorrow and affliction, has furnished the richest supply of the language of holy grief in seasons of public calamity and distress, from the destruction of Jerusalem down to the latest siege of Paris; and few works have been more effective than his Lamentations. And what shall we say of the Book of Job, the Shakespeare in the Bible? Where are such bold and vivid descriptions of the wonders of nature, of the behemoth and leviathan, and of the war-horse "who paweth in the valley and rejoiceth in his strength, who swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage, who saith among the trumpets Ha, ha! and smelleth the battle afar off, the thunder of the captains and the shout of war?" What can be finer than Job's picture of wisdom, whose price is far above rubies? And what a wealth of comfort is in that wonderful passage, which inspired the sublimest solo in the sublimest musical composition, those words graven in the rock forever, where this holy outsider, this patriarchal sage and saint of the order of Melchisedec, expresses his faith and hope that his Redeemer liveth and will stand the last on the grave, and that he shall see Him with his own eyes on the morning of the resurrection!

The times for the depreciation of Bible poetry have passed. Many of the greatest scholars and poets, some of whom were by no means in sympathy with its religious ideas, have done it full justice. John Milton thought "no songs comparable to the songs of Zion, and no orations equal to those of the prophets." Sir William Jones came to the conclusion that aside from all inspiration, the Scriptures contain "more true sublimity and more exquisite beauty than could be col-

lected from all other books!" The genial Herder, who was at home in the literature of all ages and nations, praises Hebrew poetry as "the oldest, simplest, sublimest," of all poetry. Goethe calls the book of Ruth "the loveliest epic or idyl which has come down to us." Humboldt bravely mentions the name of God in his *Cosmos*, judges the Hebrew descriptions of nature to be unrivaled and the 104th Psalm to be a picture of the whole universe. Thomas Carlyle declares the book of Job to be "the grandest thing ever written—a noble book, all men's book, with sublime sorrow, sublime reconciliation, oldest choral melody as of the heart of manhood, so soft and great as the summer midnight, as the world with its seas and stars!"

We now pass to the different kinds of Hebrew poetry. It may be divided into *lyric*, *didactic*, *prophetic*, and *dramatic* poetry. The first two are the prevailing forms. The third may be regarded as a branch of didactic poetry, or perhaps better, as a substitute for epic poetry. The fourth is not to be confounded with the Greek drama, and is in close connection either with the lyric or didactic. Hence many writers admit only these two.

The absence of epic poetry in its proper sense is due to the fact that the revealed religion excludes mythology and hero-worship, which control this kind of poetry, and that it substitutes for them monotheism, which is inconsistent with any kind of falsehood and idolatry. The real hero, so to speak, of the history of revelation is Jehovah himself, the only true and living God, to whom all glory is due. And so He appears in the prophetic writings. He is the one object of worship, praise, and thanksgiving, but not the object of a narrative poem. He is the one sovereign actor, who in heaven originates and controls all events on earth, but not one among other actors, co-operating or conflicting with finite beings. Epic poetry reproduces historic facts at the expense of truth, and exalts its hero above merit. The Bible poetry never violates truth.

There are, however, epic elements in several lyric poems which celebrate certain great events in Jewish history, as the Song of Moses, and the Song of Deborah; although even here the lyric element preponderates, and the subjectivity of the poet is not lost in the objective event as in the genuine epos. The Book of Ruth has been called an epic by Goethe. The Prologue and Epilogue of Job are epic, and have a truly narrative and objective character; but they are only the framework of the poem itself which is essentially didactic in dramatic form. In the apocryphal books the epic element appears in the book of Tobith and the book of Judith, which stand between

narrative and fiction, and correspond to what we call romance or novel.

Lyric poetry, or the poetry of feeling, is the oldest and predominant form of poetry among the Hebrew as all other Semitic nations. It is the easiest, the most natural, and the best adapted for devotion both private and public. It is closely connected with song, its twin sister. It wells up from the human heart, and gives utterance to its many strong and tender emotions of love and friendship, of joy and gladness, of grief and sorrow, of hope and desire, of gratitude and praise. Ewald happily describes it as "the daughter of the moment, of swift, rising, powerful feelings, of deep stirrings and fiery emotions of the soul."

Among the Greeks the epos appears first; but the older lyric effusions may have been lost. Among the Hindoos they are preserved in the Vedas. Lyric poetry is found among all nations which have a poetic literature; but epic poetry, at least in its fuller development, is not so general, and hence can not be the primitive form.

Lyric poetry contains the fruitful germ of all other kinds of poetry. When the poetic feeling is kindled by a great event in history, it expresses itself more or less epically, as in the battle and victory hymns of Moses and Deborah. When the poet desires to teach a great truth or practical lesson, he becomes didactic. When he exhibits his emotions in the form of action and real life, he approaches the drama. In like manner the lyric poetry may give rise to mixed forms which appear in the later stages of literature.

The oldest specimen of lyric poetry is the song of Lamech to his two wives. It has already the measured arrangement, alliteration, and musical correspondence of Hebrew parallelism. It is a proud, fierce, defiant, "sword-song," commemorating in broken, fragmentary utterances the invention of weapons of brass and iron by his son Tubal Cain (*i. e.* lance-maker), and threatening vengeance.

Moses wrote the sublime song of victory after the overthrow of Pharaoh, which sounds throughout all the history of Israel, and is connected in the Apocalypse with the final triumph of Christ's kingdom. Moses wrote also that sublime farewell song which celebrates Jehovah's merciful dealings with Israel, the parting blessing of the twelve tribes, and the 90th Psalm, called "A Prayer of Moses, the man of God," which sums up the spiritual experience of his long pilgrimage in the wilderness, and which proves its undying force at every death-bed and funeral service.

The song of Deborah, from the heroic period of the Judges,

eight centuries before Pindar, is a stirring battle song, full of fire and dithyrambic swing, and breathing the spirit of an age of disorder and tumult, when might was right.

Another specimen of female poetry is Hannah's hymn of joy and gratitude when she dedicated her son Samuel, the last of the Judges, to the service of Jehovah. It furnished the key-note to the "Magnificat" of the Virgin Mary after the miraculous conception.

The reign of David was the golden age of lyric poetry. He was himself the prince of singers in Israel. His religious poetry is incorporated in the Psalter. Of his secular poetry the author of the Books of Samuel has preserved us two specimens, a brief stanza on the death of Abner, and his lament for the death of Saul and Jonathan. The latter is a most pathetic and touching elegy, full of the strength and tenderness of the love of friendship. His generosity in lamenting the death of his persecutor who stood in his way to the throne, enhances the beauty and effect of the elegy.

Lyric poetry flourished during the reigns of David and Solomon, then declined with the decline of the nation, and revived for a short period with the restoration of the temple and the theocracy, when the harps were taken from the willows to accompany again the songs of Zion. It is altogether improbable that the Psalter contains hymns of the Maccabæan age, as Hitzig conjectures. The canon was closed long before (B. C. 450).

The "Magnificat" of the Virgin Mary, the "Benedictus" of Zacharias, and the "Nunc dimittis" of Simeon are the golden sunset of the Hebrew psalmody, and the dawn of Christian hymnody.

The Psalter is the great depository of the religious poetry of the Jewish Church, and the inexhaustible fountain of devotion for all Christian ages.

To lyric poetry belong also the Lamentations of Jeremiah, the most extensive elegy in the Bible. They are the funeral dirge of the theocracy and the holy city, which is personified as a solitary widow weeping bitterly without a friend or comforter. The ruin and desolation, the carnage and famine, the pollution of the temple, the desecration of the Sabbath, the massacre of the priests, the dragging of the chiefs into exile, and all the horrors and miseries of a long siege, contrasted with the remembrance of former glories and glad festivities, and intensified by the awful sense of Divine wrath, are drawn with life-like colors, and form a picture of overwhelming calamity and sadness. Every letter is written with a tear, every word is the sob of a broken heart. Yet Jeremiah does not forget that the covenant

of Jehovah with His people still stands. In the stormy sunset of the theocracy he beheld the dawn of a brighter day, and a new covenant written, not on tables of stone, but on the heart. The utterance of his grief, like as the shedding of tears, was also a relief, and left his mind in a calmer and serener frame. Beginning with wailing and weeping, he ends with a question of hope, and with a prayer.

These Lamentations have done their work very effectually, and are doing it still. They have soothed the weary years of the Babylonian Exile, and after the return they have kept up the lively remembrance of the deepest humiliation and the judgments of a righteous God. On the ninth day of the month of Ab (July), they are read year after year with fasting and weeping by that remarkable people who are still wandering in exile over the face of the earth, finding a grave in many lands, a home in none. Among Christians the poem is best appreciated in times of private affliction and public calamity; a companion in mourning, it serves also as a book of comfort and consolation.

The poetic structure of the Lamentations is the most artificial in the Bible. The first four chapters are alphabetically arranged, like the 119th and several other Psalms, and Proverbs xxxi. 10-31. Every verse or stanza begins with a letter of the Hebrew alphabet in regular order; all the stanzas are nearly of the same length; each stanza has three nearly balanced clauses or members which together constitute one meaning; chaps. i., ii. and iv. contain twenty-two stanzas each, according to the number of Hebrew letters; the third chapter has three alphabetic series, making sixty-six stanzas in all. Dante chose the *terza rima* for his vision of hell, purgatory, and paradise; Petrarca the complicated sonnet for the tender and passionate language of love. The author of Lamentations may have chosen this structure as a discipline and check upon the intensity of his sorrow—perhaps also as a help to the memory. Poems of this kind, once learned, are not easily forgotten.

Didactic poetry is the combined product of imagination and reflection. It seeks to instruct as well as to please. It is not simply the outpouring of subjective feeling which has its own end and reward, but aims at an object beyond itself. It is the connecting link between pure poetry and philosophy. It supplies among the Semitic nations the place of ethics, with this difference, that it omits the reasoning and argumentative process, and gives only the results of observation and reflection in a pleasing, mostly proverbial, sententious style, which sticks to the memory. It is found in the Proverbs and

Ecclesiastes. Many Psalms also are didactic, and the book of Job is a didactic drama.

The palmy period of didactic or gnomic poetry is the peaceful and brilliant reign of Solomon, which lasted forty years (B. C. 1015-975). He was a favorite child of nature and grace. He occupies the same relation to the Proverbs as David to the Psalter, being the chief author and model for imitation. He was the philosopher, as David was the singer, of Israel. The fame of his wisdom was so great that no less than three thousand proverbs were ascribed to him.

According to a rabbinical tradition Aristotle derived his philosophy from the Solomonic writings which Alexander the Great sent him from Jerusalem.

The usual word for a didactic poem is *māshāl*—a likeness, similitude, comparison; then in a wider sense, a short, sharp, pithy maxim, sententious saying, gnome, proverb, couched in figurative, striking, pointed language. A proverb contains *multum in parvo*, and condenses the result of long observation and experience in a few words which strike the nail on the head and are easily remembered. It is the philosophy for the people, the wisdom of the street. The Orientals, especially the Arabs, are very fond of this kind of teaching. It suited their wants and limits of knowledge much better than an elaborate system of philosophy. And even now a witty or pithy proverb has more practical effect upon the common people than whole sermons and tracts.*

The Proverbs of the Bible are far superior to any collection of the kind, such as the sayings of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, the *Aurea Carmina*, attributed to Pythagoras, the *Remains of the Poetæ Gnomici*, the collections of Arabic proverbs. They bear the stamp of divine inspiration. They abound in polished and sparkling gems. They contain the practical wisdom (*chochma*) of Israel, and have furnished the richest contributions to the dictionary of proverbs among Christian nations. They trace wisdom to its true source, the fear of Jehovah. Nothing can be finer than the description of Wisdom in the eighth chapter, where she is personified as the eternal companion and delight of God, and commended beyond all earthly treasures.

The description of the model Hebrew woman in her domestic and social relations (in the acrostic form) has no parallel for truthfulness and beauty in all ancient literature, and forms the appropriate close of this book of practical wisdom; for from the family of which

* Cicero says: "Gravissimæ sunt ad beate vivendum breviter enunciatæ sententiæ."

woman is the presiding genius, spring private and public virtue and national prosperity.

"The Book of Proverbs," says a distinguished modern writer, "is not on a level with the Prophets or the Psalms. It approaches human things and things divine from quite another side. It has even something of a worldly, prudential look, unlike the rest of the Bible. But this is the very reason why its recognition as a Sacred Book is so useful. It is the philosophy of practical life. It is the sign to us that the Bible does not despise common sense and discretion. It impresses upon us, in the most forcible manner, the value of intelligence and prudence, and of a good education. The whole strength of the Hebrew language, and of the sacred authority of the book, is thrown upon these homely truths. It deals too in that refined, discriminating, careful view of the finer shades of human character, so often overlooked by theologians, but so necessary to any true estimate of human life. 'The heart knoweth its own bitterness, and the stranger does not intermeddle with its joy.' How much is there, in that single sentence, of consolation, of love, of forethought! And, above all, it insists over and over again, upon the doctrine, that goodness is '*wisdom*,' and that wickedness and vice are '*folly*.' There may be many other views of virtue and vice, of holiness and sin, better and higher than this. But there will always be some in the world who will need to remember that a good man is not only religious and just, but wise; and that a bad man is not only wicked and sinful, but a miserable, contemptible fool!"

The poetic structure of the Proverbs is that of Hebrew parallelism in its various forms. They consist of single, double, triple, or more couplets, the members corresponding to each other in sense and diction, either synonymously or antithetically. Delitzsch calls them two-liners, four-liners, six-liners, eight-liners. The first section contains exclusively two-liners. Besides there are a few three-liners, five-liners, and seven-liners, where the odd line is either a repetition or a reason for the idea expressed in the first lines.

To didactic poetry belongs also the fable and the parable. Both are conscious fictions for the purpose of instruction, and differ from the myth, which is the unconscious popular product of the religious imagination. But the fable rests on admitted impossibilities, and introduces irrational creatures to teach maxims of secular prudence, and lower, selfish morality; while the parable takes its illustrations from real life, human or animal, with its natural characteristics, and has a much higher aim. It is therefore far better adapted, as a medium of instruction, to the true religion. "The fable seizes on that which man has in common with the creatures below him; the parable rests on the truth that man is made in the image of God." The former is only fitted for the instruction of youth, which does not raise the question of veracity; the latter is suited to all ages.

There are no fables in the New Testament, and only two in the

Old, viz., the fable of Jotham: the trees choosing their king, and the fable of Jehovah: the cedars of Lebanon and the thistle. The riddle (parable) of Ezekiel introduces two eagles as representatives of human characters, but without ascribing to them human attributes. The parable occurs occasionally in the Old Testament, was cultivated by Hillel, Shammai, and other Jewish rabbis, and appears frequently in the Gemara and Midrash. It is found in its perfection in the Gospels. The parables of our Lord illustrate the various aspects of the kingdom of heaven (as those in the Synoptical gospels), or the personal relation of Christ to his disciples (as the parable of the Good Shepherd and that of the Vine and the Branches, in the Gospel of John.) They conceal and reveal the profoundest ideas in the simplest and most lucid language. They are at once pure truth and pure poetry. Every trait is intrinsically possible, and borrowed from nature and human life, and yet the composition of the whole is the product of the imagination. The art of illustrative teaching in parables never rose so high before or since, nor can it ever rise higher.

Prophetic poetry is peculiar to the Bible. Heathen nations had their divinations and oracles, but no divinely inspired prophecy. Man may have forebodings of the future, and may conjecture what may come to pass under certain conditions; but God only knows the future, and he to whom he chooses to reveal it.

Prophecy is closely allied to poetry. The prophet sees the future as a picture with the spiritual eye enlightened by the Divine mind, and describes it mostly in more or less poetic form. Prophetic poetry combines a didactic and an epic element. It rouses the conscience, enforces the law of God, and holds up the history of the future, the approaching judgments and mercies of God, for instruction, reproof, comfort, and encouragement. Prophecy is too elevated to descend to ordinary prose, and yet too practical to bind itself to strict rules. Ezekiel and Daniel, like the Apocalypse in the New Testament, use prose, but a prose that has all the effect of poetry. The other prophets employ prose in the narrative and introductory sections, but a rhythmical flow of diction in the prophecies proper, with divisions of clauses and stanzas, and rise often to the height of majesty and power. The sublime prayer of Habakkuk is a lyric poem, and might as well have a place in the Psalter.

The greatest poet among the prophets is Isaiah. He gathers up all the past prophecies to send them enriched into the future, and combines the deepest prophetic inspiration with the sublimest and sweetest poetry.

The earliest specimens of prophetic poetry are the prediction of Noah, the blessing of Jacob, the prophecies of Balaam, and the farewell blessing of the twelve tribes by Moses. The golden age of prophetic poetry began with the decline of lyric poetry, and continued till the extinction of prophecy, warning the people of the approaching judgments of Jehovah, and comforting them in midst of their calamities with his promise of a brighter future when the Messiah should come to redeem his people and to bless all the nations of the earth.

Dramatic poetry embraces the Song of Songs and the Book of Job. The one is a lyric drama or melodrama, the other a didactic drama.

The "Song of Songs," or Canticles, presents the Hebrew ideal of pure bridal and conjugal love, and canonizes the noblest and strongest passion which God implanted in human nature before the fall, and which reflects his own infinite love to his people, and Christ's relation to his church. It consists of a series of monologues and dialogues by three different persons, King Solomon (the Peaceful), Shulamith, and the maidens of Jerusalem. It is full of the fragrance of flowers, the beauty of spring, the singing of birds, and loveliness of love.

The Book of Job is didactic drama, with an epic introduction and close. The prologue and the epilogue are written in plain prose, the body of the poem in poetry. It has been called the Hebrew tragedy, but differing from other tragedies by its happy termination. We better call it a dramatic theödicy. It wrestles with the perplexing problem of ages, viz., the true meaning and object of evil and suffering in the world, under the government of a holy, wise, and merciful God. The dramatic form shows itself in the symmetrical arrangement, the introduction of several speakers, the action or rather the suffering of the hero, the growing passion and conflict, the secret crime supposed to underlie his misfortune, and the awful mystery in the background. But there is little external action in it, and this is almost confined to the prologue and epilogue. Instead of it we have here an intellectual battle of the deepest moral import, mind grappling with mind on the most serious problems which can challenge our attention. The outward drapery only is dramatic, the soul and substance of the poem are didactic, with all the Hebrew ideas of divine Providence, which differ from the Greek notion of blind Fate, as the light of day differs from midnight. It is intended for the study, not for the stage.

The book opens, like a Greek drama, with a prologue, which introduces the reader into the situation, and makes him acquainted with

the character, the prosperous condition, the terrible misfortunes, and the exemplary patience of the hero. Even God and his great antagonist, Satan, who appears, however, in heaven as a servant of God, are drawn into the scenery, and a previous arrangement in the divine counsel precedes and determines the subsequent transaction. History on earth is thus viewed as an execution of the decrees of heaven, and as controlled throughout by supernatural forces. But we have here the unsearchable wisdom of the Almighty Maker and Ruler of men, not the dark impersonal Fate of the heathen tragedy. This grand feature of Job has been admirably imitated by Goethe in the prologue of his *Faust*. The action itself commences after seven days and seven nights of most eloquent silence. The grief over the misfortunes which, like a succession of whirlwinds, had suddenly hurled the patriarchal prince from the summit of prosperity to the lowest depths of misery, culminating in the most loathsome disease, and intensified by the heartless sneers of his wife, at last bursts forth in a passionate monologue of Job, cursing the day of his birth. Then follows the metaphysical conflict with his friends, Eliphaz, Bildad, and Zophar, who now turn to enemies and "miserable comforters," "forgers of lies, and botchers of vanities." The debate has three acts, with an increasing entanglement, and every act consists of three assaults of the false friends and as many defences of Job (with the exception that in the third battle, Zophar retires, and Job alone speaks). After a closing monologue of Job, expressing fully his feelings and thoughts in view of the past controversy, the youthful Elihu, who had silently listened, comes forward, and in three speeches administers deserved rebuke to both parties, with as little mercy for Job as for his friends, but with a better philosophy of suffering, whose object he represents to be correction and reformation, the reproof of arrogance, and the exercise of humility and faith. He begins the disentanglement of the problem, and makes the transition to the final decision. At last God himself, to whom Job had appealed, appears as the judge of the controversy, and Job humbly submits to his infinite power and wisdom, and penitently confesses his sin and folly. This is the solution of the mighty problem, if solution it can be called.

A brief epilogue relates the historical issue, the restoration and increased prosperity of Job after this severest trial of his faith, and patient submission. To the external order corresponds the internal dialectic development in the wave-like motion of conflicting sentiments and growing passions. The first act of the debate shows yet

a tolerable amount of friendly feeling on both sides. In the second, the passion is much increased, and the charges of the opponents against Job made.

In the last debate, Eliphaz, the leader of the rest, proceeds to the open accusation of heavy crimes against the sufferer, with an admonition to repent. Job, after repeated declarations of his innocence, and vain attempts at convincing his opponents, appeals at last to God as his judge. God appears, convinces him, by several questions on the mysteries of nature, of his ignorance, and brings him to complete submission under the infinite power and wisdom of the Almighty.

The Book of Job, like the *Iliad* of Homer, the *Divina Comedia* of Dante, and the dramas of Shakespeare, stands out a marvel in literature, without a predecessor, without a rival. It is of the order of Melchisedek, "without father, without mother, without descent," but with "the power of an endless life."

Much has been written about the form of Hebrew poetry, the parallelism of members so-called, the strophic divisions, the traces of alliterations and rhymes. But all attempts to reduce Hebrew versification to a regular system have failed. The poetry of the Bible is not fettered by rigid laws of rhythm and metre; it is free and elastic, ever adapting the diction to the thought, the body of words to the soul of sentiment. The spirit lords it all. And this is one of its chief advantages, and subserves its universal mission. The Bible poetry is translatable above all other poetry ancient and modern. It can be transferred into any language almost literally, without losing its beauty and power. Homer, Dante, Petrarca must be reproduced by a poetic genius in the heroic metre, the terza rima, the sonnet, to be enjoyed; and even then they lose in the process. But the Psalter, Job, and Isaiah are essentially the same in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, and German Bibles; they carry the same power and comfort to readers of the present day as they did hundreds of years before Christ, and will do to the end of time.

MODERN SPIRITUALISM.*

MODERN Spiritualism, began in March, 1848, with the advent of two young girls of Hydesville, near Rochester, New York—Catharine Fox and her sister Margaret. It now lays claim to the title of “The New Philosophy,” and professes to include within its field of experiment and exposition that part of the universe and its phenomena which secular science has overlooked or avoided. As the foundation of its title to acceptance, it asserts that the spiritual and the material being merely different sides of the same nature, spiritualism and materialism are no more than different provinces of the same scientific domain—the one appointed to complement and illustrate the other; so that, in process of time, a body of philosophy complete in all its parts and including all that is the subject of knowledge shall be the result.

Secular science begins with the examination and analysis of those subjects of knowledge which fall within the recognized province of nature and are equally accessible to all, and reaches its conclusions by appropriate deductions and generalizations. Spiritual science, on the contrary, begins with that which bears the appearance of the supernatural and ends with belief in what it holds to be revelation. The subjects of its knowledge are, in general, invisible and intangible; or, if they ever become visible and tangible, it is under special conditions; and its phenomena are variable, in accordance with differences in the physical or moral constitutions of the media through whose agency they appear. The unlikeness, therefore, between the two sciences, as well in respect to their fields of operation and processes as in respect to their conclusions, is wide and strongly marked; and how they can be so co-ordinated as to form a consistent and harmonious body of knowledge is a thing difficult to conceive.

Heretofore, the relations between the votaries of secular and of spiritual science have not been in harmony. The temporally minded

* “A Defense of Modern Spiritualism.” By Alfred R. Wallace, F. R. S. London: Fortnightly Review; Boston: Colby & Rich.

and the spiritually minded have regarded each other with about the same feelings of distrust and suspicion in the field of philosophy as parties similarly named have done in that of theology. The former have looked upon the manifestations relied upon by the latter to sustain their theory as tricks of jugglery or vagaries of self-deception; while the latter have considered the studies and discoveries of the former as calculated rather to belittle than to enlarge the understanding. Of late, however, several gentlemen having claims to reputation in the walks of physical science have given their adhesion to the spiritualistic faith; and among these the one best known to the world is Alfred R. Wallace.

A "Defense of Modern Spiritualism" by a gentleman so renowned in the province of physical research as Alfred R. Wallace, can not be regarded otherwise than as a marked event in the history of science, material as well as transcendental. Mr. Wallace is known to the world as well through his own volumes on natural history and paleontology as through those of his great co-laborer in the same field, Darwin—in which they are often cited—by whom he is evidently held in high esteem for his accuracy as an observer of nature and his fidelity as a recorder. Mr. Wallace is said to have arrived simultaneously with Darwin at similar conclusions in respect to the origin of species, differing, however, from that philosopher in this respect, that while the latter, true to the theory which is common to both, regards the unlikenesses between the higher and the lower orders of animate creatures as differences only of degree, the former, departing in a single instance from the theory, believes that "a special intelligence is necessary to account for man."

As, in the world of palpable objects and constant phenomena, it would be inconvenient for Mr. Wallace to find facts whereby to demonstrate the soundness of his hypothesis, it is not unnatural that he should turn to the only other conceivable source for information: the world, to wit, of impalpable objects and inconstant phenomena. A favorite theory is not a thing to be lightly laid down because there happens to be a scarcity of such evidences as is calculated to make it acceptable only to such as are specially prepared for its reception. No love is more indulgent than that which men feel for their intellectual progeny. It is a mistake to suppose that even philosophers always arrive at their conclusions through the comparatively slow processes of observation and deduction; and he is an exceptional thinker who, in no case, finesses with his facts in order to give an appearance of soundness to his speculations.

Mr. Wallace is, without doubt, a faithful believer in his theory of special intelligence; also a believer in the facts of spiritualism, and in—whatever they may be—its “truths.” He is convinced that the phenomena and manifestations are genuine phenomena and manifestations, and that they are the productions of the spirits of human beings who were once alive in the physical body, but who, from causes beyond their control, having parted with that incumbrance, are now enjoying an inheritance in that which is, in spiritualistic phraseology, known as the “Spirit World”; from whence, either spontaneously or in compliance with invitations, they effect descents upon the world of matter, performing a variety of services, imparting a variety of information, submitting to a variety of tests invented to enable them to demonstrate their ghostly genuineness, and enacting a variety of feats to confirm the faith of the docile, shut the mouths of scoffers, overcome the scruples of the sceptical, and astonish and amuse such as, in a teachable disposition, attend their entertainments.

It would naturally be expected that a work in defense of modern spiritualism, the production of a mind accustomed to the examination and valuation of facts and phenomena, and of a hand skilled in description, written, moreover, as the author relates, “under an imperative sense of duty,” would contain something in the way of specification and argument more exact and logical than could be found in the works of differently constituted reporters of spiritualistic miracles and deliverances. They, however, who look for this in the essay of Mr. Wallace, are doomed to disappointment. In nearly the same degree as in the cases of Hon. John W. Edmonds and Robert Dale Owen, the emanations from the subject seem to have prescribed the intellectual operations of the philosopher; and modern spiritualism, which has gained so much of authority as a profession of faith in its claims by a man of high position in the ranks of physical science can confer, has gained little or nothing in the means to satisfy the judgment, or convince the understanding.

Mr. Wallace, upon the authority of those amiable but not particularly accurate historiographers, Judge Edmonds and Mr. Owen, fixes the number of spiritualists in the United States—the country where the spiritualistic faith has realized the greatest progress—at “from eight to eleven millions.” By “spiritualists,” Mr. Wallace must mean—if he mean any thing—persons who are rationally convinced of the ghostly character of the spiritualistic phenomena. Now, if he had brought to the examination of the subject, that scientific caution which he is so accustomed to employ in other fields of inquiry, he

could not but have perceived that, in a population of forty millions, it would be absurd to look for eight, much less eleven millions of persons of sufficient maturity and intelligence to be capable of a rational conviction upon any subject outside the range of their own immediate sensations. The United States is not yet that Utopia, foreseen by philosophers of the progressive order, where all minds are cut to the same pattern, educated to the same degree, and inspired with a love of inquiry to the same extent. In every community of human beings, here or elsewhere, the number of thinkers—of persons whose beliefs are worthy to be taken as rules of judgment by any others, upon any subject—bears but a small proportion to the number of non-thinkers. The attitude of a majority of the people of the United States toward spiritualism is that of indifference; the absence of curiosity in respect to its phenomena, the absence of opinion in respect to its evidences, and the absence of either hope or fear in respect to the future which it professes to reveal. Of the remainder, many—including the most of those who profess Christianity—are unbelievers and opposers; a few believe in the sense intended by Mr. Wallace and his authorities; while the rest either doubt the genuineness of the manifestations, or question the title to a ghostly character of the source from which they are derived.

The truth is, that spiritualism fails to retain those who have given it their adhesion. The enthusiast of one year is the indifferentist or the doubter of the next. While, therefore, it is gaining upon one margin, it is continually losing upon the other. The reason for this is two-fold: satiety with its prodigies, and the absence of attractiveness in the future which it discloses. Although spiritualism demands acceptance as a science, professes to be the foundation of a system of philosophy, affects to bring all things, material and immaterial, within the category of nature, and offers physical phenomena as witnesses to prove the soundness of its pretensions; nevertheless, in respect to its main purpose—to unveil to humanity another world, and a *post mortem* state of existence—and in respect to its evidences—miracles and revelations—it has no right to object to being classed among the religions. But, whatever may be said of spiritualism as a science, or as the basis of a philosophy, it can hardly be denied that, as a religion, it fails in several important points to come up to the standard of rational requirement. The future state—considered as an individual condition—which it discloses, is not such as would be calculated to inspire any well-situated resident of the solid earth with impatience to realize the change it necessitates; neither is there

any thing in the world it reveals to make it look desirable as a place of permanent residence for any properly constructed human being ; nor in its inhabitants, as, in various ways, they manifest themselves, to render it by any means certain that they would prove interesting as instructors, valuable as friends, or agreeable as associates.

Religious mythology has always, in order to its casual acceptance, required a pretty extensive stock of faith in the neophyte ; and, in this respect, none have been more exacting in their demands than the investigators of modern spiritualism. This, not because the former has not been voluminous enough, and the latter sufficiently numerous, but because of the incongruities of the one and the puerilities of the other. The air of antiquity with which the elder religions are surrounded has done much to hide, and even to hallow, those defects which appear so plainly in the younger ; and the feats which credulity is required to perform in respect to the former, are equaled and exceeded by those which it is required to perform in respect to the latter. Now, faith in regard to matters which are assumed to be within the province accessible to positive knowledge is simple ; a demand that men shall lay aside their reason, sequester the knowledge they may have acquired through experience, and adopt a posture of docility which is only excusable when in the presence of the divinely supernatural.

An agency which tenders itself as an explanation of the unknown, should not itself be inexplicable. If the causes of the so-called spiritual phenomena are, in any sense, subjects of distinct knowledge, they must be capable of definition by something beside themselves. If there is a potential co-ordination between spiritual and secular science, there must be a point where the elements of the one are cognizable under the predicates of the other. To say that a spirit is a spirit is not, in rational contemplation, altogether satisfactory. When informed that such and such phenomena owe their origin to spirits, the question, What is a spirit ? precedes the question whether or not, to spirits, such things are possible. When furniture becomes mysteriously locomotive, bells, horns and musical instruments break loose after their respective kinds, without visible human intervention, pencils become impregnated with enigmatical spontaneity, and deliver an eruption of proverbs and messages, and apparitions rise and submit to the processes of photography, and these marvels are attributed to spirits, the sister science—if there is the relation of sisterhood between the spiritual and the secular—has a right to be informed of the nature of a spirit, in order to be convinced whether or not it is

possible that spirits are endowed with a capacity for such performances. What reason—it may, not impertinently, inquire—is there for supposing that the spirit of a dead man can do more—in the way of the exertion of physical force, for example—than the spirit of a living man?

Under the head of “Moral Teachings of Spiritualism,” Mr. Wallace gives four articles to explain the “Theory of Human Nature,” which is “the outcome of the phenomena taken in their entirety, and more or less explicitly taught by the communications which purport to come from spirits.” Two of these, which relate to the nature of man and the transformation which, at death, he undergoes, are as follows:

“1. Man is a duality consisting of an organized spiritual form, evolved coincidentally with and permeating the physical body, and having corresponding organs and developments.

“2. Death is the separation of this duality, and effects no change in the spirit, morally or intellectually.”

Contrasted with the “physical body” in the foregoing, is the “spiritual form:” the opposition implying that, in spiritualistic contemplation, while the one is material, the other is immaterial. A spirit, therefore, is an abstract vitality, a figure without substance, a fraction of nothing organized and developed.

Spiritual science, which, as Mr. Wallace alleges, abolishes the distinction between the natural and the supernatural, by bringing all things and phenomena within the domain of nature, seems also to demand an obliteration of the difference between the material and the immaterial. It is rather curious in this connection, and adds not a little to the difficulties in the way of comprehending and accepting the spiritual theory, that, while “the separation of the duality effects no change in the spirit morally or intellectually,” it should prove the initiatory step to such surprising changes in its physical powers and proclivities. To the mind unenlightened by the philosophy of spiritualism, it would seem strange that development should be retarded where, naturally, it would be most, and accelerated where naturally it would be least, expected. A spirit having form and organs is a thing pretty difficult to conceive. It could hardly be cognizable in any science but that which was constructed expressly for its entertainment. But when this emanation from material humanity performs feats of strength and dexterity of which the duality, before the separation was incapable, the question where wonders are to cease, and the demand for faith be suspended, becomes interesting.

A system of positive knowledge should not only be able to meet all the tests which sceptics may propose, logical as well as experimental, but should invite their multiplication. This spiritualism declines to do. When asked for explanations, it responds with physical miracles and dogmatic revelations. With suspicious sameness and melancholy monotony, the continued relish of which by spiritualists can only be accounted for upon the hypothesis of infatuation, it delivers its equivocal messages, works its useless wonders, raises its suspicious apparitions, and chants the litany of a circular jargon which it offers as a philosophy, and which holds out continually promises of further instruction that are never realized.

A true philosophy appeals inevitably to the higher faculties of the intellect; a false, to the lower. The one seeks to establish itself upon conviction, the other upon mystification; the former makes free, the latter takes captive the understanding. Mr. Wallace, a man conversant with the logic and dialectics of science, accepts it as a fact to be believed on the relation of spirits, that, like the material body, the spiritual form is organized and developed. Now, aside from the unthinkability of such a thing as an organic and functional nonentity—as the organs developed in physical humanity belong to it, either primarily or secondarily, for the purpose of individual preservation or collective perpetuation, why it is required to transport them to another world where, so far as appears, there is neither production nor reproduction, needs to be explained. Physical nature eliminates those of its parts which, in the process of evolution, become useless; how is it that in non-physical nature, redundancies, abortive developments, organs without functions to correspond, are continued?

The first revelation of modern spiritualism, as Mr. Wallace relates, was a message rapped out in March 1848, to Miss Kate Fox, then a young woman of the age of nine years, giving to her, and through her to the world, the not particularly important piece of information that the remains of a man who had been murdered five years previously, had been buried in the cellar of the house in which, with her parents, she resided. The first revelation of the spiritual dispensation immediately preceding the present, was spoken out to Swedenborg by a spirit who appeared to him in person, as he raised his eyes from the dinner table at which he was placed, advising him not to eat to excess. These two initiatory revelations—the one of one spiritualistic period, and the other of another—are of about the average importance of spiritual messages; and the facts present the strange and not a little perplexing dilemma: Are these things impostures or

delusions ; the work of the hands of charlatans or of the brains of visionaries ; or are the spirits of the dead, in another world, reduced to such a level of mental poverty and moral imbecility, as that, having opened communication with the living, they have nothing better to communicate ?

In fact, nothing can be more spiritless than the revelations which purport to come from spirits. Information of any value in respect to matters of fact, advice of any importance in respect to the regulation of the conduct, intelligence of any interest in respect to things physical or metaphysical, have, none of them, been received. By the admissions of those who write in defense of spiritualism, Mr. Wallace included, it appears that many—some say a large majority—of the communications touching the condition of spirits in the spirit world, are falsehoods ; and this humiliating confession is extorted from the advocates of the spiritualistic theory, by the palpable contradictions of the spiritual disclosures. Nor are the falsifications confined to matters within any one field of inquiry, but extend to all with nearly equal impartiality. In short, the distinguishing characteristic of disembodied spirits appears to be that they are liars. In this world men seldom utter untruths, except under the influence of some special motive, usually of interest ; in the other, by all accounts, a different code of ethics prevails ; and a habit which, in the one, would expose an individual to suspicion and avoidance, would, in the other, be regarded as, if not a laudable, an excusable exercise of the faculty of invention. This would seem to dispose of the notion that the spiritualistic next world is a place appointed for the realization of a higher development : at least it would negative the presumption that any development, in the right direction, had been realized. All the inducements to falsehood here, have their source and exciting cause in that congeries of solids and fluids which, together, constitute visible humanity, and which are laid aside at the moment of transition from one state of being to another ; and rather than believe that the souls of men become, through the process of disembodiment, so deteriorated as to enjoy a habit of purposeless falsification, it would be preferable to accept the doctrine of the Catholic priesthood, that the authors of the phenomena are devils who have been turned loose upon the upper world, by divine permission, to counteract that disbelief in the supernatural which modern science has initiated.

In all that relates to human interests and affairs, the question *cui bono* is always in order. It can not be conceded that spiritualism is

of any value to mankind, until it is made to appear that something of importance has been realized through its agency. The world is too busy and too much in earnest to allow itself to be long occupied, however mysterious may be their origin, with mere barren phenomena. It can not be admitted, because it has never been shown—because the apologists for spiritualism have endeavored to show it, and have not succeeded—that spiritualism has ever imparted a single new rule of conduct to mankind, placed in a better light any previously accepted maxim, or in any respect added to the store of sayings worthy of preservation. The best of its deliverances are as inane as the worst of those of poor Tupper; and there is more of the essence of wisdom in a single page of obsolete Colton, than can be found in the entire body of spiritualistic disclosures from the day when, twenty-six years ago, the unquiet ghost of a peripatetic vender of tinware first began to vex the reluctant movables of the Fox household at Hydesville, New York, to the present "*anno domini*."

But if modern spiritualism is deficient in dignity in respect to its revelations, it is even more so in respect to its physical manifestations—its miracles. Here is wonder-working for no apparent purpose, except to excite or to gratify an idle curiosity. In deep darkness or in dim twilight, at the invocation of the adept, the spirits abandon the spheres appropriated to their residence, and make known their presence by the signals appointed for the purpose. Then the paraphernalia of the household where the faithful are assembled, becomes endowed with a mysterious vitality. Bureaus and pianos steal from their standing-places against the walls, and glide noiselessly to the center of the apartment; chairs and tables rock and vibrate as if in a state of disreputable inebriety, or perform strange quadrupedal polkas and minuets; musical instruments waltz around the room, near the ceiling, or turn vocal of their own accord with strains of fantastic melody; horns bray out of themselves, as if blown by an invisible Eolus; bells become incontinent, toss themselves in frantic somersaults and emit peal after peal of discordant clamor. Under spiritual auspices, fire refuses to burn, chains to confine, and blows to injure; bifurcated garments are marvelously withdrawn from persons whose limbs are restrained by fetters and handcuffs, and as marvelously replaced; in short, all the various wonders, tricks, and antics ascribed of old to fairies, ghosts, and witches, reappear in the spiritualistic repertory, even to that of evading the force of terrestrial gravitation and riding, either with or without the traditional broomstick, upon the invisible wings of the atmosphere.

But this is not all that modern spiritualism does to undignify itself and cancel the claims of its theory of a future state to the acceptance of mankind. The spirit-rapt worker of miracles, places himself upon the same level with the professors of mechanical necromancy; the spirits in the one case corresponding to the confederates in the other. Both alike exhibit their marvels to miscellaneous audiences for money; and in many instances their performances are so similar, that which is juggle and which miracle is a point difficult to decide. Indeed they may be said to interchange avocations, so that, at different times, the same individual is thaumaturgist and conjurer. Between the Davenport brothers—whom Mr. Wallace indorses as genuine media—and Signor Blitz or Monsieur Alexander, the unlikeness, either in the style or in the morale of their respective exhibitions is not very considerable; and so far as can be perceived, the world is under obligations quite as heavy to the prestidigitators as to the apocalypists.

In curious contrast with the exactitude which the science of material things observes in respect to its evidences is the liberality practiced in favor of the science of immaterial things. Strangely enough for a natural philosopher, Mr. Wallace finds, both in the agreements and in the disagreements of spiritual testimony, proof of the correctness of the spiritualistic theory. He says:

“The fact that the communications do not agree as to the condition, occupations, pleasures, and capacities of individual spirits, so far from being a difficulty, as has been absurdly supposed, is what ought to have been expected; while the agreement on the essential features of what we have stated to be the spiritual theory of a future state of existence is all the more striking, and tends to establish that theory as fundamental truth.”

Now the fact that the testimony which the spirits bear concerning themselves and each other, and concerning their condition and occupations is false and conflicting, is something of a difficulty, especially when taken in connection with the doctrine that the spirit world is a place to which men are translated for the purpose of improvement; and, if it does not suggest misgivings in regard to the existence of the world itself, might, not unnaturally, present the inquiry, whether, all things considered, it can be a very agreeable place of residence. But while spirit intelligence is confessedly unreliable in matters of detail, there has not been that agreement on the essential features of the spiritual theory of a future state which is calculated to afford it a very firm establishment. Says Mr. Wallace:

"In the scores of volumes and pamphlets of spiritual literature I have read, I have found no statement of a spirit describing 'winged angels,' or 'golden harps,' or the 'throne of God,' to which the humblest orthodox Christian thinks he will be introduced if he goes to heaven at all."

The difficulty with Mr. Wallace is, that having come rather late into spiritualism, he did not go back far enough in his investigations. Swedenborg—whom modern spiritualists affect to repudiate, as the modern Swedenborgians affect to repudiate spiritualism, but who was, nevertheless, a prophet of the penultimate spiritual dispensation—while he largely modified the orthodox heaven and hell, did not aspire to the place of a revolutionist. He saw both angels and devils, while he foreshadowed the dogma of progressive evolution, and of spheres provided as the residences of spirits in different stages of development. Corresponding with the two aspects of Swedenborgianism, the early spiritualists of the present dispensation experienced a division into two sects: one of which adopted and extended the scheme of evolution to the exclusion of the orthodox belief, while the other took the opposite direction, went back to the apocalypse, and outdid the exile of Patmos in glowing descriptions of the New Jerusalem. The latter, however, has disappeared, its particles either going back to the church or forward to the new theory; but the fact that it once existed is a negative to any claim to acceptance made by modern spiritualism on the ground of the uniformity of its evidences.

Still, it will hardly do to deny that there is a phenomenal basis for the spiritualistic idea. There are—at least there are pretty strong reasons to believe there are—more things in heaven and earth than are included within the boundaries of that which is called "secular science." That which is called spiritualism is not a thing of modern origin: it is as old as humanity. Traces of its existence are to be found in the histories of all nations: of its influence in every body of philosophy, poetry, and literature; in the religious superstitions, traditions, legends, and folk-lore of all mankind. There has been no long period of time within which it has not appeared; and while, from causes similar to those which are now operative, it has failed to acquire or to preserve an institutional establishment, it has, to a greater or less extent, pervaded every field of thought, and left its traces on every province of speculation. That belief, firmly entertained by many, and utterly rejected by but few, in the actuality of phenomena that occur independently of any known natural agency, which has descended through the ages, stamped its impressions, in

some form, upon the mental constitution of every human being, and maintains its hold in spite of the precepts of science and the protests of the intellect, is no mere creation of the fancy; or else we are compelled to contemplate the fancy as endowed with powers that are not conceded to it by modern metaphysicians. Modern science holds us to the maxim that there are no creations out of nothing; and that, no more in the transcendental than in the palpable universe, can there be a genesis without material. There must—such is the law of its predicates—have been an objective basis even to a hallucination; from which it follows that that faculty which, in ancient times, gave to every grove and fountain its attendant nymphs and naiads, and to every household its tutelary Lares and Penates, and which, among the Germanic tribes, peoples the caves and mines with gnomes and the woods and fields with fairies, did not work upon a mere vacuity.

Physical science has its catalogue of elements and its catalogue of forces. It believes that it has included within its boundaries the sum total of nature's continent: that there is nothing which does not fall within one or the other of its categories. It has classified and arranged; constructed a system in which its confidence is implicit, and devised and laid down predicates to which it attaches the validity of immutable law. Its elements are subject to analysis according to given formulas; its forces correlate, and it has mapped out the path in which its future labors are to be prosecuted. It believes—and there is no disputing its correctness in this respect—that there can be no effect without a cause adequate to its production; it believes, furthermore, that there can be no phenomena within the region it occupies, the cause of which is not in some one of the forces it has enumerated. But even physical science, liberal as it professes to be, and liberalizing as are supposed to be its influences, is not without its congestions; and there are others besides M. Comte, who have had visions of a time when, having satisfied itself of its own completeness, science shall sit down upon its throne, and order the doors to be shut in the faces of those importunate persons who might come with requests that it should accept additions to its empire, or revise any one of its ordinances.

It is not science itself—which is forever young—that aspires to set metes and bounds to its dominion. It is the man of science who grows old, whose intellectual joints become stiffened and whose intellectual muscles attenuated; who, satisfied of the encyclopedic extent of his own knowledge, does not want his complacency disturbed by the intrusion of facts which refuse to be amenable to

formulas which he has convinced himself are infallible. There are *crustacea* in the schools as well as in the sea, with this difference in favor of the latter, that there is an annual moulting to allow for an annual growth; as well in secular science as in transcendental; and the professor of physics may as effectually secrete around himself a shell through which knowledge can not penetrate, as a professor of metaphysics.

It is a consciousness on the part of thousands who do not believe in spiritualism that there is something besides mere charlatanry in the manifestation, which has prevented the *exposés* of several gentlemen of scientific eminence from producing upon the public mind the effects which their authors probably anticipated. Multitudes who care nothing for the spiritualistic theory are unable to lay down their belief that there is more in the phenomena than Messrs. Tyndall, Huxley, and Faraday were inclined to discover. Admit—and this is, perhaps, the sentiment of the largest number—admit that there has been much of chicanery and delusion; admit that the Holmeses are impostors, Mr. Owen a dupe, and Katy King not a materialized spirit, but an illiterate trickster, whose jewelled presents went to pawn-brokers instead of sparkling among the immortals; admit that the phenomena are inconstant, and that dishonest arts have been many times employed to supply their places when they failed to appear; admit that spiritualism, taken as a whole, is paltry—its philosophy a jargon, its works trivial, its science a pretense, its promises unreliable, and the future which it reveals unacceptable, and still there is a problem in which its phenomena are contained, as old as humanity, and now as ever awaiting solution.

It is not a little adverse to the interests of knowledge, that while a portion of the scientific men of the age have gone into an investigation of the phenomena with an apparent determination to find in them nothing but jugglery and deception, another portion, including the author of the "Defense," have no sooner become convinced of their reality than they have subscribed to the notion of their ghostly origin. To the docility of faith upon one side, stands opposed the obstinacy of predetermined unbelief on the other. There has been no suspension of judgment upon either part; and the contributions to the cause of truth made by the scientists are of as little value as those made by the spiritualists. It is almost incredible, that men who have passed their lives in the observation of phenomena, subjective as well as objective, as they are believed to have done, have not, in the course of their experience, seen or felt something which

is incompatible with the belief that there is nothing in the matter but trickery and deception ; and there is, to say the least, room for the presumption that there has been a blindness not attributable, strictly, to natural causes, with which they have been afflicted.

It may not be the most important, but it is certainly the most curious problem now before man for his solution. From whence came these phenomena, the like of which have, for thousands of years, been a terror and an enigma to humanity ? The answer of the spiritualist is not satisfactory ; that of the materialist has not been accepted. There are too many thousands of sane and honest people who have not only witnessed the manifestations, but have produced them, who can not entertain the latter. There is a general consciousness that there is something somewhere—either in humanity or its environment—which the current philosophy has not included ; and that, either in respect to the one or to the other, science needs a revision.

There is enough that is common to all the legends, stories, and reports in which disembodied spirits, ghosts, phantoms, fairies, spectres, gnomes, and demons are included—to the unexplained and seemingly unnatural influences which some individuals exert over others, both in contact and at a distance—to those stray transmissions of intelligence on matters of fact, those mysterious premonitions of which nearly every one has had more or less experience, and those startling displays of dynamic force, in the production of which material things seem inspired with supernatural spontaneity, to indicate a persistent cause and a common origin. Among those who admit the reality of the phenomena, there is a consciousness so general, that it may not unfairly be called universal, that, diverse as they are in appearance and in their seeming proximate causes, there is, if it could be formulated, a definition in which all of them may be included. The grim shades and fearful noises which constituted the raw material of those goblin tales that, before the era of newspaper and Sunday-school library romanticism, made up a body of oral literature which was transmitted from generation to generation, and, even yet, maintains its place at the kitchen fireside ; the marvels of mesmerism ; those unaccountable perceptions of the presence or the approach of individuals who are themselves invisible ; the apparitions described by Catherine Crowe in her “Night Side of Nature,” the physical marvels recorded by Richenbach—all these are without doubt comprehensible within a single term, and owe their occurrence to the same mysterious agency.

The order of phenomena in which the spiritualistic are included is divisible into three classes: 1. Those in the production of which there is no declared or discovered cause, intelligent or non-intelligent—as when, of their own accord, bells ring, stones throw themselves, furniture topples or tumbles, and dishes commit *felo-de-se* by leaping distractedly from the shelves upon which they had been deposited; 2. Those in respect to which there is no pretense of spiritual intervention—as the feats of mesmerism and those physical and mental movements and influences popularly termed psychological; 3. Those which are assumed to be the work of spirits, and—if there be such and they are to be believed—in whole or in part, of the spirits of persons deceased—as messages, oral, written, or rapped, and apparitions. Now, according to the maxims of science, it is not allowable, in the consideration of any order of phenomena, to assume more than one cause where one is sufficient to account for any portion of the same; and, as it is admitted by spiritualistic writers that some of the phenomena called spiritual are the work of the spirits of the living; and as it can not be shown—outside of that which purports to be spiritual revelation—that the rest are the work of the spirits of the dead, it appears illogical to attribute any of them to the latter. This, especially, as spiritualists themselves allow that there are cases in which it is indeterminable whether a given act is the performance of *ante-mortem* or *post-mortem* existences.

This community of origin—leaving out the ecclesiastical dogma of direct diabolic intervention—would seem to afford, as the source of the phenomena, a choice between three agencies, to each of which, by different writers, they have been attributed: the spirits, to wit, of deceased persons; the organized totalities of living individuals; and blind forces of nature, in some inconceivable way, self-stimulated to activity. The fact of community of origin is admitted by writers of the spiritualistic order; but, of these, all alike decline to recognize a distinction between the spirits of the living and those of the dead, including both indiscriminately under the equivocal phrase, “intelligent cause of the phenomena.” Thus Mr. Wallace, in a note, invites his readers not to regard the word spirit—“which is often considered so objectionable by scientific men”—as “implying spirits of the dead, unless expressly so stated;” while, in the body of the essay, he does not seem to have found it convenient to state expressly to which class of spirits the wonders he records are to be attributed. In fact, there is an apparent unwillingness pervading the minds of the more recent and prudent defenders of the spiritualism, as shown

in their writings, to commit themselves so far as to credit all the phenomena or even the entirety of any single manifestation to the spirits of the deceased, or to supply a test by which it may be ascertained where the agency of one order of spirits ends and that of the other begins.

There is place for a distinction which Mr. Wallace, it will be seen, takes pains to overlook, between phenomena the product of an agency which is incidentally intelligent, and phenomena the product of an intelligent agent acting consciously in their production. There is a manifest begging of the question in the predicate that the cause of the phenomena called spiritual, is a force acting under the direction of a conscious intelligence. It is impossible to conceive that congeries of materials and forces which together constitute inorganic nature, or that it is capable spontaneously to beget the phenomena of the class first enumerated, and there is no evidence yet discovered that they are the work of a will intelligent in their production. In the phenomena of the second and third classes, there is a point where the consciousness of a living human factor comes into relations with the agency by which they are produced, and in some sort prescribes their character and occurrence. That this agency or energy is a natural force, no more self-conscious, nor spontaneously active than any of the other forces which nature has ordained and science catalogued; that it is subject to the equivalents of the laws which they obey, and becomes efficient under the equivalents of the same conditions that are essential to their efficiency, are things which they who would preserve their faith in the stability of nature are compelled to accept, and the admission of which is implied even in the literature of spiritualism itself. What name should be given to this energy—galvanism, magnetism, electricity, "od"—is of little importance, so long as the conditions of its activity remain to be discovered; for it is unwise to contend over a term which, when adopted, includes a controversy in respect to its definition.

Admitting the possibility that the manifestations called spiritual are the work of disembodied spirits, admitting the possibility that they are feats of mechanical necromancy, there still remains the possibility that the force to which they owe their origin is one of the energies of nature, the efficient cause of whose activities resides in living organisms: operating sometimes under the direction, and sometimes independently of a conscious will, and now and then, but not always, evincing the movements of a low order of intelligence. If there is such an element in nature, it can not be annihilated by the

refusal of scientific men to include it within the field of their explorations; and any attempt, on their part, to ignore it out of existence can only react upon themselves in the form of loss of reputation and influence. The rightful domain of science includes all that is cognizable as matter, or as phenomena, and it is not for the professor to prescribe limits to it under the direction of either his inertia or his ignorance. It is to the professed interpreters of nature that mankind are entitled to look for information in all that can be known of these phenomena. Several of them have admitted this, by examinations, hasty in themselves, and, in respect to the conclusions to which they led, unacceptable; and from such men, for their own sake, the world is entitled to hear farther.

Phenomena cease to be objects of superstitious reverence when their causes are comprehended; they also cease to be such objects when, through familiarity, their occurrence passes unnoticed. Humanity really knows nothing of the genesis or the nature of that force which we call gravitation, under the influence of which, every atom of the material universe is allied to every other, and made capable of assisting in the production of a common result; and yet having learned from experience that its action, under like conditions is invariable, it posits it in the order of nature, where it is an object only of scientific curiosity. If there were an invisible and impalpable medium, including every human being, or every sensuous existence, rendering them capable of collective manifestations of force or intelligence, the fact would be no more wonderful—it would be far less so—than the fact that there is a relation between the static and dynamic conditions of every particle of matter in the sun and the static and dynamic conditions of every particle of matter in the planet Jupiter. Astronomy is compelled to postulate an ether pervading alike cosmical bodies and intercosmical spaces—an entity which no astronomer has ever seen, felt, weighed, or measured—simply because it is indispensable to a rational explanation of astronomical phenomena. Within a certain limit, the existence of such a medium is directly demonstrable from phenomena whose actuality is too thoroughly proved to admit of dispute; and there are facts as well as analogies to sustain the theory that it not only comprehends all humanity, but every thing having an organized form and a conscious existence.

We employ the word “battery” to designate a congeries of mechanical appliances and chemical agents used in the generation of a force of a special character, which is called magnetism or electricity; and, by metonymy, use the same term to characterize certain living tissues,

whose phenomena, in some respects, resemble those produced by the mechanico-chemical arrangement. Thus the human brain and nervous system are often alluded to as batteries; nor is this improper, except when carried to the extreme of inferring from resemblance in the mode of activity, identity in the product. It is no more incredible than many things which humanity has been compelled to accept as true, and is far better proved than some, that the combined brain and nervous system of animate nature constitute, so to speak, a battery, of which each several brain and nervous system is a section; producing its phenomena without personal consciousness in its collective or combined, and sometimes with, and sometimes without, in its individual manifestations.

There is no denying the difficulty of the subject; and he would need to be very much or very little learned, to start a theory in which he could place unwavering confidence. The hypothesis of a common force, like gravitation, or a common medium like the ether, or an universal influence like magnetism or electricity, would seem to account for a larger number of the phenomena than any other; but whether it comes up to the scientific requirement of accounting for all, it would be imprudent to affirm. As there can be no generation of force without a corresponding expenditure of material, and as the spiritual manifestations, as they are called, are often exhibitions of force without any apparent expenditure, the supposition of a vast generative apparatus that can be drawn upon without consciousness on the part of those who contribute to its maintenance, acquires plausibility. If this all-pervading potentiality, whatever it may be called, is a bond of alliance between all orders of animate nature, the fact may explain the origin of these exhibitions of force, such as only a low grade of intelligence would initiate, and whose purpose is only to frighten and injure. Finally, as the mental phenomena from such source must represent its average mind, it would account for the poverty, in an intellectual point of view, of the spiritualistic deliverances

THE SUPERNATURAL AS EVIDENCE.

IN every age there are certain great movements of human thought, which more or less influence the convictions of men in the mass, and carry them on to conclusions which, but a few years before, would have seemed altogether improbable. Sometimes it is very difficult to account for these movements. There has been often no master-mind leading the way : whatever works have been written have rather been the result of the wave of thought passing over that small portion of the world which thinks, than the cause of the wave. As far as cause can be traced, the new movement is a reaction, a recoil of mind, from that which has gone before, whether in the way of dissatisfaction at the sloth and inactivity of the previous age, and at its being ignobly content to have no high aspiration, no lofty sense of the nobleness of man's mission, or of a rebound from overstrained dogmatism and principles urged on to an extent which made them practically a burden and wearisomeness too great for men to endure.

The latter is perhaps the more common origin of new developments of thought, and is a power larger and more constantly at work than we are apt to imagine. But the explanation of the movements of the mind in our own time is rather to be sought in the meanness of the last century. Upon the whole, it was not a time of high purposes, though the War of Independence on the one side of the Atlantic, and the resistance to the despotism of Napoleon on the other, show that it was not wanting in great practical results. But as the present century advanced, the old lethargy which had enwrapped the minds of the English-speaking race gave way. Some men became intensely active in working for practical reforms ; others set new modes of thought in motion, and everywhere there was an eager desire for thoroughness, and for probing the principles of things to the very bottom. The old argument of "continuance"—that a thing should still exist because it had existed—gave way to an intense realism, which would let nothing exist unless it could prove its right to existence. Utilitarianism became the order of the day, and that poetry which often gilds a sleepy age, and makes it dwell at peace in a dream-

land of repose, vanished before the energy of men keenly alive to the necessities and imperfections of the present.

It is this intense realism that has made men restless and ill at ease at having to believe in miracles. A miracle stands on entirely different grounds from the whole present order of things, and is out of harmony with the main current of our thoughts. There have been ages when men lived for the future, when the present was neglected, and things unseen were the realities which engrossed their thoughts. When we read the accounts of the trials for witchcraft in New England a century or two ago, we find not the accusers only, but the accused, full of ideas of the preternatural. What they saw had but slight influence upon them ; what they imagined had alone power over their minds. We, on the contrary, live in the present. The turn of our minds is to verify every thing. We call for proof, and whatever can not be proved we reject. It is not merely miracles which we treat thus, but most of what the last century regarded as historical realities. The intense historical activity of the present day, which has rewritten for us the annals of Greece and Rome, of the Church and of England, of the great eras of Spain and the Netherlands, besides special studies of great value, has its origin in that same spirit for searching and proving which leads so many to reject miracles.

It is altogether unfair to lay the rejection of miracles to the charge of physical science. The leaders of science are as thoroughly realistic as our historians and men of letters, but not more so. They are themselves phenomena of an age which perpetually asks What is ? They inquire into the conformation of the earth and its constituents ; into the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the laws which govern them, with the same eagerness to find out present facts, and the explanation of them, as animates the historian and the practical reformer. Old beliefs in our day can no more stand their ground than old laws and old customs, unless they can prove their right to stand by an appeal to present usefulness. It is of no use to appeal to any thing else. In the present state of men's minds, if a thing does not fit in to the present, it seems to have no right to exist at all.

But if the progress of physical science has little to do with the dislike to the supernatural, the rapid increase of material wealth, and the advance made in every thing which tends to present comfort and enjoyment, have much to do with it. We are living in an age when the present is full of enjoyment. By our large ascendancy over the powers of nature, the earth yields us its treasure with a bountifulness never known before. Our homes are replete with comforts and luxuries

little dreamed of by those who went before ; and the secret forces of nature are pressed into our service, and do our bidding. Side by side with this subjection of nature there has grown up a greatness of material enterprise hitherto unknown. Vast projects are undertaken and persevered in, before which the greatest merchant princes of antiquity would have quailed. There is a grandeur of conception, a nobleness of purpose, an unflinching courage in many of the commercial undertakings of the present day, which, though gain may be their final object, yet give them a dignity and a poetry that make them for the time enough to conceal the deep cravings which are man's peculiar endowment, and which mark him out as a being destined for no common purposes.

Yet this present greatness of material things dwarfs many of man's higher gifts. Its influence begins early. Even in education it makes men aim chiefly at utilitarian objects, and at too early results. Parents do not care for any thing which does not lead directly and at once to profit and pay. Whatever develops man's thinking powers, and aims simply at making him better and nobler in himself, is thrust aside. It would take too much time ; defer too long the quick harvest of gains ; might make men even indifferent to worldly prosperity, and unwilling to sacrifice every thing to material wealth. Or, at all events, it lies out of the circle of men's every-day thoughts. Life is an eager race, with boundless prizes for all who press onward and upward. In so active a contest, with every energy on the stretch, and every exertion richly rewarded, it is no wonder if the present is enough ; and in its enjoyment men thrust from them indignantly every thing that would interfere with and render them less fit for the keen struggle after earthly success.

It is this spirit which makes it so difficult for men to believe in the supernatural. The purpose of miracles, and their whole use and intention hold so entirely distinct a place from that which is now the main purpose of the mass of men, that they will hear no evidence for them, nor stop calmly to consider whether they may not after all hold a necessary place in the order of things, and be as indispensable for man's perfectness as is this present activity. What too many do is to put aside the consideration of them entirely. They have a sort of notion that miracles contradict the laws of nature, and are therefore impossible. Without perhaps denying the historical accuracy of the Gospels in the main, they yet suppose that they were written by credulous men in a credulous age, and that if cool observers had been present, they could have explained on natural grounds all that

took place. Probably they do not think much about the supernatural at all. They have plenty to occupy them; have no spare time; find their lives full of interest; they rise early to their labor and late take rest; and so are content with a general feeling that, whatever may be the explanation of man being what he is, and of the world being what it is, time will reveal it, and that no obligation lies upon a busy man to inquire into abstruse questions, with no present profit. When business is over and old age has come, then it will be his duty to make his peace with Heaven. And he will do so in the ordinary way, as other men do. Religion is a thing relegated to the background for the present; in due time he will attend to it as a practical matter, in the same way in which he will attend to the making of his will.

This thorough realism of the nineteenth century, intensified by the vast facilities of combined action and mutual intercourse, which make us live constantly in one another's company, would banish all care and thought of the future from our minds, if it were not that the belief in the existence of a God and of a future life is an undying conviction of our nature. It is a necessary part of ourselves to look forward. No present gains or successes can content us. We turn always to the future, and that with an eagerness which would make life unendurable if we were forced to believe that life were all. The doctrine of annihilation may be professed, but can never really be believed; for it violates the deepest instincts of our hearts. And thus compelled by the very constitution of our natures to believe that there is a God, and that we exist after death, religion itself becomes a very real thing, and supplies a real need. The existence of a God and the immortality of man are not doctrines which need proving. They are intuitions, innate ideas, which may and do gain form and shape from advancing knowledge, but which grew out of the soul itself. Over the savage they have little influence, but civilized and thinking men can never be complete and entire unless these deep instincts of our inner being have their needs fully met and satisfied. In a man who stands perfect and complete, the necessities of the future must be as fully and entirely recognized and supplied as the requirements of the present. He must have a religion.

Now religion is either natural or revealed. Not that these two are opposed. The revealed religion which Christians profess contains and gives new authority to all the truths of natural religion, while extending itself far beyond them. Natural religion is a dim feeling and groping after God as manifested in his works, and a distinguishing

of right from wrong, so far as the indications of a righteous government existing now, and the laws of our own nature, and the marvelous gift of conscience, enable us. In revealed religion we have fuller knowledge: knowledge of God's attributes, not merely as far as we can trace them in his works, but still more as they are manifested in his dealing with man, as made known to us in revelation itself; knowledge of man, both as regards his present state and his future hopes; more exact knowledge, too, of right and wrong, the appeal now lying not to the varying codes of human morality, nor even to the inner conscience, which, as a faculty capable of education and development, is no rigid rule, but one which bends to every state of things, and adapts itself to every stage and degree of human progress and decay. Under a revealed religion the appeal is to an unchanging law of Truth. Morality has at last a settled basis, and man a fixed standard by which to judge his actions.

It seems almost supererogatory to show that natural religion does not suffice for man's wants. We know of no one who has definitely asserted that it does. Even Kant, though he appears to think that Christianity might now be dispensed with, yet distinctly holds that natural religion, without the teaching of Christianity, would not even now have been enlightened enough, or pure enough, or certain enough, to guide man's life. But the whole state of the heathen world before Christ came, and now wherever Christianity is unknown, is proof sufficient of the utter powerlessness of natural religion. The Greek world, with its marvelous taste in art and appreciation of the beautiful, was yet intensely wicked. The state of things at Rome under the empire was so foul that modern pens would blush to describe it. What natural religion is where civilization does not exist, the condition now of savage tribes proves clearly enough. We will touch therefore only upon one point, that of progress. Apart from Christianity, there are at most in the world the very faintest indications of progress; usually none at all. In no form of natural religion, in no heathen religion, was there any thing to lead man onward, or to make him better. At best, as under Mohammedanism, or the system of Confucius, there was stagnation. And when, as in the case of so many of the older civilizations of the world, decay set in, there was no recuperative force. Man sank steadily and hopelessly. In the Old Testament first do we find the thought of progress. A nation is there formed for a high and unique purpose; and to shape it for its end it is placed in a special and immediate relation to God, and is taught by messengers sent directly by him. Under this special dispensation, its one

business was to grow fit for the work prepared for it ; its one motto, progress. In the New Testament, progress is the central thought everywhere present ; but no longer now for one nation—it is progress for all mankind. It is a new kingdom that is proclaimed, and all who enter it are required to put away old things, and become new. It belongs to men who have left their previous condition far behind, and who, forgetting what is past, “reach forth unto those things which are before.” And special stress is laid everywhere upon the duty of bringing all men into this new kingdom, and of Christians being the purifying salt which is to preserve the whole world.

The means by which Christianity thus renovates mankind, and becomes the moving force of all modern and real progress, is partly that it alone proposes to us principles so perfect that at the utmost our approach to their realization is a very distant one. The complete abnegation of self, the treatment of others with that justice, liberality, and love with which we should wish ourselves to be treated, and a holiness as absolute and entire as that of God himself—such principles, while practically aiding us in our upward course, yet set us a standard which, as a matter of fact, is unattainable. How often is this misunderstood ! Men contrast our Christianity with what is set before us in the Gospels, and, either in mockery or in grief at the disparity, assert that our state is practically a mere heathenism. But while there is ample room for lamentation that Christians are content to remain so very much below the standard set them, yet, so far as there is progress toward it—so far as it can be said truly that this generation is in a higher stage than the last was, and is training the youth to attain in the next to a still nearer approximation to Christian perfectness, so far Christianity is doing its work. Not merely its work on individuals—these constantly, even where the general state of things is bad and low, it raises to a high degree of virtue and holiness—but its work on the mass. If nationally we are making no progress, then our Christianity is not having its proper work, and, in an age which judges by results, is not proving its right still to exist. But even at the worst no Christian nation is hopeless: heathen nations sank without hope. Christian nations have again and again risen from the lowest degradation.

But Christianity tends to progress not merely by the high ideal it sets before us, but by its power over men's sympathies. This power resides mainly in the human nature of Christ, but only when viewed in its relation to his Godhead. As the great proof of the Father's love to man, it does arrest our feelings, dwell upon our imagination,

and inspire our conduct with motives such as no other supposed manifestation of the Deity to man has ever produced. Christ Incarnate is not merely the realization of the high standard of Christianity, and the model for our imitation, but acts also as a motive power, by which men are aroused and encouraged to the attempt to put into practice the principles of the religion which Christ taught.

If there be a God—and the man who denies it contradicts the intuitions of his own being—it is religion, and revealed religion only, that gives us adequate knowledge of his nature and attributes. If there be a future—and the very instincts of our souls testify that there is—again it is revealed religion only that tells us what the future life is, and how we may attain to it. Yet necessary parts as both these beliefs are of our nature, men may bring themselves to deny them. For a time they can put away. But if there be a present—and this is just the one thing in which the nineteenth century does thoroughly believe—even then, granting only this, if this present is to have any progress, and is to move onward to any thing better; if there is to be in it any thing of healthful and vigorous life, this, too, is bound up with the one religion, which has satisfactory proof to give that it is revealed; proof that it did come really from Heaven; and proof that it is the one motive power of human progress. If the light of nature hitherto has been insufficient to secure virtue or raise men toward it, that light will not suffice now, even though it has been fed and strengthened by centuries of Christian teaching. In asserting this, Kant asserted too much. Neither Christians nor Christian communities have as yet risen to any thing like a high general standard of morality, to say nothing about holiness; remove the high ideal and the strong motives supplied by the religion of Christ, and there would result, first stagnation, and then decay. An “enlightened self-love” never yet successfully resisted any carnal or earthly passion. Christianity has effected much; the contrast between heathen and Christian communities is immense: but it has not raised men yet to its own standard, nor even to a reasonable fair standard of moral excellence.

Now, grant but the possibility of there being a God; grant but the possibility of there being a future, as there must necessarily be a connection between man's future and his present, and as our idea of God forbids our excluding any existent thing from connection with him, then at least a revelation would be useful, and as God must be good, there is no antecedent improbability in his bestowing upon man what would be of use and benefit to him. You must get rid of God—must resolve him into a sort of nebulous all-pervad-

ing ether, with no attributes or personal force or knowledge (the Pantheists do this beautifully, and call God *cosmic force*)—you must get rid of a future life, and account yourselves simple phenomena, like the monkey, and ascidian jelly-bags, from which you are supposed to be descended, with no connection with the past, no reason for your present existence, mere shooting-stars in the realms of space, coming from nowhere, and going nowhither, and so only, by the extirpation of these two ideas from your nature, can you make a revelation improbable. Even then your position is open to grave doubt. We can understand the law of evolution ; and if the law be proved, though as yet it is unproved, it would involve us in no religious difficulties, provided that evolution really worked toward a solid end. Accustomed everywhere else in nature to see things fitted to their place, and all things so ordered that there is a use for every thing, we could understand the meanest thing in creation rising upward in the scale through multitudinous forms and infinite periods of time, if finally there were some purpose for all this rising. The plan is vast and marvelous. It can be justified only by some useful end. And such an end there would be if, after vast ages of development, the tiny atom ended in becoming a reasonable and responsible creature, with some purpose for all this vast preparation, because capable of still rising upward, and of “becoming partaker of the divine nature.” But if the law of evolution stops at man without a future, then its product is not worthy of it, and so purposeless a law, ending in so mean a result, falls to the ground as too grand in its design for so bare and worthless an object.

Yet even this is but part of the argument ; the evidences in favor of Christianity have a collective force, and it is upon them as a whole that one fain rests secure. But we may well contend that if Christianity is necessary for our present well-being ; if the advance of society ; if the removal of the bad, the vile, and the sorrowful in our existing arrangements ; if the maintenance and strengthening of the noble, the earnest, the generous, and the pure, are bound up with Christianity, as being the only sure basis and motive toward progress, then, at all events, religion can show cause enough for existence to make it the duty of men to examine the evidence which it offers in its proof. Nineteenth-century men may decline to listen to arguments which concern only things so remote as God and the future. Have they not built railways, laid the Atlantic telegraph, found out the constituent elements of the sun through the spectrum, and gained fortunes by gambling on the stock exchange ? What can men want more ? Well,

they want something to bind society together ; even the worst want something to control in others these passions to which they give free play in themselves. No man wants society to grow worse, however much he may do himself to corrupt it. But the one salt of society, the one thing that does purify and hold it together, is religion.

Now antecedently there is no reason why God might not have made natural religion much more mighty and availing. As it is, nothing is more powerless in itself, though useful as an ally to revelation. Religion or no religion means revelation or no revelation. Reject revelation, and the only reason for not rejecting natural religion is that it is not worth the trouble. If religion, then, is a necessity of our present state, this means that revelation is a necessity. We are quite aware that even revealed religion does not explain all the difficulties of our present state. There is very much of doubt suggested by our philosophy to which Christianity gives only this answer, Believe and wait. It is, in fact, rigidly careful in refusing to give any and every explanation of things present except a practical one : in the most marked way it is silent as to the cause of our being what we are, and as to the nature of the world to come. It tells us that we do not now see the realities themselves, but only reflections of them in a mirror, and even that in a riddling way. Hereafter it promises that we shall see the things themselves, and understand the true nature and exposition of the enigmas of life. Meanwhile it gives us every practical help and necessary guidance for the present. Judged thus by practical results and by its working powers, it is a thing indispensable. Without it man is imperfect, and society has nothing to arrest its dissolution, or arouse it to a struggle after amendment. Reformation is essentially a Christian idea. That a state should throw off its ignoble past and start on a new quest after excellence and right is possible only where there is a religion strong enough to move men, and noble enough to offer them a high ideal. Reform movements have therefore been confined to Christian states ; and for the individual, his one road to perfection has been a moving forward toward God.

Upon this, then, we base our argument for miracles. The universal instincts of men prove the necessity of the existence of religion. Without it the promptings of our hearts, compelling us to believe in a God and to hope for a future, would be empty and meaningless ; and this no human instincts are. There is no instinct whatsoever which has not in external nature that which exactly corresponds to it, and is its proper field of exercise. And, in the next place, natural

religion, though in entire agreement with revealed, is, as we have shown, insufficient for the purposes for which religion is required. Finally, there is the phenomenon that the revealed religion which we profess does act as a motive to progress. Christian nations—in morals, in freedom, in literature, in science, in the arts, and in all that adorns or beautifies society and human life—hold undoubtedly the foremost place, and are still moving forward. And in proportion as a Christian nation holds its faith purely and firmly, so surely is its course onward. It is content with nothing to which it has attained, but sees before it the ideal of a higher perfection.

Now a revealed religion can be proved only by that which involves the supernatural. No proof can rise higher than the order of things to which it belongs. And thus all that can be proved by the elaborate examination of all created things, and the diligent inquiry into their conformation and uses and instincts, and the purposes for which each organ or faculty was given; yea, even the search into man's own mind, and all the psychologic problems which suggest so very much to us as to the purposes of our existence—all this can rise no higher than natural religion. They are at best but guesses and vague conjectures, and a feeling and groping after truth. Nothing of this sort could prove to us a revealed religion. For how are we to know that it is revealed? In order to its being revealed, God must be the giver of it. And how are we to know that it is he who speaks? Its strength, its value, its authority, all depend upon its being the voice of God. No subjective authority can prove this. The nature of the truths revealed, their adaptability to our wants, their usefulness, their probability—nothing of this would prove that they had not been thought out by some highly-gifted man. We must have supernatural evidence—something pledging God himself—before we can accept a religion as revealed.

We shall see this more clearly if we reflect upon the nature of the obedience which we are required to render to a revealed religion. Its authority is summary, and knows no appeal. It is God who speaks, and there is no higher tribunal than his throne. Take, for instance, the Ten Commandments. Essentially they are a republication of the laws of natural religion, excepting perhaps the fourth commandment. But upon how different a footing do they stand! The duty of not killing is in natural religion counteracted by the law of self-preservation, and in heathen communities has been generally very powerless, and human life but little valued. Even in fairly-civilized communities murder was not a crime to be punished

by the state, but to be avenged by the relatives of the murdered man. This even was the state of things among the Jews when the Ten Commandments were promulgated, and Moses, by special enactments, modified and softened the customs which he found prevalent, and which did not distinguish between wilful murder and accidental homicide. Natural religion, therefore, gave no special sanctity to human life, but regarded only the injury done to the family of the sufferer. The divine commandment has gone home straight to the conscience. It has made the shedding of blood a sin, and not merely an injury. Accordingly, Christian states have recognized the divine nature of the law by punishing murder as a public offense, instead of leaving it to be dealt with as a private wrong.

A revealed religion therefore claims absolute power over the conscience as being the direct will of God. No question of utility or public or private expediency may stand in its way. It must be obeyed, and disobedience is sin. But plainly we ought not to yield such absolute obedience to any thing that we do not know to be the law of God. Man stands too high in the scale of existence for this to be right. Were it only that he is endowed with a conscience, and thereby made responsible for his actions, it is impossible for him to give up the control over his own actions to any being of less authority than that One to whom he is responsible. But a revelation claims to be the express will of that very Being, and therefore a sufficient justification of our actions before his tribunal. Surely, before we trust ourselves to it, we may fairly claim adequate proof that it is his will. The issues are too serious for less than this to suffice.

But, besides this, when we look at Christianity, the nature of its doctrines brings the necessity of supernatural proof before us with intense force. It teaches us that God took our nature upon him, and in our nature died in our stead; and, as we have pointed out before, the strength of Christianity, and that which makes it a religion of progress, is this union of the divine and human natures in Christ. He is not merely the "man of sorrows," the ideal of suffering humanity—and a religion that glorifies a sinless sufferer may do much to alleviate sorrow and sweeten the bitter cup of woe—but he is much more than this. It is only when that sinless sufferer is worshiped as our Lord and our God that we reach the mainspring which has given Christianity its power to regenerate the world.

But how could such a doctrine be believed on any less evidence than that which directly pledged the divine authority on its behalf? The unique and perfect character of the Jesus of the evangelists

the pure and spotless nature of the morality he taught; the influence for good which Christian doctrines have exercised; the position attained by Christian nations, and the contrast between the ideals of heathenism and of Christianity—all this and more is valuable as subsidiary evidence. Some of it is absolutely necessary to sustain our belief. Even miracles would not convince us of the truth of a revelation which taught us a morality contrary to our consciences. For nothing could make us believe that the voice of God in nature could be opposed to his voice in revelation. It is a very axiom that, however it reaches us, the voice of God must be ever the same. But these subsidiary proofs are but by-works. They are not the citadel, and can never form the main defense. A doctrine such as that of God becoming man must have evidence cognate to and *in pari materia* with the doctrine itself. Thus, by a plain and self-evident necessity, revelation offers us supernatural proof of its reality. This supernatural proof is twofold, prophecy and miracle.

Now these two not merely support one another, but are essentially connected. They are not independent, but correlative proofs. It was the office of the prophet gradually to prepare the way for the manifestation of the Immanuel upon earth. In order to do so effectually he often came armed with supernatural authority. But a vast majority of the prophets had no other business than to impress on the consciences of the people truths already divinely vouched for and implicitly accepted; and such no more needed miracles than the preachers of Christianity do at the present day. But among the prophets were here and there men of higher powers, whose office was to move onward toward the ultimate goal of the preparatory dispensation. Such men offered prediction and miracle as the seals which ratified their mission. In general men could be prepared to receive so great a miracle as that set forth in the opening verses of John's Gospel only by a previous dispensation which had brought the supernatural very near to man. If the Old Testament had offered no miracles, and had not taught the constant presence of God in the disposal of all human things, the doctrines of the New Testament would have been an impossibility.

But we shall understand their connection better when we have a clearer idea of the true scriptural doctrine of miracles. The current idea of a miracle is that it is a violation of the laws of nature, and as the laws of nature are the laws of God, a miracle would thus signify the violation by God of his own laws. This is not the teaching of the Bible itself, but an idea that has grown out of the Latin word which

has supplanted the more thoughtful terms used in the Hebrew and in the Greek Scriptures. "A miracle," *miraculum*, is something wonderful—marvelous. Now no doubt all God's works are wonderful; but when the word is applied to his doings in the Bible, it is his works in nature that are generally so described. In the Hebrew, especially in poetry, God is often described as doing "wonders," that is, miracles. But the term is not merely applicable to works such as those wrought by him for his people in Egypt and the wilderness, but to a thunder-storm, and to his ordinary dealings with men in providence, and in the government of the world. But this term *wonder* is not the word in the Hebrew properly applicable to what we mean by miracles, and in the New Testament our Lord's works are never called "miracles" (θαύματα) at all. The people are often said to have "wondered" at Christ's acts, but those acts themselves were not intended simply to produce wonder; they had a specific purpose, indicated by the term properly applicable to them, and that term is *sign*.

This is the sole Hebrew term for what we mean by *miracle*; but there are other words applied to our Lord's doings in the New Testament which we will previously consider. And, first, there is a term which approaches very nearly to our word *miracle*, namely, τέρας, *portent*, defined by Liddell and Scott, in their Greek Lexicon, as a "*sign, wonder, marvel*, used of any appearance or event in which men believed that they could see the finger of God." But, with that marvelous accuracy which distinguishes the language of the Greek Testament, our Lord's works are never called τέρατα in the Gospels. The word is used of the false Christs and false prophets, who by great signs and *portents* shall almost deceive the very elect. The populace, however, expected a prophet to display these portents, and Joel had predicted that such signs of God's presence would accompany the coming of the great and notable day of Jehovah.

In the Acts of the Apostles our Lord is said to have been approved of God by portents as well as by powers and signs, the words literally being "Jesus of Nazareth, a man displayed of God unto you by powers, and portents, and signs;" but the portents refer to such things as the star which appeared to the magi, and the darkness and earthquake at the crucifixion. Exactly parallel to this place are the words where God is said to have borne witness to the truth of the apostles' testimony "by signs, and portents, and manifold powers, and diversified gifts of the Holy Ghost," the description being evidently intended to include every manifestation of God's presence with

the first preachers of the Gospel, ordinary and extraordinary, in providence and in grace, and not merely the one fact that from time to time they wrought miracles.

But the term *portents* is freely applied to the miracles wrought by the apostles, being used of them no less than eight times in the Acts, and also once in Romans, and once in the Corinthians. In every case it is used in connection with the word *signs*. The two words, however, express very different sides of the apostles' working, the term *sign*, as we shall see hereafter, having reference to the long-previous preparation for the Messiah's advent, while *portents* were indications of the presence with them of the finger of God.

In the Synoptic Gospels, the most common name for our Lord's miracles is *δυνάμεις*, *powers*. Full of meaning as is the word, it nevertheless is not one easy to adapt to the idiom of our language, and thus in the Gospels it is usually translated "mighty works." Really it signifies the very opposite of miracles. A *δύναμις* is a faculty, or capacity for doing any thing. We all have our faculties—some physical, some mental and moral—and these are all strictly natural endowments. We have also spiritual faculties, and these also primarily are natural endowments of our inner being. The teaching therefore of this word *δυνάμεις*, *powers* or *faculties*, is that our Lord's works were perfectly natural and ordinary to him. They were his capacities, just as sight and speech are ours. Now in a brute animal articulate speech would be a miracle, because it does not lie within the range of its capacities, and therefore would be a violation of the law of its nature; it does lie within the compass of our faculties, and so in us is no miracle. Similarly, the healing of the sick, the giving sight to the blind, the raising of the dead—things entirely beyond the range of our powers, yet lay entirely within the compass of our Lord's capacities, and were in accordance with the laws of his nature. It was no more a "miracle" in him to turn water into wine than it is with God, who works this change every year. Nor does John call it so, though his word is rendered miracle in our version.

His language, as becomes the most thoughtful and philosophic of the Gospels, is deeply significant. He does not use the term *δύναμις*, *faculty*, at all, but has two words, one especially his own, namely, *ἔργον*, a *work*; the other, the one proper term for miracle throughout the whole Bible, *σημεῖον*, a *sign*.

Our Lord's miracles are called *ἔργα*, *works*, by John some fifteen or more times, besides places where they are spoken of as "the works of God." Now this term stands in a very close relation to the pre-

ceding word, *δύναμις*, a *faculty*. A faculty when exerted, produces an *ἔργον*, or work. Whatever powers or capacities we have, whenever we use them, bring forth a corresponding result. We have capacities of thought, of speech, of action, common to the species, though varying in the individual; and what is not at all remarkable in one man may be very much so in another, simply because it is beyond his usual range. But outside the species it may be not only remarkable but miraculous, because it lies altogether beyond the range of the capacities with which the agent is endowed. And so, on the contrary, what would be miraculous in one class of agents is simply natural in another class, because it is in accordance with their powers.

Now had our Lord been merely man, any and every work beyond the compass of man's powers would have been a miracle. It would have transcended the limits of his nature; but whether it would necessarily have violated the laws of that nature is a question of some difficulty. Supposing that man is an imperfect being, but capable of progress, the limits of his powers may be indefinitely enlarged. Those who hold the theory of evolution concede this, and therefore concede that there is nothing miraculous in a remarkable individual being prematurely endowed with capacities which finally and in due time will be the heritage of the whole species. It is the doctrine of the Bible that the spiritual man has a great future before him, and the prophets of old, and the apostles and early Christians, endowed with their great gifts, may be but an anticipation of what the spiritual man may finally become. Still, among the "works" of our Lord and his apostles, there is one which seems distinctly divine, namely, the raising of the dead. Gifts of healing, of exciting dormant powers, such as speech in the dumb, of reading the thoughts of others' hearts, may be so heightened in man as he develops under the operations of the Spirit that much may cease to be astonishing which now is highly so. But the raising of the dead travels into another sphere; nor can we imagine any human progress evolving such a power as this. We can not imagine man possessed of any latent capacity which may in time be so developed as naturally to produce such a result. So, too, the multiplying of food seems to involve powers reserved to the Creator alone.

But the Gospel of John does not regard our Lord as a man prematurely endowed with gifts which finally will become the heritage of the whole species; it is penetrated everywhere with the conviction that a higher nature was united in him to his human nature. It

shows itself not merely in formal statements like the opening words of the Gospel, but in the language usual with him everywhere. And so here. Our Lord's miracles to him are simply and absolutely *ἔργα*, *works* only. But, as we have seen before, they are also divine works, "works of God." Still in Christ, according to John's view, they were perfectly natural. They were the necessary and direct result of that divine nature which in him was indissolubly united with his human nature. The last thing which the apostle would have thought about them was that they were miraculous, *wonderful*. That God should give his only-begotten Son to save the world was wonderful. That such a being should ordinarily do works entirely beyond the limits of man's powers did not seem to John wonderful, and hence the simple but deeply significant term by which he characterizes them.

Yet such works were not wrought without a purpose; nor did such a being come without having a definite object to justify his manifestation. If wisdom has to be justified of all her children, of all that she produces, there must be some end or purpose effected by each of them, and especially in one like Christ, confessedly the very highest manifestation of human nature, and, as we Christians believe, reaching far above its bounds. Now John points this out in calling our Lord's works *σημεῖα*, *signs*. It is devoutly to be hoped that in the revised translation of the New Testament this term will be restored to its place, instead of being mistranslated *miracle*, as in our present version. Really, in employing it, John was only following in the steps of the older Scriptures, and the unity of thought in the Bible is destroyed when the same word is translated differently in one book from its rendering in another. However wonderful may be God's works, they are not wrought simply to fill men with astonishment, and least of all are those so wrought which lie outside the ordinary course of natural laws.

A sign is more and means more than a miracle, for it does not stand alone, but is a token and indication of something else. Thus John's word shows that our Lord's *works* had a definite purpose. They were not wrought at random, but were intended for a special object. What this was is easy to tell. The Old Testament had always represented the Jews as holding a peculiar position toward the Godhead. They were a chosen people endowed with high privileges and blessings, but so endowed because they were also intended for a unique purpose. They were the depositaries of revelation, and in due time their *Torah*, their revealed law, was to go forth out of Zion to lighten the whole Gentile world. This promise of a revelation

extending to the whole world was further connected with the coming of a special descendant of Abraham, and prophecy had gradually so filled up the outline that a complete sketch had been given of the person, the offices, the work, and the preaching of the great Son of David, to whose line the promise had subsequently been confined.

But how were people to know when he had come? The prophets had indeed given some indications of the time, especially Daniel, and so clear were their words that all the world was expecting the arrival of some mighty being, in whom *magnus ab integro sæculorum nascitur ordo*, and an entire transformation of the world should take place. But how, among many claimants, was he to be known? He might come, perhaps, as a conqueror, and by force of arms compel men to submit to his authority. But no! Prophecy had described him as the Prince of Peace; nor was his kingdom to be of this world, but a spiritual empire. Now, if we reflect for a little, we shall see that there is no obligation incumbent upon men to accept, or even examine, the claims of any and every one professing to be the bearer of a revelation from God. Before this duty arises, there must at least be something to call our attention to his claims. Mere self-assertion imposes no obligation upon others, unless it have something substantial to back it up. Life is a practical thing, with very onerous duties, and few, like the Athenians of old, have the taste or the leisure to listen to and examine every thing new. The herald of a divine dispensation must have proof to offer that he does come from God, and such proof as pledges the divine attributes to the truth of his teaching. This is the reason why the Old Testament dispensation was one of *signs*. On special occasions justifying the divine interference, and in the persons of its great teachers, in two ways, supernatural proof was given of God's presence with his messengers in a manner superior to and beyond his ordinary and providential presence in the affairs of life. The divine *omniscience* was pledged to the truth of their words by the prediction of future events; and his *omnipotence* by their working things beyond the ordinary range of nature. The two Old Testament proofs of a revelation were prophecy and miracle. We can think of no others, and nothing less would suffice.

As we have said, the whole of the Old Testament looked forward to the manifestation of a divine person, in whom revelation would become, in the first place, perfect; in the second, universal; and, thirdly, final. As being a final revelation, prophecy, which was the distinctive element of the preparatory dispensation, holds in it no longer an essential place, though it is present in the New Testament

in a subordinate degree. But miracle must, in the bearer of such a revelation, rise to its highest level; first because of the superiority of his office to that of the prophets. For he was himself the end of prophecy, the person for whose coming prophecy had prepared, and in whom all God's purposes of love toward mankind were to be fulfilled. The office of Christ as the bearer to mankind of God's final and complete message involves too much for us lightly to ascribe it to him. And no merely natural proof would suffice. We could not possibly believe what we believe of him had he wrought no miracles. We could not believe that he was the appointed Saviour, to whom "all honor was given in heaven and earth," for man's redemption, if he had given no proof during the period of his manifestation on earth of being invested with extraordinary powers. But we go further than this. Perhaps no one would deny that the sole sufficient proof of such a religion as Christianity must be supernatural. We assert that no revealed religion whatsoever can be content with a less decided proof. The sole basis upon which a revelation can rest is the possession by the bearer of it of prophetic and miraculous powers.

For a revealed religion claims authority over us. If it be God's voice speaking to us, we have no choice but to obey. Our reason might not approve; our hearts and wills might detest what we were told; yet if we knew that it was God's voice, we must sadly and reluctantly submit to it. But it would be wrong in the highest degree to yield up ourselves to any thing requiring such complete obedience unless we had satisfactory proof that God really was its author. And no subjective proof could be satisfactory. The purity of the doctrines of Christianity, their agreement with the truths of natural religion, their ennobling effects upon our characters, and the way in which they enlighten the conscience—all this and more shows that there is no impossibility in Christianity being a divine revelation: the perfectness of our Lord's character, the thoroughness with which Christ's atonement answers to the deepest needs of the soul, the way in which Christianity rises above all religions of man's devising—all this and more makes it probable that it is God's gift. But at most these considerations only prepare the mind to listen without prejudice to the direct and external proofs that Christianity is a revelation from God. The final proof must pledge God himself to its truth. But what are the divine attributes which would bear the most decisive witness? Surely those which most entirely transcend all human counterfeits—omniscience and omnipotence. Now these are pledged to Christianity by prophecy and miracle.

The first had performed its office when Christ came. All men were musing in their hearts upon the expected coming of some Great One. His miracles, his *works*, the products of his *powers*, were the *signs* that prophecy was being fulfilled. The two must not be separated. Our Lord expressly declares that but for his *works* the Jews would have been right in rejecting him. His claims were too high for any less proof to have sufficed. But the nature of his works did put men under a moral obligation to inquire into his claims; and then he sent them to the Scriptures. The miracles were thus not the final proof of Christ's mission. Had they been such, we might have expected that they would still be from time to time vouchsafed, as occasion required, even to the end of the world. The agreement of Christ's life and death and teaching with what had been foretold of the Messiah is the leading proof of his mission, and, having this, we need miracles no more. Christ's works called men's attention to this proof, and made it a duty to examine it. They also exalt his person, and give him the authority of a messenger accredited from heaven; but the Old Testament remains for all ages the proper proof of the truth of the New. Miracles were *signs* for the times; Prophecy is for all time, and as Christianity no longer requires any thing especially to call men's attention to its claims, Prophecy is proof enough that it is a message from God.

The more clearly to set this before our readers, we repeat that prediction was the distinctive sign of God's presence under the Old-Testament dispensation, and miracles subordinate. Revelation was then a growing light, and was ever advancing; and thus the prophets were ever preparing for the future. It was only on special occasions that miracle was needed. But when revelation became perfect and final in the person of One who, according to the terms of prophecy, transcended the bounds of human nature, it was necessary that miracle should rise in him to its highest level, both because of the dignity of his person, as one invested with all power, human and divine, and also as the proper proof at the time of his being the Son, the last and greatest therefore whom the Father could send; and, finally, to call the attention of men to his claims, and compel them to examine them. For this reason they were called *signs*. But as soon as the dispensation thus given could force its claims on men's attention by other means, and its divine founder had withdrawn, miracles necessarily ceased, as being inconsistent with man's probation. Look over the list of Scripture names for miracles, and ask what one would be appropriate now? Of what

would they now be *signs*? Of what person would they be the proper *faculties*? For whom now would they be suitable *works*? The whole scriptural theory of miracles is contravened by the supposition of miracles being continued after Christianity had once been established. What history teaches us, namely, that they were rapidly withdrawn, is alone consistent with what we gather from Scripture concerning them.

They were an essential part of the proof at the time, and have an essential use now. For we could not believe what is taught us of Christ if he had not been accredited by miracles. But the proper evidence for the truth of Christianity now is that of prophecy, not as existing any longer in living force, but as manifested in the agreement of the long list of books forming the Old Testament with one another; and still more in the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New. It is a proof in everybody's hands, and open to every one to examine. The proof of miracles requires, of course, large historical evidence, and not every one possesses Bishop Stillingfleet's "*Origines Causæ*," or even Paley; but every Christian has his Bible, and in it will find the proper proof now of its truth.

In its proper place and degree, the supernatural remains essential to the proof of a divine revelation. We could not accept a revelation, or give it the authority over our conscience due to the direct voice of God, unless we had indubitable proof that it was God's voice. The supernatural can only be proved by the supernatural. If, then, a revelation was necessary as well for the present progress of mankind as for their future perfectness, miracle was also necessary, and the believer in revelation can not possibly discard it from its place among the evidences.

Necessarily, therefore, from first to last, the Bible is a book of miracle. Miracle is present not as an accident, separable from the main thread, but is itself the very essence of the narrative. The facts of the Old Testament were the basis of the faith of the Jew. They were so as being *miracles*, and because, as such, they involved certain dogmatic propositions concerning the divine Being and his relations to themselves.

Miracles in the present day are at a discount. Our men of science have so well studied the laws of the material universe, and shown us so clearly the existence there of a calm, unbroken, unvarying order, that our minds, enamored of so grand a truth, are impatient of any truth or theory rising above these material laws. Thus the controversy whether Christianity is true or not really turns upon miracle.

The close and exact examination of all the facts of holy Scripture which has marked our days has served only to confirm men's belief in the authenticity of the sacred writings. Our increased knowledge, especially that obtained from the cuneiform inscriptions corroborative of the Old Testament history, and from similar unquestionable authorities contemporaneous with the New Testament records, has well-nigh swept away every so-called historical difficulty; while subjective criticism has not merely failed in substantiating any case against the several books of the Bible, but has done very much to place them upon a surer basis. At no time was the external evidence in favor of Christianity, or the argument drawn from prophecy, so clear and so little liable to objection as at the present day. And this is no slight matter. A host of eager and competent critics have examined with unfavorable intentions the whole line of our defenses, and the result of their operations has been to show how thoroughly tenable it is in every part.

Thus the whole attack is now thrown upon miracle. Miracle is roundly asserted to be contrary to the whole course of nature, and to be a violation of that grand law of invariable order which we find everywhere else throughout the universe. In this way a sort of induction is drawn against miracle. Wherever we can examine into the causes of phenomena, we always find them the products of forces acting according to unchanging laws. Whole regions of phenomena, which were once supposed to be under the sway of chance, have now been reduced to order, and the causes of them made manifest. Men of science have entered one field after another, and have added it to their domains, by showing what laws govern it, and how those laws work. With some show of reason therefore they affirm that law prevails everywhere, and that where at present it can not be shown to prevail, we may yet be sure of its presence, and convinced that the patient investigations of science will in due time demonstrate its sway. And therefore miracle, as being a violation of these universal laws, is not merely, they say, contrary to that experience of men of which Mr. Hume spoke, and upon which he founded an argument repeatedly shown to be untenable, but of an induction drawn from a vast field of observation and scientific inquiry. In miracle, and miracle alone, science finds something which contradicts its experience. The examination of this most important objection will complete our inquiry.

The proposition contained in this objection, when we consider it, seems a most true conclusion as regards the material universe. All material things apparently are governed by general laws, and it is

probable that scientific men are quite right in endeavoring to show that even in creation all things were produced by law. For our own part, we can not imagine a perfect Being like the Deity working except by law, and therefore we read all theories about evolution and selection, and the formation of the solar system by slow degrees out of a vast nebula, and the like, with no prejudice regarding them, however intended, simply as attempted answers to the question, In what way—by what secondary processes—did God create and shape the world? If, after reading the arguments, we conclude by thinking them often ingenious rather than true, and put the book down with the Scotch verdict, "Not proven," we do not therefore think that science is on the wrong track, nor doubt that all these inquiries do in the main give us juster views of God's method of working. But miracle seems to us to belong to another field of thought, and to be outside the domains of science. For we venture to ask, Is the material universe every thing? Is there nothing but matter? nothing but dull, inert particles, acted upon by material forces—attraction, repulsion, affinity, and the like? What is force? What is law? If there be a God—a perfect, omnipotent, omnipresent Being—then law has to us a meaning. It is his will, working permanently and unchangeably because he is a perfect and omnipotent worker. We can understand force. It is his presence, acting upon and controlling all things, but always in the same way, because he changes not. To believe in universal order without a universal will to order all things, to believe in universal laws without a universal lawgiver, is to us an absurdity. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. In a world where every effect has a cause, who and what is the cause of all? Who but God? And who sustains the world now but he who first made it?

But it is not the office of science to inquire into the being and attributes and nature of this First Great Cause. Science is solely occupied with the *secondary processes*. When it has reached the law, it has done its work. It is not the business of science to examine into the law as such, but only into the mode of its operations. Whose is the law, what power sustains it, how it came into being—all this lies outside the domain of science. Thus science never rises above material things; and by remembering this—by remembering that, after all, the field of science (of course we mean physical science) is limited—we see that an induction made in its proper field does not justify any conclusions in fields outside its limits.

Let us take the case of man. Science, looking at him in his physical aspect, tells us that he consists of several pounds of salts and

earths, combined with a larger number of gallons of water. It tells us by what chemical affinities these commonplace materials are held together, how they operate upon one another, by what processes the waste is renewed, and by what a mass of curious mechanical contrivances man's body, considered as a machine, performs its operations. If we ask how it comes to think, science tells us much about the brain; how like it is to a galvanic trough, and by what an elaborate, threefold apparatus of nerves it sends its commands to every part of the body. But when we ask how it is that the brain does consciously what the voltaic battery does unconsciously; how it is that these earths and salts when combined into a man, know that they are a man, we get only the unmeaning answer that it is the result of organization. But give science all the bottles in a chemist's shop, and it can not organize a sentient being out of them. In fact, it owns itself that life is a mystery. It can tell how life works, but not what life is. Life is as much beyond the reach of science as is God. It knows the laws of life, but no more.

Man therefore, when considered only physically, contains more than science can master. But is life the only mystery in man? Why does man think? Why does he speculate upon his own actions? Why muse upon the purpose of all things here below? Of all beings upon this earth, man alone is self-conscious. He alone knows that he exists; he alone feels that he exists for a purpose, and can and does consciously interfere with other things in order to shape them to his own ends. He alone has not the mere rudiments, but the full gift of a conscience, which is always interfering with him, and giving him endless annoyance, because it will pass judgment upon his actions, and condemn much that he does.

Now it is in connection with this higher world that miracle has its proper place. It distinctly has reference to man as a being in whom there is more than mere material forces at work. Prove that there is nothing more in man than salts and earths and water, and there would be no place for miracle. Now physical science stops at proving this. The most skillful analyst could get nothing more out of man than salts, earths, and water; but then, confessedly, he labors under this disadvantage, that he can not begin his analysis until life, and with it the sentient soul, has withdrawn from the machine. All he can examine is the residuum only. We want some science therefore which can examine man while he is alive, and report upon him. For physical science is not the sole science. There are other sciences, and each is authoritative only upon its own

domain. The psycholygist, who examines into the workings of man's inner nature, is quite as worthy of a hearing as the physicist, who examines into the materials out of which he is composed. *Ne sutor supra crepidam*—a homely but wise motto, which a rising and progressive study, such as is physical science, in the hours of its first triumphs, is in danger of neglecting. After all, a man of only one science tries to see with only one eye, and to walk with only one leg. Before we can form a true estimate of the question that so deeply concerns us—What is man's place and work and purpose in the world?—we must include a far wider induction than that offered by physical science.

If, as the instincts of our nature teach us, there be a God; if man be more than a very highly-organized machine; if within him there be an immortal soul, and before him a future life, then miracle is essential to his well-being. It is the sole possible proof of conscious relation between man and God. Man could not be sure that God had spoken to him, had revealed to him any knowledge requisite for his use, had entered into covenant relation with him, without miracles. We know nothing in physical science to disprove this relation. Suppose that we find a stage elaborately constructed and adorned. No theory, however true, of the manner in which this stage was constructed, no examination of the mechanical laws by which it is still kept in being, will justify us in concluding that it was not intended for some further purpose. Nor, because the boards are all safely nailed in their place, does it follow that actors may not enter upon it, higher in nature than the boards, and capable of spontaneous motion. Nor, because we have never seen the builder, does it follow that he did not erect the stage on purpose that these actors might play upon it their parts. Geology, chemistry, astronomy, so far from proving that the world had no purpose, and that the actors upon it have no freedom and no responsibility, rather suggest the contrary. They teach us what a vast amount of skill, patience, wisdom, and goodness has been expended in forming the stage. *Quorsum hæc?* What was the object of all this? What the end? Oh! but some physicists answer, We reject teleology. That is, we reject something which lies beyond our province, and on which we have no authority to speak. They tell us all about the stage, and then, instead of saying frankly, We have done our part, *Plaudite* (and richly they deserve our applause), they tell us, Be satisfied with the stage. It is very pretty, very nicely constructed, but utterly unmeaning. An elaborate universe without a purpose, is a poor, mean thing,

unworthy to exist. It would be a disgrace to a man to erect a noble structure without a purpose: there are many buildings in England called So and So's Folly, because erected without a sufficient purpose. Let us beware of ascribing such child's play to that Power which called the universe into being.

No. The more we consider man, and the more we learn about him, and about the world which he inhabits, the more sure we are that he is no fortuitous concurrence of atoms, but the chief and culminating point, in whom, and in whom alone, all the skill and wisdom and long patience displayed in the formation of the world find their purpose and their justification. The wonders of physical science all lead up to this. There are some among its teachers who would persuade us that the universe is a mere curiosity shop, fitted to raise our wonder, but never reasonable, because nowhere the product of mind, or controlled by mind. But the very harmony which they find in nature, and the calm reign of law, prove that mind does pervade all nature. Without mind there can be no harmony; without a universal mind no universal law. But grant that mind may exist as well as matter, and you grant the possibility of this world having a purpose—a purpose which, as we have shown, can be realized only in man. But to realize this purpose man's finite mind may need converse with the universal, the infinite mind, and, if so, miracle is justified by this necessity.

Thus, then, miracle is not contrary to nature, but rises simply above the sphere of mere material forces. And it is untrue and unphilosophic to regard it as such an interference by God with his universal laws as is a violation of them. We daily interfere with the material laws and forces of nature, but we never violate them. The stone thrown into the air interferes with the law of gravitation, but does not violate it. And if God be an intelligent and moral worker like man, only in a superior and perfect degree, he, too, must be capable of bending the powers of nature to instantaneous obedience to his will, or he could not do what man can do. His own laws he could not violate, because they are his laws; but his interference with them would necessarily be what we call a miracle, something which the ordinary operations of nature could not produce; something which transcends nature, and goes utterly beyond it. If a sheep possessed the power of reasoning upon its own actions and those of man, the latter would seem to it absolutely miraculous, because they so entirely exceed its own powers. Yet to man they would be no miracles, but the ordinary exercise of his powers. And

so what we call miracles are not miracles to the Deity, and therefore the evangelists call them in Christ simply *δυνάμεις*, his *faculties*; and John calls them *ἔργα*, *works*, only, the natural products of his faculties; yet not wrought without a purpose. They were also *σημεῖα*, *signs*, tokens indicating that something was done, which man was thereby required to examine and observe; and living as the Jews did under a preparatory dispensation, they were signs that the fulness of time had come, and the final dispensation was being ushered in.

In conclusion. Without supernatural evidence there can be only natural religion. Revelation is itself a miracle; and its very object is to tell us things which we could not otherwise know. Such things can not be verified as we verify the facts of science. No man hath or can see God. No man can tell us by experience what is the state of the soul after death, for from that bourne no traveler returns. Yet some knowledge of the relations of the soul with God may be absolutely necessary for our moral and spiritual well-being. Now the utter failure of natural religion convinces us that it is necessary. And therefore we feel no difficulty in the belief that God, in creating the world such as it is, and placing man upon it such as he is, and under such circumstances as those in which we find ourselves, did from the first purpose this reasonable interference with the material laws of his own framing, by which he grants man the only sufficient proof that he is willing to enter into covenant relations with them. If the physicist reply that such action on God's part is inconceivable, we answer that he also must conceive of some such action. Students of physical science deal in long numbers, but these numbers are as nothing compared with the eternity past. Work back with the geologist, and you come at last to a first beginning of matter. Looked at by the light of mental science, the eternal existence of matter is impossible. To the metaphysician, matter is but a phenomenon of mind. Confining ourselves, then, to our universe, what a momentous change was that in God when he passed from the passive state of not willing to the active state of willing the existence of our system! Grant that by his fiat he called into existence only an atom, out of which by evolution all things here below have sprung, what a stupendous act it was, and how entirely it placed the Deity in relations, and, to speak with all reverence, under obligations from which he was free before! For the Creator is under the obligations of justice and love to his creatures. He made us, and not we ourselves. But he neither was nor is under any moral obligations to his material laws. They abide in power and might because he abideth continually. And miracle simply means

that he, the Creator, has from time to time, under the operation of a higher law, given us the necessary proof that he does love us, and that certain messengers, chosen from among men, had authority to teach us truths which concerned our peace; and that, finally, by "powers and portents and signs, he has manifested and displayed Jesus of Nazareth in the midst of us" as "a leader and Saviour, to give repentance unto his people, and the remission of sins."

Miracles, then, were no after-thought, no remedial process to set right what had gone wrong before. They form an essential and necessary part and condition of the intercourse between the universal mind of God and the finite mind of man, and that intercourse was necessary for man's good. Why man is just what he is, and why the state of things in which he finds himself is what it is, we can not tell. We can only reason from facts as we find them. But man being such as he is, we assert that the world would be a failure without miracles; for either man would exist without a purpose, or, having been placed here for some purpose, he would not know with sufficient certainty or clearness what that purpose was, and therefore would neither have the means of effecting it, nor even any obligation laid upon him of trying to accomplish what his Maker had willed in his creation.

THE MONEY PROBLEM.

IF the present condition of the monetary circulation of the United States be a national dishonor as well as serious injury to all the material interests of the country (as will be generally admitted), should not the most active and efficient measures be at once taken for its restoration to par with gold? Why postpone at all what is so essential to the highest prosperity of the nation? Will resumption be less difficult or dangerous five or ten years hence than now? If not, why be satisfied with any temporizing expedient, with merely limiting present issues, if they are already so excessive as to exert a disastrous influence? Why resort to evasion, or palliation, to the issue of 3.65, or any other kind of bonds, interchangeable at the will of the holder for greenbacks, when the redundancy of the currency, with all its evils, will only be enhanced and perpetuated thereby?

Besides, is there not imminent danger in longer continuing the use of a dishonored currency in time of peace, when no public exigency can furnish an excuse for it?

Is there not reason to fear a further expansion, unless prompt and vigorous measures are taken to secure a return to specie payments? Is there not danger of a general repudiation of all indebtedness, public and private, a general discharge of all pecuniary obligations with a worthless legal tender, if the present system is much longer tolerated? If there be any hazard of such a result, if the existence of the present currency is fraught with peril, does it not furnish a powerful argument in favor of speedy and effective action?

Is it manly or patriotic to shirk or postpone the undertaking, from the apprehension that the adoption of right measures may prove unpopular, and jeopardize party interests?

Why propose the tedious and burdensome measure, as some do, of accumulating a large amount of specie in the public treasury, when no such accumulation will be needed, if the currency be reduced to its natural limit? Why indulge in any anxiety as to "the amount of currency required by the business of the country," when the laws of

trade, if left to their undisturbed operation, will determine that question with unerring certainty, and furnish the requisite quantity? Why ask, as some do, for sudden resumption, when a gradual and uniform contraction would secure the desired result, and be far more just and safe, while equally effective? Why take away any currency from the people by arbitrary withdrawal, when they will contract the volume themselves to its natural and proper limit, if Congress will give them the opportunity to do it?

DIVERSITY OF OPINION.

Questions like these force themselves upon the public mind, and should receive, as they deserve, an earnest, careful consideration.

But what answer can be given? What course be pursued to secure the desired end? To this question the most divergent and contradictory answers are returned; yet if we carefully observe we shall find the country divided on the subject into three general, but well defined parties; not that these are three political organizations, representing the different and conflicting opinions; it would be well if there were. It is the most unfortunate feature of the case that no definite policy, bad or good, is announced by any political party pledged to its support; but scattered throughout the nation are, first:

EXPANSIONISTS—

Those who demand a further issue of paper money, maintaining that a return to specie payments, so far from being desirable, is greatly to be deprecated—that a metallic standard for the measure of value is a false and antiquated idea, unworthy of regard in this country; where it is assumed, the circumstances and conditions of production and trade are so widely different from all others, that a monetary system that may do very well abroad, is quite unsuitable here. The most active partisans of these views are usually those engaged in speculative operations—men whose vocation is to purchase property, personal or real, and hold for an advance. So long as the circulating medium is made plentiful by expansion, prices will be constantly appreciating; consequently, those who make purchases in anticipation of a rise, are sufficiently sure of realizing a profit.

The history of mankind has probably never afforded a more striking illustration of the excess to which operations of this sort may be carried, in consequence of currency expansion, than that exhibited in the experience of the United States from 1861—when the paper circulation was but one hundred and seventy millions—to 1867, when it

had risen to seven hundred millions; and, if we include every kind of issues then more or less used in making exchanges, to eleven hundred millions. So broad a field was never before presented, nor so extravagant an increase of irredeemable, yet generally accredited paper promises accepted as money by force of law.

The opportunity thus afforded was diligently improved, and hence we find as a consequence, a large increase of millionaires as compared with the increase of wealth and population. The few had extraordinary means for amassing immense fortunes at the expense of the many.

That this class of the community, so successful in their accumulation of wealth without the labor of production, should be found desirous of a further issue of paper money, can be no matter of surprise. The profitableness of their occupation depends upon it. Nor need we wonder at their influence upon legislation, when we call to mind their well-known activity and perseverance, and the money power they well understand how to wield.

It was this description of persons that induced Congress to stop the gradual contraction of four millions per month, commenced by Secretary McCulloch; and which, if he had been permitted to carry it out, would, long ere this, have brought the country back to a specie basis.

QUIETISTS.

The second class to be noticed, a large and influential one, consists of those who, while admitting the redundancy of the present circulation, are nevertheless quite willing, even desirous, it should be continued "until the country grows up to it;" a consummation they profess to believe will be realized within a short period. A large share of the leading politicians, in and out of Congress, belong to this class. They would avoid all action, all disturbance of the present status, and have the country wait with due patience for the restoration of the gold standard; an event quite desirable, but which they would have brought about by the gradual increase of production and population; not being aware, perhaps, that the present century would expire before the object would be attained in that manner, according to the natural ratio of increase.

RESUMPTIONISTS.

The third general division consists of those who desire a return of specie payments as soon as consistent with justice to present debtors and creditors; and who would have active and efficient measures commenced at once for securing that object.

This is a numerous and intelligent class, and includes a large part of those engaged in the agriculture, manufactures, and trade of the country. It is that body of men who gave a hearty approval to the Presidential veto of the currency bill of the last session, and to the "Jones memorandum"—a class sufficiently numerous, perhaps, to effect their object, if united upon the mode or manner in which the work should be accomplished. In that respect, unfortunately, there is a wide difference of opinion. There are—

(a) Those who believe that "the way to resume, is to resume"—that the banks and Treasury should be compelled to commence specie payments on a given day, say, six or twelve months ahead. Their logic is, "when everybody can have gold for their notes, nobody will want it."

The unsoundness of such reasoning is quite apparent to those who understand the laws of trade and currency. When the government and banks together owe, for circulation and deposits, some fourteen hundred millions, all due on instant demand, while their joint fund of coin is not over one hundred millions, the madness of attempting specie payment is palpable. If the difference between immediate liabilities and immediate resources were not greater than three or four to one, the experiment might possibly succeed; but, with a difference of some fourteen to one, the attempt must prove a certain failure; since, the inability being well understood, everybody who held notes would demand the gold, for the good reason that all would see at once, that as only a small part of the liabilities could possibly be met, a second suspension would take place, and then those who held the gold would be certain to realize a premium upon it.

PARTIAL FUNDING OF GREENBACKS.

(b) Then again, many persons maintain that a partial withdrawal of the excessive currency, say to the extent of two hundred millions, by conversion into bonds, would secure the object; and if it failed to do so, additional legislation in the right direction might be obtained until the end was accomplished. But this contingency would make the whole operation an uncertain one, upon the result of which no man could confidently rely; and hence such a measure would tend to paralyze, rather than promote, the industry of the country. Absolute certainty is essential, in all matters appertaining to monetary affairs, otherwise there will be suspicion and distrust, and these will be fatal to any successful result.

ACCUMULATION OF GOLD.

(c) Others still, would have the government accumulate a large quantity of coin, say at least two hundred millions, and then commence specie payments. They argue that with so large a reserve of specie, there could be no danger in announcing specie payments.

This is an unwarranted assumption, unsustained by any sound reasoning. Those who best comprehend the situation would have the least faith in the success of the measure. Besides, such a provision would be entirely unnecessary, were the volume of paper no larger than it should be; and while redundant, as at present, even twice two hundred millions of specie would not sustain it permanently. The gold would certainly flow out of the country until the circulation was reduced to its natural limit; in other words, until sufficient contraction had taken place; and thus it would be demonstrated, after a great deal of needless trouble, delay, and expense, that the remedy required was not the accumulation of specie, but a reduction of the paper issues.

WITHDRAWAL OF BANK NOTES INSTEAD OF GREENBACKS.

(d) Another class, and a numerous one, especially in the Western States, demand the withdrawal of the national bank notes instead of the greenbacks. They take the position that since there is evidently a superabundant circulation, the banks should be required to take in their notes; because, while any paper money is used, it should be that of the government, upon which the whole country would gain the interest, instead of corporations, to whom the profit less rightfully belongs.

The argument is sound and conclusive; but can such a measure be carried through Congress? If not, it is simply impracticable, however proper and desirable.

(e) Others again, regarding the withdrawal of the bank notes as hopeless, owing to the interested opposition certain to be made to such a measure, propose that the greenbacks be funded by a gradual process until at par with gold.

Two modes for doing this have been suggested: First, by direct conversion into bonds, at the rate of so many millions per month; secondly, by substituting compound interest notes by monthly instalments. Both of these plans will be noticed at length hereafter.

CONCENTRATION OF EFFORT INDISPENSABLE.

Such are the prominent plans, or measures, proposed in relation to the present monetary circulation; and, in accordance with them, (with a variety of modifications and combinations,) a large number of bills were brought before Congress at the last session. As might be expected under such circumstances, nothing was done toward securing a return to specie payments; and we may rest assured that nothing effectual will be done until public attention is turned to, and concentrated upon, some *simple yet feasible plan, presented in precise and definite terms*. This is the laboring point, and therefore it is not sufficient that the platform of a party in favor of resumption should declare, that "a return to specie payments is in the highest degree desirable." Both of the great political parties have already made such a declaration, and are willing to repeat the act, as often as recurring elections make it expedient to do so.

Nor is it sufficient to say, "the work of restoration should be commenced at once, and be continued until the object is accomplished." Such generalities do not meet the case. Something far more explicit and positive is required, if any thing decisive is to be achieved.

The important issues to be fairly presented, are:

1. Shall the currency be contracted until at par with gold? Yea or nay?

2. At what rate shall this be done; how many millions shall be withdrawn per month?

3. Which kind of circulation shall be taken in, the greenbacks or national bank notes, or both, and in what proportions?

4. If greenbacks are to be withdrawn, shall it be done by the direct abstraction of so many millions per month by bonding them, or by substituting for them other notes bearing such a rate of interest as shall induce those into whose hands they fall, and who do not need them as money, to lay them by for the advantage of the accumulating interest?

Questions like these, the American people must take into deliberate consideration, and decide by their ballots. It is for the voter to determine in what manner the subject shall be disposed of; for the average representative will do nothing, knowingly, which his constituents do not demand or will not approve. Hence, if the restoration of specie payments is wished for, public sentiment, clearly expressed, must indicate the time when, and the way in which, the

result is to be brought about. The will of the people must be made effective by the choice of those to legislate for them whose views are known to be correct, and who can be relied upon to carry out the wishes of their constituents by appropriate action. Those who desire the restoration of the currency must say when, and how, in unmistakable terms. There are minor details, but the measures specified are those most essential.

No successful evasion is possible. By no political legerdemain can the great issues be permanently eluded, so vital are they to the prosperity of the nation. They will force themselves upon the country before and above all others, until decided. And as this can only be done by Congress, the members of that body must be chosen in reference to it. Hence a great political struggle.

This can not be helped, nor ought it to be regretted. What more important to the welfare of the country at the present time? What more desirable than that parties should be formed upon those issues in which the public interests are mostly deeply involved? How indispensable that the people inform themselves in regard to questions that concern them so intimately! The more agitation, the more discussion, the sooner will the masses be likely to discover the true remedies for the ills they suffer.

UNFOUNDED APPREHENSIONS.

But a formidable obstacle to a fair and candid discussion of this question exists in the extravagant alarm felt or feigned, in regard to the effects of contraction. It is often asked with much apparent solicitude, Why should the resumption of specie payments be attempted? Will not the withdrawal of any considerable part of the circulation cause a fall of prices and great derangement of trade, leading to the inevitable bankruptcy of thousands? Has not the wealth of the nation increased with uncommon rapidity since the present currency was introduced? Why may not the country continue to prosper as heretofore? This argument is founded upon mistaken views as to the facts of the case.

EFFECTS OF CONTRACTION UPON TRADE.

In the first place, as to its effect upon the trade of the country. If due notice be given of the commencement and rate of contraction, trade can not be, in any essential degree, affected by it. The consumption of the country must and would go on as freely as ever. Why not? The people must have food, clothing, transportation, and

all the necessities of life, the same after contraction as before; and their ability to purchase will be as great; because, if wages gradually though almost imperceptibly declined, as they might, so would the prices of all commodities to an equal extent; so that it would be as easy to obtain them as ever, and the necessity for them as great. Therefore, there could be no interruption of trade.

UPON DEBTORS.

"But debtors would suffer." Well, some would, and some would not. Those largely indebted by speculative operations would, doubtless, as a general rule, be injured. Their property would decline in value. But is there any help for this? Must a population of some forty millions suffer all the evils of an inflated currency to save a few thousands from the effects of their mistaken operations? When the expansion took place, many creditors suffered greatly. They were paid, in some cases, with a currency that would purchase back but half the property they parted with; but that was one of the evils of impairing the standard of value by excessive issues of paper money. Now, the movement must be reversed, and the debtor in many cases encounter loss. We say in many cases, but not in the majority of cases. Suppose, for illustration, the Western farmer, encouraged by the high prices of his products a few years since (at one time about 100 per cent. higher than at present), purchased land for his own cultivation, for which he is still indebted. What will be the effect of contraction upon him? His expenses will be greatly lessened by the fall in price of all he purchases, and the reduction of his charges incurred in raising his products, while every thing he sells will bring him as much as now. He will have, therefore, a greater net income, and of course will be better able to extinguish his debt.

The farmer has but one way in which he can pay what he owes, and that is by his net income, by what he saves over what he expends; a measure, then, which will reduce his outgoes and increase his net receipts, is just what he needs to help him out of debt.

Such is the indisputable fact, and when the agriculturists of the nation see this, they will demand restoration, and will get it too, for they are largely in the majority. And farther, what we find true of the farmer, is true of all those producing commodities the surplus of which must be exported; and for that matter, of all others who are indebted for property they occupy or improve themselves. We see, then, as a conclusion from the premises, that while the speculative classes must suffer, the producing classes will be largely benefited; a

result not greatly to be deplored. Nine persons would gain, to one that would lose, by contraction.

WHAT THE CENSUS SHOWS.

And now as to the assumed extraordinary increase in the wealth of the country since the issue of legal tenders.

By the census of 1850 the wealth of the country was	\$ 7,135,780,228
By that of 1860, slaves included,	16,159,616,068
Increase during the decade	8,925,481,011
Equal to 126 per cent.	
Total wealth in 1870	30,068,518,507
Increase	13,908,902,439

equal to an increase of 86 per cent.; or, deducting the slaves in 1860, in round numbers \$1,500,000,000, we have \$14,500,000,000 as the wealth of the country at that time. Deducting this last amount from \$30,000,000,000, the wealth in 1870, we have \$15,500,000,000 as the apparent gain from 1860 to 1870, equal to 107 per cent., against 126 per cent. for the previous decade.

But the Superintendent of the Census of 1870 informs us, in his volume on "Industry and Wealth," page 8, that "the statistics of 1860 were so defective that, in his opinion, 20 to 30 per cent. of the apparent gain from 1860 to 1870 is owing to 'ignorant and heedless statement' in the census of 1860."

In that view of the case, we must deduct from the 107 per cent., the mean rate of 25 per cent., leaving but 82 per cent. as the apparent increase. But the superintendent further suggests that, besides this consideration, "allowance must be made for the general advance in prices due to the condition of the currency." This allowance, he thinks, should be equal from 30 to 40 per cent. Taking the mean rate again, 35 per cent., as the advance from this cause, we have $82 - 35 = 47$ per cent. as the actual gain from 1860 to 1870, instead of 107 per cent.; or less than one-half the apparent gain for that decade, and only about 37 per cent. of the rate of gain from 1840 to 1850!

There is no reasonable doubt of the 'approximate correctness of this calculation; and if so, the assumed unprecedented accumulation of wealth during the decade in question is effectually disposed of. Instead of a gain, there was unquestionably a large falling off in the *rate* of actual increase.

In looking at the influence an excessive circulation has upon the pecuniary interests of the country, the fact should be recognized that

the products of our national industry naturally divide themselves into two kinds, viz., those a surplus of which we *must* create and export, and those of which we *may* create a surplus, and should, if a foreign market could be found for them.

(a) Those the surplus of which must be exported are the great staples of our agriculture: cotton, corn, wheat, and other cereals; beef, pork, and other provisions, tobacco, etc.

In the production of these the bulk of our population are and must be engaged. They have no choice, and of necessity create a large excess over domestic consumption. And such will doubtless be the case for centuries to come; consequently, the large surplus sure to be created must find a sale in other markets, and its value in gold for that purpose will determine the price of the entire product. How important this matter is, may be seen in the fact that the export of the single article of wheat (and flour) for the year ending June 30, 1874, amounted to over one hundred and thirty million dollars! And yet this is but about one-fourth part of the whole export of agricultural products.

It is of the highest moment, therefore, that no burdens be imposed on this, the largest industry of the nation. An excessive circulation, by raising the price of labor and all the expenses of living, does have that effect, while it does not advance the price of agricultural products. The truth of this statement is seen in the fact that the great staples, flour, corn, beef, pork, lard, etc., have been no higher on an average for the last four years, than for four years before the expansion, say, from 1857 to 1861. This certainly is conclusive evidence that the farming interest must be greatly depressed, and furnishes a strong argument in favor of a return to specie payments. When that has been accomplished, farmers will make their purchases and sales, as they ought, by the same standard.

Of all classes, those who cultivate the soil always have been, and always will be, the greatest sufferers by the use of a mere local currency, like that now in circulation. Their commodities, their products, are cosmopolitan, and they should be measured by currency equally cosmopolitan, whether consumed at home or in foreign countries.

The American people are a nation of farmers and planters, whose chief business must ever be to supply other peoples with the great staples of their industry.

That the wealth of the nation is constantly increasing, is sufficiently certain—it is almost impossible it should not be so. With a popula-

tion of forty millions of the most intelligent, enterprising, ingenious, and generally industrious people on earth; with the greatest natural advantages for manufactures and commerce; with inexhaustible supplies of ores, coal, petroleum, and every other natural aid to production; above all, with the largest and cheapest capital in *land* possessed by any population in the world, could the nation fail to gain in wealth, notwithstanding very serious obstacles and drawbacks? But that the full natural prosperity of the nation ever has been or can be secured under a false measure of value like that now in use in the United States, is emphatically denied.

While, then, it is admitted, that a part of the remarkable diminution in the rate of increase, as seen in the last census, is owing to the waste and destruction occasioned by a civil war of four years' duration, must it not also be true that the false currency growing out of that war should, by its derangement of the industry and trade of the nation, be held responsible for a large share of it?

Gold and silver mining is an industry that must be placed in the same category with agriculture, since its products are greatly in excess of the home demand. It is therefore injured from the same cause, the cost of production being largely increased, while the commercial value of the precious metals can not be enhanced at all.

The loss to this industry from this source, although not sufficient to put a stop to mining operations, is yet so great as to affect the business essentially; and is one of the causes, though not the principal one, why the production of gold in California has fallen off greatly in the last ten years.

MANUFACTURES.

(*b*) The second class of products, viz., those we *may* export, consists of our various manufactures, cotton and woolen fabrics, boots, shoes, furniture, carriages, machinery, cutlery, etc.

These we can send abroad advantageously, in just so far as we can compete with foreign producers in foreign markets. Every thing, therefore, which increases the cost of production, diminishes our ability to do this, unless the same cause operates equally to enhance the cost of the same commodities in other countries. This is obvious; hence, if the circulation be in excess of what it would be if it were gold, or at par with gold, in just so far must the cost of all domestic products be enhanced; and consequently, all such articles either can not be exported at all, or, if sent abroad, it must be done at a greatly reduced profit.

The result is that, except in respect to those commodities for the manufacture or production of which we have most extraordinary advantages, by our inventions or other unusual facilities, our export trade has been almost annihilated. Cotton fabrics furnish a remarkable example in point, the export of which, up to 1861, was increasing rapidly and constantly. We could send them to any foreign market in competition with all Europe. Greatly preferred for their superior quality, they were fast driving the productions of England out of the Eastern markets. Now, the trade is well-nigh extinguished. This is but a sample of the general fate of American manufactures abroad; and hence, instead of a foreign vent for our surplus, as other nations have (greatly to their advantage), we are confined to the home market; our manufactures are restricted, profits lessened, and the natural increase of national wealth diminished.

The present condition of the woolen trade, as well as cotton, confirms the truthfulness of what has been laid down in regard to the paralyzing influences of a vicious currency.

The leading manufacturers throughout the country connected with these trades have recently met in convention, and decided to reduce their production by one-third; in other words, to run their mills but four days in the week. This may be judicious on their part, but certainly a most unfortunate necessity for the country. One-third of the immense capital invested in these two important industries to lie idle, one-third of all the thousands of workmen engaged in them to be unemployed!

Here is great public loss, as well as much private distress. The necessity for such enforced idleness is obvious. Production has been overdone. Why? Because the unnatural impetus given to the business of the country has distorted industry, diverted capital from its natural channels, and finally produced a general paralysis from which the country can recover but slowly, and only partially, until the currency has been placed upon a sound basis; or, in other words, has been reduced to its natural limit, when it will be at par with gold.

We find, then, as the result of this examination, that the two great interests of the nation, its agriculture and its manufactures, and incidentally nearly all others, are so far injured by a false measure of value, that the natural increase of national wealth must be essentially retarded thereby, and that this is one of the causes of a large diminution in the rate of increase during the last decade.

It is not assumed, let it be observed, that the condition of the monetary circulation is the only cause for the present or any previous

derangement of business affairs in this country or any other. Disturbances in the trade and industry of a nation arise from a great variety of causes, conspicuous among which is that spirit of enterprise existing in every highly civilized community, naturally leading to over-trading and speculation; but what we do insist upon is, that all these natural causes of disturbance are increased and intensified by the existence of a superabundant currency, whether mixed or unmixed, redeemable or irredeemable.

THE REMEDY, CONTRACTION.

But what is the remedy for all this? *Contraction.* There can be no other.

When and how should it be made? It should be commenced without delay, and executed by a process so regular and gradual as to occasion as little disturbance to the business of the country as possible, and at the same time so expeditiously as to postpone the desired object no longer than absolutely necessary. Existing obligations, so far as practicable, should be discharged under the currency in which they were contracted; and therefore a reasonable notice should be given of the time when the operation shall commence and the rate at which it shall be carried on.

CONTRACTION SHOULD BE GOVERNED BY THE LAWS OF TRADE.

2. The reduction of the circulating medium may, and should be governed by the laws of trade, rather than by arbitrary legal enactment.

The difference between the two modes is very important. By the former, the contraction will be neither more nor less rapid than the best interests of the business public demand; by the latter, it might proceed with greater celerity, or less promptitude, than consistent with the industrial and commercial welfare of the nation.

THE RATE.

The *rate* should regulate itself; and this will be the case if it be brought within the influence of those laws which always determine with unerring certainty the exact amount of currency the country requires for its exchanges. In short, contraction should be entirely voluntary on the part of the public. The present irredeemable circulation was forced upon the people as a supposed necessity in time of war; it should be voluntarily relinquished by them, now that no such necessity exists. This they will cheerfully relinquish if Congress will

give the opportunity to convert their surplus circulation into government bonds; but they will be certain to do so no further than its actual redundancy, since, when at par with gold, contraction will cease.

These are the essential conditions under and by which the work should be carried out. The remaining inquiry is, how shall this be accomplished most satisfactorily, most advantageously? Which of the two kinds of paper in circulation shall be withdrawn, the greenbacks, or the national bank notes?

We take it for granted it must be the former; that the banking interest is far too powerful to permit its own circulation to be taken away, and that the people generally have such mistaken ideas in regard to the necessity for bank issues, it would be found entirely impracticable to accomplish that object.

Were it practicable, as it would be if public opinion demanded it, Congress might require the banks to cancel their notes at a given rate, say ten millions per month, until the whole were disposed of. When this had been done they would receive back their government bonds, and hold them as an investment; or, if more profitable, as it doubtless would be, dispose of them, and loan the proceeds to their customers. This would give them real capital with which to assist the business public, in place of their credit in the form of bank notes, liable to be withdrawn from circulation at the very time when most needed; thus causing, as they always have done, distress and disaster to those who depended upon them.

WITHDRAWAL OF BANK NOTES.

Were the banks to withdraw their circulation, they might, and in justice would be, relieved from legal restrictions as to their operations; and, of course, from all taxes upon their issues. They would, like the joint stock banks of Great Britain, be thrown upon their own responsibilities and resources, and like them, receive such deposits as they pleased, and upon such terms as they chose to offer, and be able to make much larger dividends than at present. Thus it would undoubtedly come to pass that the banks would be greatly benefited by such withdrawal, while the business public would be made much more secure. Were this done, the Treasury notes, (greenbacks*) would form the entire paper currency, and if in amount no larger than the

* The necessity for a distinctive term, when the circulating notes of the Treasury were referred to, has led to the use of the word *greenbacks* by the people generally, and even, of late, by government officials.

natural demands of trade, would, without any provision of law, be at par with gold.

As such a consummation, however desirable, must, it is believed, be at present regarded as hopeless, we turn to the other alternative, the withdrawal of the greenbacks.

A QUESTION OF POLICY.

And here it may be proper to say, that the question, which of the two paper issues shall be withdrawn, is, at the present moment, one of policy rather than principle; of what is practicable, rather than of what is most desirable, of what we can most reasonably hope to obtain, rather than what we would most highly approve. The laws of monetary science dictate a course of proceeding which, in the present state of public opinion, it appears quite impossible to secure.

The immediate object sought is the restoration of specie payments; and therefore the immediate question would seem to be, which of the different plans proposed, adapted to secure the object, is most likely to obtain the approval of Congress. It is not, as some insist, whether paper promises or hard money would be most conducive to the general welfare; but simply, by what means the specie standard can be most wisely and speedily restored.

When that object is attained, another question may, we think will come up, viz., whether *credit* should enter at all into the composition of the circulating medium, or in any case be an element in the standard of value. All discussion in regard to what the specific character of the permanent monetary system of the nation ought to be, in order to conform most fully to the laws of trade and best promote the general good, is at present out of place, having no direct bearing upon the matter at issue.

At present the legislator has only to consider what, under existing circumstances, can be done to bring the country back to the gold standard. When that has been achieved, it will be time to inquire what further shall be attempted, in order to secure an unfluctuating and uniform monetary circulation.

SUBSTITUTION NOTES.

Should the withdrawal of the greenbacks be determined upon, the question will then present itself, whether by direct funding of so many millions per month, or by the issue of substitute notes, bearing interest, and finally convertible into bonds.

The latter measure has been distinctly before the country for

several years past, but was first presented in Congress by Mr. Sumner in December, 1872. The ill health of the senator prevented him from bringing it forward during the session, but at the opening of the last, the bill was again proposed, and referred to the appropriate committee. The sudden decease of the mover prevented any further action upon his proposition. The following synopsis of the bill referred to (including proposed amendments), presents a full view of its intentions.

PROPOSED ENACTMENT.

1. The Treasurer to be authorized to prepare for issue notes, equal in amount to the outstanding legal-tender notes and fractional currency of the United States, in all respects similar to those heretofore issued under the act of 1863, bearing compound interest at the rate of six per cent.

2. These notes of different denominations, to the amount of ten millions, to be dated on the first day of each month, commencing with the first day of July next ensuing. The amount to be ready for issue at that time, and then afterward on the first day of each month until the requisite amount has been furnished.

3. The notes thus provided, to be paid out for all disbursements of the Treasury, except those due in coin, so long as sufficient for the purpose.

4. The Secretary of the Treasury is directed to cause the destruction, each month, of legal-tender notes equal to the notes issued.

5. The notes issued under this act, shall, at the option of the holder, be convertible, at the end of two years, in sums of \$100, or its multiple, into bonds of the United States, having not less than ten, nor more than forty years to run, and bearing interest at the rate of five per cent.

6. Whenever, in the execution of this measure, legal-tender notes shall have advanced to par with gold, and so remained for sixty days, the further issue of interest-bearing notes shall cease.

7. These notes shall form no part of the reserves of the national banks.

8. The Treasury notes shall no longer be a legal-tender when once at par with gold.

REMARKS UPON THE BILL.

In regard to this measure it may be said,

1. That it is simple in all its provisions, clear in all its requirements, and easily understood by every one.

2. No discretionary power devolves upon the Secretary of the Treasury, the Comptroller of the Currency, or any other official. It will, in fact, be automatic, will execute itself, without any interference of government officials.

3. It is complete in its provisions, so that no additional legislation will be required to secure its object.

4. It favors private interest, so far as practicable, affording ample time for the discharge of business obligations before any contraction will be effected, and is as gradual in its operation as the general interests of the country will permit.

5. Not a dollar of the circulation is taken from the people; they are merely permitted, in a gradual manner, to convert their surplus funds, first into interest-bearing notes, and then, at their pleasure, into 10-40 five per cent. bonds; and the rate of interest upon the notes has been placed at that point which, while not excessive, is yet sufficiently high to assure their gradual withdrawal from circulation.

6. It is such as to make a panic impossible during the process of contraction; because the substitute notes must remain in the hands of the people for at least two years; and, as they bear but six per cent. interest, would certainly be brought at once into circulation, should there be any extraordinary pressure and money bear a high rate of interest.

7. Such a process of contraction can create no scarcity of money, even temporarily; on the other hand, as soon as the law is enacted, the rate of interest will tend toward its natural point, its average rate; say six per cent.; and remain so, with slight variations, until the operation has been completed. Every one will know precisely what to depend upon; and this will inspire universal confidence.

8. Another effect will be the retention at home of our annual gold product, and a constant influx of specie from abroad, until the vacuum is filled. This will enable the banks to supply themselves with all they need for resumption.

A STRIKING ADVANTAGE.

9. Another advantage of this arrangement is, that these interest-bearing notes, being paid out exclusively for treasury disbursements, will be diffused over all parts of the United States, and be found, not in large masses in the hands of capitalists, bankers, and brokers in the cities, but in the pockets of the people generally, who will be certain to hold them for investment, so far as they are able, for the

privilege of converting them into 10-40 bonds at the end of two years ; or, of selling them at a premium when they become due.

All this will be accomplished without any disturbance to the monetary affairs of the country, since the Treasury will receive at least ten millions of greenbacks per month, through the internal revenue, and require all that amount for its current disbursements.

ECONOMY OF THE MEASURE.

10. The economy of this measure is worthy of attention. It has been contended, by some, that the national finances must suffer by the conversion of non-interest-bearing notes into interest-bearing obligations, since the amount of annual interest will thereby be increased. This is a mistaken view of the matter, for the reason, that the Treasury will gain a much larger sum annually, from the reduced cost of supporting its army, navy, and civil list, arising from the fall of prices occasioned by the contraction of the currency to its normal amount, than the additional interest it will be called upon to pay. Its saving will be double the increased interest, as any one will perceive who will take the pains to examine the matter. Besides, it seems highly probable that when the outstanding greenbacks have been reduced, say to one hundred millions, the entire currency will be at par with gold ; when any further withdrawal will cease. The banks being obliged to accumulate specie to meet the responsibilities of resumption, will contract their circulation to a certain extent, so that it seems probable that both greenbacks and bank notes will circulate together, when both are at par with coin ; and the legitimate demands of trade will determine the aggregate quantity required by the business of the country.

Such are the principal features of a measure that has been proposed in Congress, after having received the approbation of many of the leading bankers and financiers of the country ; and we ask, with confidence, whether any other plan has been offered that will secure the desired object more certainly, or more conveniently to the business public ? Whether any danger or disturbance can be reasonably apprehended from its operation, should it be enacted ? Its operation will be very gradual.

The present authorized issues of the Treasury are three hundred and eighty-two millions, exclusive of forty-two millions in fractional ; in all, about four hundred and twenty-two millions. At the proposed rate of issue, ten millions per month, it would require, supposing the whole were to be withdrawn, three and a half years to put the sub-

stitute notes into circulation; and, as two years more must elapse before the last issue could be funded, full five years and a half would be required for its completion; although it is sufficiently certain that resumption would be brought about within three years from the commencement of the issue. Among all the different modes proposed for restoring the currency, which is more feasible, more certain, more harmless, or more just? Which more advantageous to the people, or more favorable to the national banks themselves? The latter, especially, have a deep interest in the proposal, since, by the withdrawal of the Government notes, they would have the entire field of circulation to themselves. Now, they have but half, with some danger, it may be, of losing that. The substitution policy carried out, they will have no competitors. True, they will be subject to the legislation of Congress, but they are so now; their very charters are liable to repeal; but they have certainly much to gain, and nothing to lose by the withdrawal of the greenbacks.

EX-SECRETARY McCULLOCH'S SCHEME.

The late Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCulloch, than whom the nation has never had a more able minister of finance, has proposed a plan or measure we regard as among the best that have been suggested, yet it contains some features, as we think, highly objectionable, as compared with that of substituting interest-bearing notes. He would have the Treasury redeem fifty millions per annum of its notes with its surplus gold, and if this prove insufficient for the purpose, he would issue bonds for the balance.

Upon the calculation already made, four hundred and forty-two millions must be paid in specie or converted into bonds, requiring, at the rate mentioned, nearly nine years for the completion of the work.

Is not that quite too long a period of transition? Might not the result be attained more advantageously in half that term of years? and if so, ought it not, for the best interests of the nation, to be attempted?

REPEAL OF THE LEGAL-TENDER ACT.

A second proposition by Mr. McCulloch is, that after, "say the first of December, 1876, the notes shall cease to be a legal tender." But would that be right? Can the Government repeal the act by which the greenbacks were made a legal tender, until they are at par with gold, without being guilty of partial, yet actual, repudiation? Would not such an act greatly disturb all the business interests

of the nation? When greenbacks ceased to be a legal tender, and bank-notes of course were not, what would the people have wherewith to discharge their indebtedness, which in the aggregate would amount to thousands of millions of dollars; and be payable only in gold? Yet all this would certainly come to pass, if the legal tender act were repealed before the currency was at par. Would it not be the more wise and honorable course, first to restore the currency to par, and then announce the repeal?

AN ARBITRARY INSTEAD OF VOLUNTARY CONTRACTION.

Another strong objection to the plan of the ex-Secretary is, that the contraction he proposes would be altogether arbitrary. Fifty millions per annum must be withdrawn, whatever the condition of trade or the state of the money market.

This contrasts very unfavorably with the issue of ten millions per month of interest-bearing notes, which would go directly into circulation, and be certain to remain there, so long as there was any special demand for money. Besides, must not the Secretary of the Treasury be, of necessity, intrusted with a large discretionary power, that might, and almost inevitably would be used to the disadvantage of the public interests?

It may seem a trifling objection, yet it is not, perhaps, unworthy of consideration, that by this plan, the Secretary of the Treasury is to be authorized to buy up, with gold, the Government issues at a discount of some ten per cent.! Does that comport with the dignity and honor of "The Great Republic?" Will the fact read well in history? Should such a course be adopted, if it may, without detriment to public interests, be avoided? The general response to the last inquiry, it is believed, would be, "certainly."

An additional fact to be noticed, in regard to the plan in question, is, that its execution would require the employment of a large force, whose services must be paid for. Gold must be sold, greenbacks purchased, bonds disposed of, and the whole amount of Treasury notes in circulation pass through the hands of government officers, bankers, and brokers; while the mass of the people would have no participation whatever in the measure. In this regard it is quite unlike the substitution of notes, which would pass quietly into the general circulation, and be as quietly funded.

The proposition of the ex-Secretary will doubtless be received with more favor by the banking interest, and all engaged in the negotiation of bonds and like transactions, than the substitution

policy ; because the former would open a wide field for profitable operations. On the other hand, the issuing of interest-bearing notes has no special interest to plead in its favor. It would be wholly a public measure enacted for the general good. It would confer no peculiar advantages upon any class, but give to the whole people an opportunity of contracting the circulation at their pleasure, until at par with gold ; and then, of investing their accumulations, however small, in government securities without paying commissions.

These two plans, one for the direct withdrawal by a process requiring a period of nine years for its completion, the other by the indirect mode of substitution, and demanding less than half that period, are before the country ; and from present appearances, one or the other will be brought before Congress at its present session, and be adopted, if any thing effectual is done for the restoration of the currency.

THE NEW CURRENCY ACT.

Since the foregoing was in type, much to the surprise of the nation, an important bill, prepared in caucus, forced through the Senate without any adequate consideration, and through the House under the previous question, without debate, has become a law, entitled "an act to provide for the resumption of specie payments."

If such be its purpose, it must, if honestly intended and wisely drawn, be adapted to secure that end in a manner the most safe, expeditious, and certain, of which the nature of the case will permit. It seems proper therefore to inquire, in connection with the preceding views of the monetary situation, in how far the new law is likely to accomplish its professed object, and whether it compares favorably, or otherwise, with the two general plans already considered.

The act provides, first, that "the Secretary of the Treasury cause to be coined, as rapidly as practicable, silver coins of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents ; and to issue them through the sub-treasuries, post-offices, etc., in exchange for an equal amount of fractional currency until the whole shall be redeemed."

This would be very well, were the measure feasible ; but, under existing circumstances, can it be expected to accomplish the object proposed ? Certainly not, because unless there should be a permanent decline in the gold premium, (which is at present twelve per cent. with no prospect of any essential reduction, and a great probability that it will advance much higher), the silver coin could not be kept

in circulation. It would bear such a premium as to make it an article of merchandise, and of course would pass rapidly into the hands of brokers, to be finally exported. It was so in 1862. As soon as the premium advanced to two or three per cent. all the small change disappeared.

This provision then, must be a practical nullity—there is no silver in it for the people. The more put in circulation, the less there would be of small change, because the silver would disappear, while the fractional paper, to the same extent, would have been withdrawn. Such a result surely would not be desirable. Why then, it may be asked, was a provision of this nature made? There seems to be no plausible answer to such an inquiry, except that it might conciliate those whose interests were connected with the production of silver, who might naturally be expected to favor a measure that would cause a demand for more than forty millions of their products.

The second section provides that the seigniorage of one-sixth of one per cent. hitherto charged for coinage of silver be no longer demanded.

This appears to be in the same direction as the preceding. It favors the production of silver, but what effect it will have in hastening the restoration of specie payments, it is not easy to imagine. That it will occasion a loss to the national treasury equal to the whole cost of the coinage of silver hereafter, is, however, sufficiently certain.

THE THIRD SECTION.

We find this very different in character from the two preceding. They were very simple. This contains several quite diverse provisions, massed together in strange combination.

First. "All restrictions limiting the aggregate amount of circulating notes of the national banks are repealed, both in regard to existing banks, and all that may be hereafter formed." Free banking is thus established without any limitations as to the amount of notes that may be issued. This secures unrestricted expansion, so far as legal provisions are concerned. If the banks therefore, whether old or new, do not extend their paper issues, it will be their own fault; and as the experience of all past history in paper money banking shows, that the larger the issues, the more is speculation engendered, prices raised, and the demand for money intensified, it is sufficiently certain that the currency will sooner or later be extended very far beyond what it is at present. Indeed, it can be limited only by the amount of national bonds that must be deposited with the Treasury

as security for ultimate redemption. As there are some fifteen hundred million of these in existence, it is quite evident that the most ardent admirers of paper money will have an opportunity to test its advantage upon a very large scale.

The next paragraph in this section directs the Secretary to call in eighty-two millions of the greenbacks as fast as the national banks ask for additional circulation. What tendency will this have to secure "the resumption of specie payments" which, we must bear in mind, is the avowed object of the act? As one hundred dollars of bank notes are to be given out for every eighty dollars of greenbacks taken in, the currency must be expanded by the operation to the extent of \$20,500,000. The national treasury will therefore lose the interest upon the eighty-two millions, amounting, at six per cent., to \$4,920,000 per annum, and the national banks will gain an equal amount; while the people must make up the deficiency by increased taxation. All this is clear enough, but how it will enable the Treasury to commence specie payments is not so obvious.

We next come to the important provision, "that on and after the first of January, 1879, the Treasurer shall redeem in coin the United States legal tender notes outstanding; and for this purpose may use any surplus revenue in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, and issue such United States bonds as have been heretofore authorized, to the extent necessary for the purpose."

"*On and after.*" Then the country must wait for four years before any redemption takes place; a tediously long period, when every interest of the nation, except the banks and speculators, must be suffering severely for the want of a sound international standard of value. In the meantime the Secretary is to be piling up his "surplus revenue" however much or little that may be. When the happy New Year's day of 1879 arrives, the redemption of three hundred and eighty-two millions of greenbacks is to commence. We say *three hundred eighty-two millions*, because the eighty-two millions that are to be taken in as the one hundred and two millions of bank notes are issued, *are not to be destroyed*; and are just as likely to be issued again as were those withdrawn by Secretary McCulloch. Senator Sherman expressly declined to say that the eighty-two millions were to be destroyed, though pressed to answer the question; and it is as clear as any thing need be to any candid mind, that it was intended by those who favored the bill, that the eighty-two millions should be re-issued if the Secretary of the Treasury should choose to do so. And now, what of the wisdom of these last pro-

visions? What of the policy of hoarding the surplus specie until 1879? Why not, instead, redeem the legal tenders as fast as the gold accumulates, and secure the existing gold premium? The saving thus made would amount to many millions, relieve the Treasury of its burdens to an equal extent, and at the same time effect a more gradual contraction of the circulation.

What of specie resumption do we find in the entire act? What preparation does it make for securing the object? Certainly none at all, yet the authors of the measure would have us believe that "the act *provides* for the resumption of specie payments!" For what does it actually provide? Why, that the banks may indefinitely expand their issues; that eighty-two millions of the legal tender circulation of which the Treasury now has the advantage, may be transferred to the national banks to increase their already abundant dividends; that the surplus gold of the treasury, instead of being used as it accumulates, shall be reserved till 1879; that the Secretary may then issue all the bonds necessary to redeem the balance of the greenback circulation!

These are the provisions made for resumption of specie payments, when the immediate liabilities of the banks and government, even if no greater than now, will amount, circulation and deposits, all of which will be payable in gold, to at least fourteen hundred million dollars! But it may be replied to this, that "the banks, knowing the situation, will provide themselves with gold sufficient to meet their engagements." They will do no such thing. They understand very well that the business public is in their hands, and must have their notes to meet engagements, and that they can refuse specie payments, *as a body*, as they have done many times, with perfect impunity. They know their power and position, and the safety and success with which they can set the laws of Congress at defiance. Therefore they will not provide gold sufficient to enable them to announce resumption. So the whole matter will be postponed to "a more convenient season."

Far better would it be to let the currency remain in the condition in which it now is. Then, there could be no further expansion—no useless attempt to substitute silver for the fractional circulation; then the business of the country would not be paralyzed by the assurance that resumption has been postponed for four long years, with a certainty that it will be less feasible at that time than now—then, it would be possible, if not probable, that as the public mind was brought to reflection upon the subject, Congress would be disposed to enact

such a law as would secure the gradual but certain reduction of the circulating medium until at par with coin.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE UPON THE CURRENCY BILL.

To the bill as passed by the two Houses, the President affixed his signature a few days afterward, accompanied with a message suggesting certain "further legislation as in his opinion essential to make the law effectual."

First, "The necessity for an increased revenue, in order to carry out the obligation of adding to the sinking fund one per cent., now amounting to \$34,000,000 annually," also "to carry out the promises of this measure to redeem, under certain contingencies, \$80,000,000 of the legal tenders; and without contingency, the fractional currency in circulation." For this purpose the President recommends the restoration of the duty on tea and coffee, and the repeal of the ten per cent. reduction of the tariff on articles specified in the law of June 6, 1872.

All this is quite proper, as a financial measure; for the duty on tea and coffee ought not to have been taken off. It was a party measure in view of an approaching election, but what effect it could have in securing the restoration of specie payments is not apparent, since such a measure would neither contract the currency nor remove the premium on gold, and until that is accomplished, all anticipations of resumption are illusory. More revenue is needed to meet the wants of the Treasury, irrespective of the condition of the currency, but for its restoration to par, there is not the slightest occasion for any thing of the sort; since the people of the United States would be but too happy to convert all the legal tenders into government bonds, directly, by purchasing them, or indirectly by the substitution of interest-bearing notes of circulation, convertible after a given time into those bonds, if the opportunity were afforded them. There is not the least necessary connection between the monetary circulation and the current revenue, so far as the withdrawal of any surplus notes is concerned. National indebtedness, whether great or small, is no obstacle or hindrance to the restoration of the currency, because the object may be effected at any moment, if the government will offer other securities bearing interest. It is a popular but very pernicious delusion that the national debt stands in the way of the restoration of specie payments. There has never been but one difficulty in securing a sound currency, and that has been, and is, the indisposition of the government to convert its demand notes into time bonds.

“HOW TO BRING THE CURRENCY BACK TO GOLD IN 1879.”

This is the second, and certainly the most important topic of the message; but what does the President propose?

First, foreseeing the difficulty already referred to in our comments upon the act in question, viz., the impracticability of keeping the silver in circulation with the premium on gold as high as at present, a plan is proposed by which the President expects the desired object will be attained. It is nothing less than the entire annihilation of the gold premium between the present date and January 1, 1879. We quote the words of the message:

“As the present law commands final resumption on the 1st day of January, 1879, and as the gold receipts by the Treasury are larger than the gold payments, and the currency receipts than the currency payments, thereby making monthly sales of gold necessary to meet current currency expenses, it occurs to me that these difficulties might be remedied by authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to redeem legal-tender notes, whenever presented, in sums of not less than one hundred dollars and multiples thereof, at a premium for gold of ten per cent., less interest at the rate of two and one-half per cent. per annum from the first day of January, 1875, to the date of putting this law into operation, and diminishing the premium at the same rate until final resumption, changing the rate of premium demanded from time to time as the interest amounts to one-quarter of one per cent. I suggest this rate of interest because it would bring currency at par with gold at the date fixed by law for final resumption. I suggest ten per cent. as the demand premium at the beginning, because I believe this rate would insure the retention of silver in the country for change.”

The meaning of this, as we understand the matter is, that for every \$110 of legal-tenders presented at the Treasury, \$100 in gold will be paid, or in other words the Treasury will sell gold after the passage of the act at 110, as of date of January 1, 1875, less the interest upon the same, at the rate of two and one-half per cent. up to the time of payment. For example, suppose on the 1st of July next a person presents \$108.75 in greenbacks, he will be entitled to receive \$100.00 in gold, which would be equal to 110, less one and one-quarter per cent. for interest six months. On the 1st January, 1876, the amount would be \$107.50; on 1st January, 1877 \$105—on 1st January, 1878, \$102.50—1st January, 1879—par. This is an astounding proposition! The Secretary of the Treasury is to be authorized, and of course expected, to redeem legal-tenders “whenever presented in sums of \$100 or its multiple!” But how can he possibly do this when he can have very little gold available for the purpose? And why should he do it at the rate of ten per cent. when the market

premium is twelve? Would he not, under such circumstances, need an amount of gold equal to all the legal-tenders in circulation? Would they not be presented for redemption as fast as they could be collected? Surely that would be the case; and therefore the impracticability of the undertaking is at once apparent.

The present premium being twelve per cent., the Secretary is to sell at ten, making a loss to the Treasury of two per cent. now, and as much more hereafter as the premium on gold is over ten per cent. and the legal rate at which he is to redeem, is less. How much the premium may advance or recede it is impossible to foresee, but it is highly probable that the rate may be much higher than at present. In any case, the policy proposed is a most uncertain and dangerous one, and might involve the Treasury in great expense or dishonor—a policy as adverse to the interests of the Treasury, as to every branch of the national industry; since it is certain that the lower the premium on gold, while the volume of currency remains as it is, the less the protection intended to be given to manufactures, the lower the price of cotton, wheat, and all other exportable products. Every fraction of decline in the gold premium, takes an equal amount out of the pockets of those who produce such commodities.

The higher the premium on gold, the greater will be the prosperity of the nation, *except as that premium is reduced by the real appreciation of the paper circulation*, which can only be brought about by the reduction of its volume until at par with coin.

Besides, however well intended, such an experiment as the message contemplates would inevitably prove an utter failure. It could not accomplish the object in view, while it would seriously disturb the finances of the nation, and cause great loss and embarrassment in all business affairs. It would in no degree improve the law that now exists, but increase the difficulties of its execution. It seems like an attempt to annihilate the natural premium on gold by an act of Congress; and that is what no congress or parliament can do. The premium, in the present case, means simply the depreciation of the paper circulation caused by its redundancy; and that can only be restored by a reduction to its natural volume, as indicated by its par with gold.

Instead of this or any other vain attempt to evade or contravene the inexorable laws of value as manifested in the currency of international commerce, were Congress to provide, in the most easy and gradual manner consistent with the general good, for the withdrawal of the redundant circulation, the object would be accomplished in a

safe and economical manner ; and then the fractional currency might, at the convenience of the public mints, be redeemed in silver, which would then remain in circulation. Were this course pursued, there would be no occasion to sell gold at less than its value in greenbacks ; no occasion to run the risk of a heavy advance in its premium, no exigency for the erection of an additional coining establishment at great expense, as recommended in the message referred to, but the entire movement would be accomplished in a perfectly easy and efficient manner.

How complex, how uncertain in their operations, are all the provisions of the new law of Congress, supplemented as they may be by the additional enactments proposed by the President, compared with the simple, certain, and safe measure of substituting interest-bearing notes in place of the present legal-tenders !

MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

PRINCIPLES OF MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY, *with their applications to the training and discipline of the mind, and the study of its morbid conditions.* By William B. Carpenter, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., Registrar of the University of London, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, and of the American Philosophical Society, etc., etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

EVERY thinking man must be concerned to know whether there is any thing pertaining to his being which is capable of existence after his body is destroyed. While the affirmative is not positively denied by many of the able writers of the day, a degree of doubt is thrown upon the matter, that gives great pain to certain persons—while it gratifies only those who are satisfied to have their portion in this world, and are also satisfied that this should be a very mean and meagre portion.

The argument of the doubter is based upon these grounds:

1. That we know nothing, and from the necessity of the case can know nothing but phenomena. We may infer that there must be a substance—a something *standing under*—as the basis of these phenomena; but when that substance is reduced to its last analysis it is traced back to atoms, of which no other conception can be formed, except that they are centers of power; and inasmuch as they are subject to no actual cognition, and are recognized only by their movements—their combinations and disengagements—*phenomena*, after all, cover the entire range of knowledge.

So, it is said, we know nothing of what is called soul or spirit, beyond the mere fact of its movements or activities. A man may say that he is *conscious* of a soul, of something which thinks and feels and which constitutes his Ego. All that this means is, that he is conscious of certain mental acts and emotions; he may be conscious of his consciousness, and that is the ultimate.

2. The dependence of the mind upon the body is so intimate and absolute, and their mutual relations are so interinvolved, that neither can exist and manifest its functions without the other. There can be no act of thought, unless there is a correlative change in the structure of the brain, and there can be no development of feeling, without some corresponding movement of the nervous organization.

Still farther, it is impossible to draw the exact line, which separates the physical function from the super-physical. If this could be done any where, it would be in the department of consciousness, which seems to be more independent of the body than any thing else; but there are many acts, requiring thought, judgment, and discrimination, which are performed automatically and without any consciousness on our part, through the medium of nerves which have their axial centers in other regions than the brain.

3. Any philosophical reason, derived from the constitution of man, by which the fact of his immortality might be established, would force us to believe in the existence of an independent and immortal spirit in other animals. There is no absolute difference between men and brutes, but such as originates in the superior organization of the former. Brutes think, reason, compare, contrive, invent new expedients, remember, learn by experience, and are capable of education; they have emotions of joy, sorrow, shame, hope, fear, and self-sacrificing affection; we can not prove that they have no moral sense, no idea of the distinction between right and wrong, no veneration; there are some dumb animals that give more evidence of these higher qualities than certain men.

4. It is affirmed that we have on record no well-authenticated proof of the existence or the manifestation of a personal spirit, apart from a bodily organization. What is commonly understood to be miraculous or supernatural, is not only denied, but it is also assumed that any thing which professes to come from any higher sphere than the natural world is *incapable* of being verified, which of course shuts the door against all conceivable existence.

5. To the objection that the doctrine of pure materialism, or the reduction of man to a thinking machine, leaves no place for personal accountableness, and makes both virtue and vice impossible, it is replied that prudential considerations may suffice to produce the same beneficial results, which have been supposed to flow from the antiquated notions of right and wrong.

The general principles of the materialistic school are expressed by its modern advocates in these terms:

"Instinct, passion, thought, etc., are effects of organized substances." "All causes are material causes." "In material conditions I find the origin of all religions, all philosophies, all opinions, all virtues, all 'spiritual conditions and influences,' in the same manner that I find the origin of all diseases and of all insanities in material conditions and causes." "I am what I am; a creature of necessity; I claim neither merit nor demerit." "I feel that I am as completely the result of my nature, and

impelled to do what I do, as the needle to point to the north, or the puppet to move according as the string is pulled." "I can not alter my will, or be other than what I am, and can not deserve either reward or punishment."

It may be stated in the outset, that there is nothing in Dr. Carpenter's book to favor this bald materialism, or to impair the consciousness of personal responsibility. The general principles upon which his theories and deductions rest, may be thus briefly stated.

The function of the human body is to bridge over the *hiatus* between the *Ego*, or the individual consciousness, and the *non-ego*, or external world, and thus to bring them into mutual communication.

Man is something more than a thinking machine. Matter is merely the vehicle of force, and any system of philosophy which regards the succession of mental phenomena as determined *solely* by the ordinary laws of physical causation, and which rejects the self-determining power of the will, is inconsistent with the idea of human accountability.

At the same time, we must not fail to recognize the obvious dependence of the normal activity of the mind upon the healthful nutrition of the brain, the effect of narcotics and intoxicating agents in preventing that activity, and various other physical influences, which, in a certain degree, withdraw the mechanism of thought and feeling from volitional control.

In spite of all this, however, every right-minded man feels that he does possess a self-determining power; that, within certain limits, he can mold external circumstances to his own requirements, and is as sure of this, as he is of the existence of an external world.

The error of pure spiritualism lies in separating the mind from its instrument, or in recognizing the latter only as a means of getting knowledge, or as an agent for the execution of the orders of the mind. There are many facts pertaining both to the psychical and moral departments of our nature, which can not be resolved, unless we admit that the operations of the mind are in a great degree determined by the material conditions with which they are so intimately associated. The combination of two distinct agencies in the mental constitution of each individual, must be recognized in the whole theory and practice of education.

The attempt to bring matter and mind into the same category, is futile; we know nothing of matter, save through the medium of the impressions it makes on our senses, and those impressions are only derived from the forces of which matter is the vehicle. Mind like force, is essentially active; all its states are states of change; and of

these changes we become directly conscious by our own experience of them.

The primary form of mental activity is sensational consciousness, and this is excited by physiological instrumentality. There is a correlation between nerve-force and sensation; and also between mental states and the form of nerve-force which call forth motion through the muscular apparatus.

That mental antecedents can call forth physical consequents, is just as certain as that physical antecedents can call forth mental consequents; and thus the correlation between mind-force and nerve-force is complete both ways, each being able to excite the other.

All kinds of mental operation require a physiological mechanism, and the laws of thought are as fixed and determinate as the laws of matter; the difficulty in ascertaining them arising solely from the difficulty in subjecting mental phenomena to precise observation.

This mechanism may go on, not only automatically, but also unconsciously; simply because the sensorium is otherwise engaged. At the same time, by the force of habit, automatic and unconscious action comes to be indirectly modified by the controlling power of the will. This, however, is a limited control. The automatic action acquired by training may be afterwards carried on unconsciously; by habit, the automatic apparatus comes to move spontaneously.

In purely volitional movements, the will produces the result, not directly, but by playing on the apparatus so as to bring the requisite nervo-muscular combination into action; as, for instance, in vocalization, we conceive the tone or word, and it is induced automatically without our being conscious of the co-ordination and action of the various muscular movements requisite to produce it.

All that we can do is, to will a certain result; we have no direct power over the muscles themselves.

All the nerves of sense center in the axial cord, and it also gives out all the nerves of motion.

All mental activity is at first spontaneous or automatic, and is determined by organization and the conditions of development. Genesis is not dependent on the will. The will merely selects the objects suggested by sensation or consciousness, and then follows them up; in other words, it determines the direction of the attention. This is the primary object of mental discipline.

Concentrating the mind upon that which lies within its reach, other objects are brought in by the laws of associative suggestion. It can also keep out certain things, by fixing the mind in another direction.

The exercise of the will tends to form the character, by establishing a set of acquired habitudes, and the entire mental as well as bodily organism, may thus be trained to harmonious and effective working.

None of these views at all militate against the idea, that mind may have an existence altogether independent of the body. In the control which the will can exert over the direction of the thoughts, and over the motive force exerted by the feelings, we have the evidence of an independent power, which may either oppose or concur with the automatic tendencies, and which, according as it is habitually exerted, tends to render the *Ego* a free agent.

There may be such a thing as thinking automata—creatures of mere habit and impulse—but they represent an imperfect or abnormal condition of being.

The existence of an Infinite mind and will, is indicated in the relation of mind and body, man being the finite representation of God.

This is the briefest summary we are able to give of the general doctrines so ably illustrated and defended in Dr. Carpenter's Mental Physiology. He deals in a wide range of topics, and there is something in his book to interest men of all sorts and conditions; the physicist will be glad to know what he has to say of the nervous system and its functions—the metaphysicist may learn something from him of attention, sensation, perception and instinct, ideation, and ideo-motor action—of the emotions, habit, and the will. The special physiologist will find instructive and entertaining reading touching memory, common-sense, imagination, unconscious cerebration, reverie and abstraction, electro-biology, sleep, dreaming and somnambulism, mesmerism and spiritualism, intoxication and delirium, insanity, and the influence of mental states on the organic functions. The theologian may be profited by knowing what he has to say of the respective provinces of science and religion, and the harmony which must exist between them, when rightly interpreted.

It would be useless to attempt even a cursory review of such a volume as this; it is loaded down with valuable facts, drawn from a wide observation and a vast extent of reading; it is full of cogent arguments and important practical suggestions; and whoever begins to read the book will be very sure not to lay it aside until he has exhausted its contents. The author, in the beginning, announces it to be his aim, having laid

“The foundations of his science broad and deep in the whole constitution of the

individual man and his relations to the universe external to him," then "to build it up with the materials furnished by experience of every kind, mental and bodily, normal and abnormal, ignoring no fact, however strange, that can be attested by valid evidence, and accepting none, however authoritatively sanctioned, that will not stand the test of thorough scrutiny."

To a great extent he has been true to this principle, allowing the existence of certain extraordinary physical phenomena, which have been generally ridiculed by writers of his school, and pronounced to be absurd in the nature of things. But we question whether he would have written as follows, if the facts alleged had not fallen under his own observation and had come to him merely on the testimony of others.

"Every one who admits that 'there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy,' will be wise in maintaining a 'reserve of possibility' as to phenomena which are not altogether *opposed* to the laws of physics or physiology, but rather *transcend* them. Some of the writer's own experiences have led him to suspect that a power of intuitively perceiving what is passing in the mind of another, which has been designated as 'thought-reading,' may, like certain forms of sense-perception, be extraordinarily exalted by that entire concentration of the attention which is characteristic of the states we have been considering. There can be no question that this divining power is naturally possessed in a very remarkable degree by certain individuals, and that it may be greatly improved by cultivation. We cannot say that the explanation of this *transcending* gift is altogether satisfactory. Looking at nerve-force as a special form of physical energy, it may be deemed not altogether incredible that it should exert itself from a distance, so as to bring the brain of one person into direct dynamical communication with that of another, without the intermediation either of verbal language or of movements of expression."

Whether Dr. Carpenter could have been willing to accept the facts, which "fell under his own observation," if he had not been able to conceive of some theory by which they might be sustained, is questionable. For in another place he says:

"Every one who accepts as facts, merely on the evidence of his own senses, or on the testimony of others who partake of his own beliefs, what common sense tells him to be much more probably the fiction of his own imagination—even though confirmed by the testimony of hundreds affected with the same epidemic delusion—must be regarded as the victim of 'a deluded insanity.'"

Special reference is had to certain asserted facts, which, according to Dr. Carpenter, "every one whose mind has been trained in a conviction of the universality of the law of gravitation, *must* regard as incredible." There is certainly no greater difficulty in believing that by the intervention of some occult influence, the law of gravitation

may be suspended, than there is in receiving the statement that one mind may read the thoughts of another, without the intervention of sound, or look, or sign.

No candid reader will come to the conclusion, after a careful study of this work, that its author has over-estimated the importance of the physical organism, through which the mind procures its material, and by means of which it attains its development. Pure metaphysicians have cared too little for such investigations, and constructed their theories of the will and the memory and the emotions, without sufficient reference to the physical conditions, upon which all the phenomena of mind are so dependent. The great charm of Dr. Carpenter's book lies in this fact; while you rise from its perusal, impressed with a clear conviction of the marvelous structure of the organism which the soul inhabits, you also feel convinced that there must be a self-determining and immortal spirit dwelling there.

THE SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY :

Biographical, Expository, Critical. From Hutcheson to Hamilton.
By James McCosh, LL.D., D.D., President of the College of New Jersey, Princeton. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

DR. MCCOSH will receive the thanks of many for this elaborate review of the Scotch Philosophy. Considering the wide influence of this school, it is something to be wondered at that the task of preparing a well digested and adequate history of it has not before been undertaken. A Scotchman himself by birth, education, and sympathies, and a voluminous writer on philosophical themes, we do not think it strange that Dr. McCosh was led to undertake it. It may well be supposed that, as he tells us in the preface, this work has been a labor of love. The method of his treatise is a happy one. An abstract statement of the progress of thought in the gradual development of the system, while perhaps for some purposes more valuable to the student, would have been far less likely to interest general readers than these biographical, expository and critical essays, in which the philosophical opinions of the most eminent authors of the school are presented in connection with sketches of their lives and characters. The book as it is, is specially attractive. No one who has a taste for philosophical studies will be likely to lay it aside when once taken in hand.

Dr. McCosh has grouped together, as representing one school, men

of very diverse views. The truth is that, from the nature of the case, it is by no means an easy thing to fix definitely the limits of any school in philosophy; and the term itself must needs be used somewhat loosely. When at any time philosophical thought has received a new impulse, or taken a new direction, it is found on careful examination that the way had been to some extent prepared before. One writer after another had dropped some hint, or caught some glimpse of truths not before seen, and had partially revealed them. The master mind which has at last been able thoroughly to comprehend and clearly to expound them, and seems to have let in suddenly a flood of light on fundamental questions, is, after all, but an exponent of what has been gradually dawning, and is not so entirely original as might be thought. As the great problems of philosophy have for ages occupied the acutest intellects, every school must include much that has been derived from others, and is held in common with them. Still, where, as in Scotland, the line of inquiry has been in one general direction, and has been marked by the same general characteristics, the leading thinkers may with sufficient accuracy be classed together, and notwithstanding their differences, may constitute one school.

Undoubtedly the Scotch Philosophy in its earlier stages owed much to Mr. Locke. To that great thinker must be awarded the credit of having set the example of breaking away from the speculative methods of the Schoolmen, and applying the inductive process to the study of the phenomena of mind. But the mischievous consequences deduced from his writings, especially on the Continent, demonstrated the incompleteness of his system. When, in revolting from an *a priori* philosophy and the doctrine of innate ideas, he had gone to the opposite extreme, and attempted to found the true system on sensation and reflection alone, it soon appeared that there were essential elements of man's rational and moral nature not yet recognized and understood. While therefore he unintentionally furnished scepticism with new weapons, he stimulated inquiry after the lacking elements, on the part of the defenders of positive truth. It was on this line of thought, reaching backward to Locke's Essay, that the representatives of the Scotch Philosophy advanced. A succession of writers, the most notable of whom were Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Turnbull, Hume, Reid, Stewart, and Brown, form the connecting links between Locke and Sir William Hamilton, in whom the Scotch school found its most learned and accomplished expounder, while at the same time he added to it some things that were not perhaps legitimately of it.

Dr. McCosh names as the distinctive characteristics of the Scotch

school, these three : that it proceeds on the method of observation ; that it employs self-consciousness as the instrument of observation ; and that, by the observations of consciousness, principles are reached that are prior to and independent of experience. It is in the development of this last doctrine, pre-eminently, that it has found its strict distinction and has done the greatest service. It is specially interesting to note the process by which, slowly and yet surely, the leading writers of the school approached a right apprehension of the intuitions which, by its very constitution, belong to the human mind. Locke had recognized an external and an internal sense. Shaftesbury subdivided the internal, and recognized the sense of beauty and the moral sense. Hutcheson added other senses. Reid fully asserted the doctrine of common sense, denoting by that term the inward light of reason, which gives certain truths prior to experience, in all men. Stewart more definitely stated the fundamental laws of belief ; and Brown and Hamilton more completely presented the clearly defined doctrine of intuitions ; the latter, however, inclining to call them, with Kant, forms of thought. It was thus that the distinctively Scottish philosophy was unfolded by successive steps or stages.

Dr. McCosh's biographical sketches are sufficiently full for his purpose, and are generally well executed. Hutcheson was a man of mark. If a definite *terminus a quo* was to be fixed for the Scottish school, he was perhaps better than any other entitled to have it found in him. Enthusiastically devoted to philosophy, and to his work as a professor, he gave a decided impulse to inquiry, and kindled a genuine ardor in the minds of those who attended his lectures. While he failed to see clearly, and to state consistently, the facts of consciousness as regards the intuitions, he nevertheless at many points advanced beyond his predecessors. David Hume, sceptic though he was, is very fairly handled. His great abilities, and the wide influence of his writings, not only in Scotland and England, but on the Continent, especially in Germany, are acknowledged, while his peculiar opinions are clearly stated and acutely criticised. But the greatest name of all among those who have created the Scotch Philosophy was Thomas Reid ; at least so we have long believed. Possessing the true spirit of a philosopher, and adhering closely to the method of observation, his merit was equaled only by his modesty and freedom from pretension. Unfortunate in his choice of terms—instinct and common sense—he yet, in patient and original thought, was a master, and more than any other deserves to be regarded as the Corypheus of the school. Dugald Stewart surpassed him in elegance of style, and Sir William

Hamilton in learning and logic ; but both stood upon his shoulders and lacked his sturdy originality and strength. Indeed there is room for the raising of the question whether Hamilton was not, strictly speaking, rather an eclectic than a distinctively Scotch philosopher. He certainly borrowed from other and widely different schools.

One misses in Dr. McCosh's book the elaborate finish of Stewart, and the precision, terseness, and strength of Sir James McIntosh. His sentences are not always perspicuous, and the reader is conscious at times of a certain carelessness, we may almost say slovenliness, of style, which, according to our recollections, did not characterize his early writings—the treatise on Divine Government, for example. The expositions of the views of the several writers are clear and sufficiently copious ; indeed, we are inclined to think that greater condensation would have been well. In his criticisms and comments, Dr. McCosh shows himself a thorough Scotchman, and is sometimes a little dogmatic, as if speaking *ex cathedra*. Few perhaps, are as well entitled as he to speak with some degree of authority ; but still this mode of speaking is apt to excite some reaction in the mind of the reader. He, however, shows a wide acquaintance with the field of philosophical investigation ; is generally just, candid, and acute ; and has evidently written with a genuine interest in his theme. Whatever slight blemishes may be detected by critical eyes, the honored and venerable author will keep the satisfaction of having, with great labor, performed an admirable service for the rapidly increasing number of students in philosophy throughout the country. To all such we heartily commend the volume, and hope that the toil of the writer may be abundantly rewarded.

ORIENTAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES.

Second Series. By W. D. Whitney, Professor of Sanscrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College. New York : Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

WE may judge from the nuggets of gold which our author has gathered from the loose sand, what is the mine of learning below the surface. Prof. Whitney has given in this and the former volume of essays, the promise of great future work in the field of Oriental study. There is a thoroughness of method, a grasp of his material, and above all, a soberness in avoiding brilliant theory, which betoken a scholar of the highest rank.

It is impossible to give more than a passing sketch of studies that range over the literature and religion of the East, the scientific analysis of our own language, and even the obscure question of Hindu astronomy. There is no better summary of Indian history than in his "British in India." We especially call attention to his masterly criticisms on the inefficiency of the Mohammedan, as compared with the earlier Aryan civilization. His favorable judgment on the British rule, is, we believe, true on the whole, although it seems to us not so much the question whether the conquest of territory was a necessity, as whether it was done in a manner worthy of a Christian people. Undoubtedly Warren Hastings was less cruel than an Aurengzib or a Nadir. But England herself has condemned his rapacious policy by the soberest judgments; and even Burke's scathing eloquence hardly goes beyond the evidence of such men as Colebrooke, whose life in India under Wellesley and Minto saw the beginning of a better era. The best defense of England is to be found in the fact, that she had wisdom enough at last to take the rule of such an empire out of the hands of a selfish company. The two essays on China give a clear idea of the polity, art, and literature of that early empire. They will especially open the eyes of many mistaken people, who have so long called these Celestials only narrow barbarians. History shows, as was long ago told us by Remusat in his "*Mélanges Asiatiques*," that during the 13th and 14th centuries, and later on in the time of Ricci, there was a generous intercourse between China and the West.

We accept gladly the sound critique of our author on Aryan Mythology. Brilliant and ingenious as are the theories of Max Müller, he has pushed his verbal interpretation of the myth to the point of absurdity. Our critic's transformation of General Grant into a fable of "sun and dawn" is a jest worthy of Sydney Smith, although we fear that the myth-making fancy has much faded during these last prosaic years of our hero. The truth is that Müller is a scholar in etymologies, but has very little of the philosophic mind. It is painfully seen in his crude lectures on the "Science of Religions;" and Prof. Whitney has well shown the vagueness of his notion of "herotheism." We would call attention to his remarks on this topic. Any strict science of religions is next to impossible, because each is an historic growth, and can only be studied in its specific connections with the character of time and people. But we can not dwell on the rest of these admirable articles. If any one will study thoroughly the phonetic laws of formation, we refer him to the essay on "Ele-

ments of English Pronunciation." We confess that his reasoning has shaken our own views; and we will no longer remain with the Tibetan party, who cling to their historic archaisms in spite of the true law of growth. The closing paper on "The Lunar Zodiac" lies beyond our range; and we can only add, that it is a proof not only of the author's varied learning, but soberness, since, after a refutation of each favorite theory, he confesses that he leaves the riddle unsolved.

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THE PRACTICAL WORK OF PAINTING.

IN a former article, published in this REVIEW, we explained the technical principles of Flemish painting, in two very distinct phases of the school. We now return to the subject of painting in order to show the difference between Flemish practice and Italian, French and English practice, generally; besides which, especially in modern work, we shall have to take account of various personal habits in the cases of individual artists. But before entering on these parts of the subject, it may be well to recapitulate what has been already written about the technical principles of Van Eyck and Rubens.

Van Eyck was not an oil-painter, but a painter in varnish, and the opacity of pigments, which in modern times is greatly valued as a means of giving apparent solidity to the representation of objects, was not recognized in Van Eyck's time as a source of power in art. In his view the white panel on which he painted was the giver of light, and therefore not to be obscured by much opaque color. The white panel was like the sky behind a stained-glass window, and the pigments were the stained glass. He therefore painted thinly, *especially in the lights*.

The practice of Rubens is based upon an entirely different principle. Rubens knew the value of opaque color for its apparent solidity, and liked opacity in lights, caring for transparency only in the shaded parts of his work. But Rubens had very strong opinions about the use of white, which he expressed with much emphasis. He considered it absolutely inadmissible in shadows, and acted so consistently on this principle, that he glazed his shadows habitually in thin transparent colors, mixed with varnish, or a vehicle containing varnish, admitting

the opaque element into them only for reflections, while he used it liberally in the lights. We have therefore in the Flemish school two distinct principles of work, that of Van Eyck, which is based on transparency, making even opaque colors semi-transparent by using them very thinly, and that of Rubens, which is based half on transparency and half on opacity, taking them as opposite but equally useful elements of effect.

We must now enlarge our minds sufficiently to perceive that although the practice of Rubens was masterly and right in its own kind, his theory was fallacious, so far as it attempted to impose limits on the practice of others. The fallacy of his theory lay in his hostility to the use of white in shadows, and there is a very simple way of proving the unsoundness of his reasoning. He painted on a white ground, which he glazed with various transparent colors for his shadows, but there really *was* white in his shadows, the white of the ground beneath, and if that was not injurious to them it is plain that white from the palette would not have been injurious either, provided only that it had been afterward glazed in the same way. Rubens here gives us an example of a habit very common among artists in all ages, and against which the critical student of the fine arts ought to be constantly upon his guard. Artists often condemn some technical practice as essentially vicious and destructive to good quality in workmanship, when other artists of equal eminence have steadily and regularly employed it. If we were to accept the theory enunciated by Rubens, we should have to shut our eyes to the merits of much of the very best and soundest painting that was ever executed in the world.

It is possible to carry a picture through its earlier stages without thinking about transparency at all, because whatever transparency may be required in the completed work may be introduced at will, not only by glazing, but even by opaque painting also, for it does not follow that a work will of necessity look opaque when the colors are not in themselves transparent. The reader will perceive if he tries to discover any one principle which gradually developed itself in painting, that the principle which really did develop itself was an emancipation from anxiety about the ground, and its effect through the colors laid upon it. Van Eyck is anxious about the whole ground, like an early water-color artist about his paper. Rubens covers up the ground to some extent by using opaque color abundantly in the lights, but is still anxious to preserve the transparency of shadows, so that the ground may show through them. But when we come to artists who

made their first painting always in opaque color (and we are coming to them now), covering up the ground entirely over the whole area of the canvas, it is evident that the importance of it is much diminished, so much indeed that it no longer greatly matters what the ground is made of, so far as its color is concerned, if only the artist can be sure that the color of it will not work up afterward through his painting, and spoil it. We say it does not much matter what the tint of the ground may be, because the artist can so easily make use of what is favorable in it, and can with equal ease contend against what is unfavorable. For example, let us suppose that he has to paint upon a red ground. Some artists like such a preparation, and these men find that the red is useful for the neutralization of green, but may be easily overcome by colder colors when its warmth is not desirable. Mérimée justly observes that artists who first sketched in thick color (*en pleine pâte*) were likely to be more indifferent about the nature of the ground than those who began with a thin *lavis* as Van Eyck did; and then he goes on to say that Titian sometimes painted on a red ground, but more generally on a tempera ground composed of old plaster and size. Vasari says that on wood the Venetians laid a ground of plaster, and painted that with a mixture of white, yellow, and umber, which does not seem agreeable, although Vasari was a contemporary and saw them at work. On the other hand, the English painter Haydon affirms that on the arrival of the "Bacchus and Ariadne" in England he saw that a bit of color was chipped off in one of the corners and that the ground there was "of a snowy whiteness;" but Haydon says farther that Tintoretto and Bassano used sometimes dark grounds to save trouble. The only inference from this various evidence is that the Venetians sometimes used one ground and sometimes another, which shows that their reliance for light had passed from the ground to the pigments with which it was to be covered.

As for the way in which Titian began a picture, we have through Boschini a definite tradition on the subject which may be easily traced. Boschini knew the younger Palma, whose father had received instruction from Titian himself, and Boschini says that Titian "based his pictures with such a mass of color, that it served as a base to build on after." He also says that red earth was used in the early paintings, besides white, black, and yellow. The red earth was probably what is now called light red, or it may have been Venetian red. We do not know which yellow is intended, but it is quite possible that it may have been one of the brighter varieties of yellow ochre, as that would be sufficiently brilliant for a dead coloring in which the bright-

est red used was only an earth. Readers who understand painting will be struck with the absence of blue; but black and white, used in cold grays, would do duty for blue in a first painting so far as coldness is concerned, and this absence of brilliant hue in the cold extremity of the scale, as well as in the hot red, can only strengthen the supposition that the yellow was not a brilliant one, as there must always be a certain relation in brilliance among the colors on a well-ordered palette, and if one of the elements is very bright it cannot be isolated, but must be accompanied by equivalents in other colors. From the evidence that we have, and such reasoning as that which has just been attempted, we may consider it to be ascertained that Titian's first paintings (Boschini speaks of four "pencilings" done in this way) were massive in substantial quantity of pigment, but exceedingly simple in their coloring. It is difficult to begin with a more simple palette, if color is to be expressed at all; but with the colors mentioned above, Titian would be well able to get powerful preparatory tints over the whole extent of his picture. When this first stage was completed he laid the canvas aside for several months, and on resuming work upon it, amended and corrected all the forms. After this correction of the forms, came Titian's long finishing process. He glazed * every thing. Mérimée said that he did not know a single picture of Titian which was not glazed from one end to the other, even in the highest lights. He also applied opaque color over and over again, rubbing it on the canvas with his thumb or fingers, which Palma said that in finishing he preferred to his brushes. In this way, by frequent retouches, which were to the solid substance beneath, what the down of a peach is to the skin of the fruit, he gradually gave to his works that bloom and perfection of rich surface which they have always preserved till now, unless in those cases where the delicate thin surface applications have been removed by the carelessness of cleaners. This is nearly all we know about Titian's practice. It would have been interesting in the highest degree to know the exact colors which Titian used, but here the universal carelessness about technical matters which has prevailed since art began reduces us to simple conjecture. There is, however, a certain possible process of reasoning which may help us to some extent, at least negatively. For

* For the uninitiated reader we may do well to explain that glazing means using transparent colors. It does not mean producing a shine on the surface, though that is an accidental consequence of glazing, when varnish is used. To glaze a picture has the same effect as if colored glass were put before it, altering the color of what is already done, but not hiding any form.

example, we well remember that a distinguished modern artist said that in his opinion it was impossible to get on without cobalt, and we also remember an article in one of the leading English newspapers which expressed a doubt whether the artists of the middle ages had used cobalt or ultramarine. Now it is universally admitted that Titian was a great colorist, and that he had the means at his disposal for fully expressing himself in color, yet neither he nor the artists of the middle ages can have used cobalt, for the simple reason that the color was not discovered until the nineteenth century.* The discovery of cobalt blue was due to the initiative of an intelligent French Minister of the Interior, Count Chaptal, who wisely suggested to the eminent chemist, M. Thénard, that his knowledge and abilities might be usefully employed in investigating the subject of colors, with a view to increase the number of cheap and eligible pigments. M. Thénard accordingly set to work, and found out how to make cobalt blue in the year 1802. By remembering this date we can very decidedly affirm that there is no cobalt blue in any picture anterior to our own century. Let us now carry the same process of elimination a little further. There is another blue very well known to modern artists, a color remarkable for its great intensity, and for its extraordinary strength as a dye to stain other colors with, namely Prussian blue, but although it was discovered long before cobalt, it is still much too recent to have been used by Titian, as the way to make it was found out at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Antwerp blue is a variety of Prussian blue, being chemically much the same, so is Haarlem blue, and smalt is an inferior sort of cobalt. We may go through the same process of elimination with the yellows and other colors, many of which, in constant use at the present day, are of such recent date that the great Venetian painters could not have known them. But the process of helping our guesses by chronology may be carried out on the positive as well as on the negative side. We happen to possess a considerable list of colors which are known to have been used by the ancient Romans, and even by the Greeks. All these would probably be accessible to Titian, though he may not have thought it

* We anticipate the objection here, that cobalt was known to the ancients. It certainly appears that they knew how to color glass with cobalt, for Mr. Linton, in his very valuable little book on ancient and modern colors, gives several instances of ancient glass of a blue color due to oxide of cobalt; and it appears that they mixed a blue powder of glass with white clay or chalk in imitation of indigo, and that this glass powder was colored by means of cobalt. But the introduction of cobalt into oil painting is due to M. Thénard, none the less. Few artists remember how recent is this addition to their palette, though many of them know how valuable it is.

necessary to employ more than a very few of them. Lapis lazuli, or true ultramarine, of course he knew, and Mérimée thinks that there is evidence that Paul Veronese used Egyptian blue, a silicate of copper which turns greenish in course of time. Mérimée thinks the green skies of Veronese may be accepted as evidence of this, for he assumes that Veronese would not have painted them so to begin with, but must have painted them of a much purer azure, which is likely enough. True ultramarine is, and always has been, so extravagantly expensive, that it is difficult to believe that any school of painters, or even any individual painter of large pictures, would confine himself to it as his only blue, the temptation to economy by using some other color being apparently irresistible, and ultramarine, when genuine, though very perfect in hue, is not very powerful in mixture, so that a little of it can not be made to go a long way, except by superposition, like a thin veneer over other pigments. The earth colors would be accessible to Titian. We know positively that he used red earth, but he would require a brighter red in addition. One of the finest and most useful reds we have is also one of the most ancient colors. Vermilion was prepared by Kallias the Athenian, five hundred years before the Christian era. It is however impossible to get crimson either by red earth or by vermilion alone, and as there are crimsons in Titian's pictures he must have used some pigment specially to produce them. It is not probable that he employed carmine or cochineal lake, which is only a lake made from the residues of carmine. Titian was born in 1477, and he died in 1576. The cochineal insect was discovered by the conquerors of Mexico, but Mexico was only conquered in 1521, and for some time after the conquest, as Mérimée justly observes, the new masters of the country thought about nothing but gold. It is therefore probable that cochineal was not introduced into Europe until later, and it would be employed as a dye in the useful arts before being adopted in the fine arts. At that time, supposing Titian to be still alive, his habits of work would be decidedly formed. He had, however, two lakes to choose from. Madder lake was well known to the ancients not only to the Romans, but to the Greeks, and even the Egyptians, it must therefore have been familiar to the Venetians, and it has the recommendation of being the most permanent of all the vegetable colors. But an insect lake was also known in his time, that prepared from the kermes, a gall insect which thrives on a little oak in southern Europe. The lake which this insect gives was used to dye the oldest tapestries of Arras, and the color still keeps good. George

Field believed that this kermes lake and the lac of India were employed by the Venetian painters.

It is only by the most careful experiments that we can ascertain which colors are absolutely essential in painting, and which colors, however pleasant to use, are superfluous. What we are now going to say on this subject is not a repetition of something that we have heard or read, but the result of a practical study of pigments which has more or less occupied our thoughts and leisure for several years. It is a study distinct from painting, in this sense at least, that an artist who is supplied with colors by his colorman, may work successfully all his life without learning the full powers of the pigments which he uses, and this simply because a modern artist is so rich in pigments that he is not compelled to make the most of any one of them. A palette is complete when it gives the artist the power of imitating, either at once or by the help of oppositions, the tint of any thing that is set before him; but unless he can do this with it, the palette is not complete, for a colorist. A palette, however, may be complete in another sense, when full color is not intended, just as we have seen that Titian began his pictures with nothing but white, red earth, black, and yellow, a palette which was complete up to a certain point because it permitted a certain harmony, yet incapable of full coloring. Take such a palette as that, and paint with it the azure of the sky, the yellow of a primrose or a buttercup, the scarlet of a garden geranium—you cannot do these things, because you have not the bright colors. Therefore we come to something which may be stated definitely. *On a palette for full coloring there must be bright colors.* But since in nature we have dull colors as well as bright ones, a complete palette must be able to deal with the dull colors also, to imitate clay and mud when necessary, as well as the sky and the flowers. You can not imitate clay and mud with cadmium yellow, vermilion, and ultramarine; so now we come to another thing which may be stated. *On a palette for full coloring there must be dull colors.* The next question is, How many of each? This depends on the taste of the artist, but as for what is strictly necessary the answer is easy. The colorist really needs only those pigments which are indispensable for obtaining the full range of bright tints, and also the full range of dull tints. We have to take pigments as they are, and can not, in practical work, go upon purely ideal principles. The ideal is that out of three primaries we ought to be able to compose all colors, but in practice this is not possible. In the actual furnishing of a palette we have nothing to think of but to supply colors from which all imaginable tints can be mixed. We

shall have to go more minutely into this subject with reference to the practice of Reynolds, but may state here that the colors really necessary to Titian were neither numerous nor in any way extraordinary. If he used yellow ochre, which he probably did, he would require some brighter yellow also, but at that time both Naples yellow and orpiment were known, though several fine modern yellows had not been discovered; if he used red earth he would need vermilion still, and a crimson of some sort. With ultramarine and black, he could do without any other blue, but may have used one for economy. As for the "Venetian secret" of fine coloring which some people have foolishly sought for, and believed that they had discovered, it was never anything but a fine natural capacity aided by incessant labor and a sound tradition to begin with. The most splendid and complicated schemes of color may be carried out with a very few pigments, and we can not think it a misfortune for Titian that he lived before the modern activity in chemistry, which has indeed produced many new colors, but rather thereby bewildered young artists than benefited them.

Before leaving Titian, of whom it is much to be regretted that we know so little, we may request the reader to observe how his color in the first paintings was pitched in a low key, and afterwards gradually intensified by superficial glazings and scumblings. This principle was also acted upon by Reynolds and other colorists. We know that Titian's color must have been low in the first painting, from the fact that a red earth was all he had for red, and that black and white, in gray, had to stand for blue. There is great safety in this quiet commencement, as it allows an artist to feel his way gradually toward full color, and this is what Titian did, "sometimes with all his figures dashing in a dark touch in some angle to give force; at other times with a softening of red, like drops of blood, which gave life to some superficial part, and he thus went on perfecting his breathing figures." He had a horror of improvisation, affirming, what is true, that the verses made by *improvvisatori* were never worth referring to.

We have a clear though brief account of the method followed by Paul Veronese. This account comes to us from the painter's own son, through Boschini. His way was to paint every thing first in middle tint, and on this he touched both lights and darks, leaving the middle tint visible everywhere between them, as it was first prepared. The middle tint was laid in opaque color. Mérimée affirms that Veronese often worked on canvases primed in tempera, and also that when he did so he began his picture in water color. This

practice of beginning an oil picture in water color is not so rare as some readers may suppose. The only advantage of it is that details may be sketched with great rapidity in water color, which may be afterward recovered when necessary in oil, if the oil painting on the water color ground has not been thick enough to obliterate it entirely; but for artists who work in thick opaque oil color, a grounding in water can have no especial advantage. The origin of it was in the passage from tempera painting to oil painting. It was a true and natural transition, not a "dodge" invented by some ingenious modern who wanted to save labor. It seems, however, that when the transition was finally quite complete, water color painting and oil painting would naturally be altogether "differentiated" and stand apart. However, the practice of grounding in water color subsists, even at the present day, in the habits of certain artists. We fancy that it may have some especial utility in skies, for skies often present peculiar difficulties in oil which the water color painter overcomes with much greater facility. Veronese must have laid his middle tint with uncommon certainty as to hue, if he really always preserved it so carefully as Boschini says he did. The reader will at once perceive how radically different this practice is from that of Titian, and how much greater a degree of tonic accuracy it required in the earlier stages of the work, for Titian was constantly correcting *all* his tones, whereas Veronese, at a certain early stage of the picture, considered the middle tints to be definitely settled. Veronese, in fact, when the picture had reached that stage, would look upon it very much as a sketcher in white and black chalk looks upon his tinted paper, which is to be left visible in many parts, but heightened or deepened wherever light or dark accents may be necessary. It is a most convenient way of painting, and one admirably in harmony with the appearances of nature, where we constantly see lights and darks on middle tint; but there is one practical objection, namely, the extreme difficulty of getting the true middle tint which is required. We may make this difficulty more evident by showing that it necessitates an intellectual process, and can not be overcome by the eye alone. Ocular imitation would *never* discover a true middle tint, because without an intellectual caution the eye would be too much perplexed by the extreme lights and darks. The intellect must intervene to perceive the average, just as it is only by an intellectual process that we can ascertain arithmetical averages.

It may be farther observed with respect to the methods of Titian and those of Paul Veronese, that while the first painted quietly and

very richly, seeking rather a deep inward glow than a brilliant *éclat*, Veronese on the other hand painted very decidedly, and loved clearness generally rather than depth. This difference of taste would in itself account for a difference in technical practice, for the technic of painting is so full of various resources, that an artist may choose methods according to his taste, so that his ways of work are the consequence of his higher artistic feelings. Tintoretto came nearer to the practice of Titian than Paul Veronese did, but the difference in their rapidity of performance was so great, that Tintoretto had not time to develop the full qualities of Titian, supposing him to have had the natural ability to do so, for Titian's works ripened very gradually, like fruit, and only came to the rich hues of their full maturity by slow and almost imperceptible degrees. We know from a letter of his own to Charles V. that he had worked on a Last Supper for seven years "*quasi continuamente*"—almost continuously. Tintoretto, on the other hand, was so rapid an artist that had it not been for his great power of imagination, he would have been considered little more than a picture manufacturer; yet he aimed at Titian's color avowedly, and knew Titian's methods, having been a pupil of his in youth. Lanzi says, that Tintoretto painted on dark grounds, so that he would be compelled to sketch first in thick color, and the sketch of the Paradise in the Louvre is laid in solidly in this manner and glazed afterward. Tintoretto's method of painting was in fact little else than an abridgment of Titian's, it was a method which tried for as much of Titian's quality as could be got in a short time by one who knew exactly how Titian worked. We may add that the rapidity which has been so much lamented by some writers as the ruin of the artist was not altogether a loss. There is, in fact, a peculiar quality in Tintoretto's sketching, which was partly due to its very swiftness, a rich blending of evanescent hue and light with a noble disdain of mere outline; nor has any painter reached better qualities of thick and thin color in so short a time.

It is a question of the greatest interest whether the Italians used varnish in their painting, while actually at work, or whether their pictures were only varnished afterward. The probability appears to be that they used a sort of pomatum, very like our modern megilp, composed of *oglio cotto* (*huile cuite*, cooked oil) mixed with a certain proportion of gum varnish. The *oglio cotto* has been known in Italy so long that no record of its origin is preserved. It is simply nut oil, boiled down with as much litharge as it will dissolve, until it resembles the consistency of honey. This is mixed with varnish till it makes a

pomatum which will stay on the palette without running. Lanzi says that during the restoration of a picture by Correggio an analysis was made of his materials and a conclusion arrived at about his medium to the effect that he employed two-thirds of oil and one of varnish. Mérimée ascertained from certain wrinkles in a picture by Giorgione that he must have employed an oil varnish, as none but an oil varnish would wrinkle. That varnishes were well-known in Italy in the sixteenth century is proved by Armenini's book, which gives receipts for making them. Field, however, says that it has been an opinion of eminent judges—and he seems to share the opinion—that the Venetians only employed oils and varnishes as preservatives and defenses of their works, and not as vehicles; the vehicle which they are supposed to have used being water with certain additions, probably including borax, which is the true medium between water and oil, and he asserts that "portions of their decayed pictures have been readily fluxed by fire into glass." These different opinions only show the obscurity of the subject and the remarkable absence of definite information. It is wonderful that so little should be known, but it is the more wonderful since eye-witnesses have positively attempted to give an account of the Venetian methods and stopped short before their tale was fully told, and that neither from inability nor unwillingness to tell all, but simply because they did not foresee what we should care to know about, or else took it for granted that we should be inevitably acquainted with all that belonged to the common practice of the time.

Painting in Italy, especially in the work of Correggio and the Venetians, gives evidence of greater technical advancement than early Flemish art in one important respect, namely in its independence of drawn lines. The great Italian colorists did not cling to outlines but took things by the middle, and developed them in mass, with a thorough study of modeling and light-and-shade. Their custom was to paint in this way from early youth, and so in their hands painting became an art complete in itself; an art which no doubt *contained* drawing, but which was never dependent upon drawing as an external help. It is probable that this independence was brought about by the use of thick color in the early stages of the picture. So long as artists painted thinly they would be tempted to rely upon an accurate drawing beneath their painting which would show through it during the progress of the picture, and guide them, but when they painted in full paste* the paste would hide such a delicate preparatory

* This is an attempt to introduce an English word instead of a French or Italian one.

drawing, and so it was useless to make it. The full technical maturity of painting only came after two great emancipations. First the art was emancipated from the preservation of light in the ground, because it was discovered that light could be created afresh at any time; and next it was emancipated from the preservation of drawing upon the ground, because any form could be recovered or created when necessary, and it was of no use to draw details which were to be hidden afterward under thick paste. The principle of this most mature kind of painting is to proceed from larger masses to smaller ones, putting the smallest in their places when nothing remained to be done with which their presence could interfere. Mr. Ruskin gives a jewel upon an arm as an example of this. He says that in Venetian painting the jewel would not be indicated in the least until the arm was finished. Here we have a small mass painted in its place upon a larger one, and we may add that in the treatment of the jewel itself, the same principle would be carried out; its own minuter masses of light and color being added when the general broad jewel-mass was dry enough to receive them.

It followed from this painter-like way of considering things as masses of color that the great Venetians never thought it worth while to draw much in lines upon paper, so that there are very few drawings by them in the European collections. The draughtsmen on the other hand, such as Holbein for example, who were remarkable for keen and firm drawing with the pencil-point, had an inferior method as painters, clinging much to hard outlines, and not seeing in that quiet broad way which the more thorough painters acquired in Italy when they had adopted the great principle of mass.

We have not space in the present article to enter upon the practice of other schools, but all oil painting whatever, must of necessity belong either to Venetian practice or to Flemish if it is powerful in handling, unless it is a mixture of both, which modern painting sometimes is, as we shall show hereafter. There is however a third way of painting which may be adopted when a noble manner in handling is not cared for; but so far as we have been able to ascertain there is not a single instance of it either in old Flemish or old Italian work. Instead of coloring in broad masses, the colors may be laid in minute touches and dots like little strokes with a pen, and these may be made to produce a striking effect at the intended distance. You may use pure colors in this way, which combine optically but not chemically,

It is most awkward to have to say "in thick color" every time one wants to say *pâte*. The English word paste will do just as well, if understood to mean thick opaque color.

and so preserve great brilliance. This will be better explained by an example. If you make a great number of minute touches in pure yellow, and then a great many similar touches of pure blue in the interstices, the eye of the spectator, at a certain distance, will see green. Nature herself very frequently colors on this principle, as when she tints a mountain with little flowers, for then the flowers being of one decided color and the interstices between them of another, the two produce in optical combination the effect of a single broad tint three miles off. Much of Nature's broadest and apparently simplest coloring is in fact produced by the union of different colors, which are not really mixed, but only seen side by side at the same time. Even our artificial mixtures are perhaps not mixtures in any other sense. When we mix a blue powder with a yellow one, the result, to the eye, is a green powder; but a microscope would still distinguish the blue particles from the yellow ones, and it is conceivable that such distinguishing might be always possible, if our sight and instruments were equal to it. The telescope performs a similar analysis. The luminous films which we see in the sky at night, are easily resolved into points of great brilliance on a ground of absolute blackness, the effect of both together being a soft cloud of light in which the naked eye can recognize neither brilliance nor blackness. It is unnecessary to mention other instances of this in nature, because the reader will easily discover them for himself; but with reference to the practice of art, we must say that the adoption of this principle in execution, though authorized as we see by Nature herself, is nevertheless a thing to be regretted. It is so for this simple reason, that while the hand is occupied in putting dots near each other, and in carefully filling up the interstices between them, it can never acquire that large and noble style which distinguished the greatest men of Parma and Venice, when painting was at its best. And therefore we venture to affirm that whatever practice in painting is wholly unobjectionable, is sure to be either Flemish or Venetian in principle. Yet even here there is a choice to be made, for although the two kinds of work may be admitted as alike compatible with great execution, there is still a distinction between them in their different powers of recovery, a matter of the very utmost technical importance. The magnificent facility of Rubens ought not to blind us to the substantial superiority of the great Italians whose system enabled them to recover at any time, either transparency, or solidity, or any quality of texture for which they cared.

THE PRUSSIAN COMPANY COLUMN.

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL EMORY UPTON, U. S. A.

AMONG the many innovations in army organization and warfare for which the present century is remarkable, is the company column, which was introduced into the Prussian service about the year 1843. It has since been so extensively employed in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars as to gain a world-wide reputation, and to lead many military men to claim for it advantages over every other tactical unit, particularly for meeting the requirements of the modern breech-loader.

History teaches, that after every great modern war, which has surprised the world by brilliant results, the organization and tactics of the victor have been the subjects of admiration and imitation, to a degree often bordering on servility. The mobility of the Prussian tactics which enabled Frederick the Great to handle his army as a unit, and to make in the presence of the enemy grand tactical movements, before deemed impossible, was speedily perceived by the French and introduced into their tactics; thus it was that for nearly half a century Prussian tactics served as a model, not only for France, but for nearly all of Europe, and Prussian drill, Prussian discipline, rigid and inflexible, were everywhere imitated.

The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars gave birth to new principles, new tactics, and new organizations. The corps d'armée was adopted as the grand unit of military operations; skirmishing, a knowledge of which was acquired by many French officers in the war of our Revolution, became prominent, and increased mobility characterized the movements of all military bodies.

Under the dominion of these new ideas, the French armies, guided by the genius of Napoleon, overcame the combined armies of Europe; Prussian ideas were eradicated, the Prussian model was overthrown, and in its place was erected the French idol, which was worshiped from the days of the great Emperor until its destruction at Sedan.

The astounding results of the Franco-Prussian war, its victories and unparalleled surrenders, have stimulated the military world into

unwonted activity and inquiry. The causes of disaster have been diligently investigated; overlooking discipline and military spirit, the chief elements of strength in an army, French pride has eagerly sought an excuse for defeat in the superior tactics and tactical formations of its conqueror; other nations have followed the lead of France, and to-day, by common consent, the military organization and tactics of the Prussians or Germans are again held up to the world as alone worthy of imitation.

A brief examination of the late war will show that no new principles in strategy or grand tactics were established, and that the only important change in minor tactics was the employment of skirmishers to an extent heretofore unknown in Europe, but for which both parties would have been prepared had they carefully studied the history of our own civil war.

Tactical principles have not changed, but a new order of battle, the extended order, or the order as skirmishers, has been adopted. It is in its relation to this new order that the company column claims attention. To understand its formation it is necessary to state the organization of the Prussian company, which is as follows, viz.:

1 Captain.

1 First Lieutenant.

3 Second Lieutenants.

20 Non-commissioned Officers.

4 Musicians.

216 Rank and File.

The company is formed in three ranks; the tallest men are in the front rank; "the most adroit and best shots are selected for the third rank, because the special duties of this rank require these qualities;" the distance between ranks is two feet.

The company is divided into subdivisions (or platoons). If the subdivisions consist of twenty or more files, they are divided into half subdivisions (or half platoons); the subdivisions are again divided into sections of not less than four, nor more than six files.

If the company be of full strength, it will have a front of seventy-two files; each subdivision will contain thirty-six files; each half subdivision eighteen files, and each section six files.

The battalion consists of four companies, which are numbered from right to left. The eight subdivisions into which the battalion is divided are also numbered from right to left, and preserve their numerical designations throughout the manœuvres.

FORMATION OF THE COMPANY COLUMN.

The company column is formed in the following manner: The battalion being in line, at the command, *Form company column*, the third rank of each even subdivision of the right wing faces about, marches twelve paces to the rear, halts, and faces to the front; the first and second ranks of the uneven subdivisions face to the left, and place themselves six paces in rear of the first and second ranks of the even subdivision; the third rank of the uneven subdivision faces to the left, and filing in front of the third rank of the even subdivision, forms with it a third subdivision in double rank. The movement is executed in the uncadenced step. The column when formed consists practically of three platoons in double rank.

In the left wing the movement is similarly executed; the even subdivisions plying in rear of the uneven subdivisions.

Each subdivision of the column is commanded by a lieutenant, and is provided with its proper quota of file closers. The third subdivision of each column is called the *shooting subdivision*.

The battalion being played into company columns, consists of two company columns side by side at the center, called a half-battalion column, and of two detached company columns; the interval between the flanks of the half-battalion column and the flank company columns being twenty-four yards.

The tactics provide for reducing the front of each company column to half subdivisions, giving each column six half subdivisions, and also for breaking into columns of sections, a formation which resembles our column of fours.

The company column is formed in line to the front by means inverse to those used in the ployment; the third rank resuming its proper place.

DEPLOYMENT OF THE COMPANY COLUMN AS SKIRMISHERS.

The German method of deployment as skirmishers is always a successive movement, beginning with a section, or a half subdivision of the shooting subdivision. At the signal *Skirmish*, the section or half subdivision designated, moves by the flank until disengaged from the column, and then moves to the front, the files obliquing to the right or left till they gain an interval, usually not exceeding six paces; the rear-rank man of each file, at his option, remains in rear of his file leader, or places himself on his right or left. The remaining part of the shooting subdivision follows the skirmish line at a

distance of 100 or 150 yards, and acts as a support; the first and second subdivisions of the company column follow in rear of the support at a suitable distance, usually not exceeding 250 yards.

If necessary to reinforce the skirmish line, the portion of the shooting subdivision acting as a support, is sent forward either by sections, or all at once, the men taking the open order, or retaining the close order according to circumstances.

If the entire shooting subdivision be deployed at once, the remaining two subdivisions in column, or in line, act as a support, and in case of need, send forward successive sections to strengthen the line, until the entire company becomes absorbed. The difficulty of manœuvering skirmishers with a prescribed interval is so great, that it is not even attempted; the skirmishers on the contrary are encouraged, whenever practicable, to assemble in sections, or *swarms*, so as to avail themselves of every opportunity for cover, only however to relinquish it and again extend, on moving to the front. The greatest latitude is given to officers in command of supports, and to non-commissioned officers in charge of sections, in ordering men to and from cover.

The usual method of attack is by a series of *rushes* from cover to cover, until the enemy exhausts his ammunition, or becomes demoralized, when a final rush with a shout is supposed to gain the victory.

DEPLOYMENT OF A BATTALION.

When a battalion is to be deployed as skirmishers, it is broken into four company columns, as previously explained. The shooting subdivisions of the first and fourth companies are deployed as skirmishers, covering the front of the battalion. The remaining portions of the first and fourth companies, called *front body* or "*vortreffen*," are posted as supports to their shooting subdivisions. The second and third companies are held in reserve as a half-battalion column, or they may be posted with an interval of 80 or 100 yards between them. These companies constitute the *main body* or "*haupttreffen*." The distance from the skirmishers to the nearest supports is about 150 yards; from the supports to the "*vortreffen*," or the subdivisions of the first and fourth company columns, 100 yards; from the "*vortreffen*" to the "*haupttreffen*," 150 yards, making a total distance of 400 yards. These distances, however, are entirely dependent upon circumstances, and are usually regulated by the battalion or company commanders.

FORMATION OF THE BRIGADE.

The brigade consists of two regiments of three battalions each, and for battle is preferably formed in three lines; the three battalions of each regiment being one in rear of the other. The first battalion of each regiment is deployed as already explained. The second battalion is generally divided into two half battalion columns, with an interval between them of about 250 yards, and is posted at the same distance from the main body. The third battalion is formed in "column of attack," double column on the center, and is posted about 250 yards from the second line, opposite its center.

Another formation of the brigade is in two lines; in this case, the battalions of the first line are deployed as before, while those of the second line are either held in line, or in line of company columns.

The method of attack by means of the company column, when considered in its relations to the battalion and brigade, is as follows:

The shooting subdivisions of the first and fourth companies of the first battalion press forward from cover to cover, lying down when necessary, and by means of their fire drawing that of the enemy. Their fire is continually increased by sending additional sections to their support. If the enemy show signs of giving away, the supports move forward, give their fire, and then all make a rush.

If, however, the enemy resist, and continue a strong fire, the first and fourth companies will ordinarily become wholly engaged before approaching within 300 or 400 yards of the enemy. The second and third companies in the meantime will continue to approach, and when near the line, will deploy in close order, and join in the action, firing if necessary over the skirmishers, who lie down in front. The first battalion has now become entirely engaged. If sufficiently strong to continue the action, it gains ground by fits and starts until it arrives within 150 or 200 yards of the enemy, when the whole line breaks into loud cheers, and rushes forward with the bayonet. If the charge be repulsed, the second battalion, in half-battalion columns, sometimes in four-company columns, moves forward; the first line falls back, the officers making every effort to rally their men in the intervals or on the flanks of the second line; both lines then move forward so as to give the enemy as little time as possible to profit by his advantage. If the first line can not be rallied in the intervals of the second, it reforms in rear of the third.

If the first line, when wholly engaged, be not able to take the enemy's position, the second line is moved to its support, the com-

pany columns, if possible, being directed toward the flanks of the skirmish line, from which position they open a flank or an oblique fire.

In reinforcing the skirmish line, the German tactics prescribe that, when practicable, it shall be done by extending the flank; when this can not be done the reinforcement arrives from the rear, and mingles with the line. If, therefore, the company columns of the second line can not form on the flanks of the first line, they move forward, the skirmishers of the first line forming in the intervals; the two lines united then make a rush upon the enemy and open fire as soon as his position is carried. The first line, if repulsed before the second arrives at its support, forms in the intervals as before.

The combinations which may be made with the company columns are almost infinite, notwithstanding the German tactics favor but few movements, and those as simple as possible.

ADVANTAGES OF THE COMPANY COLUMN.

The advantages claimed for the company column are :

1st. That it enables a battalion commander to deploy in any direction.

2d. That in consequence of its small depth, it presents a smaller mark for the enemy's artillery than the battalion column, and can be more quickly deployed.

3d. That it adapts itself to the accidents of the ground, enabling it to find cover in slight depressions, and behind small obstacles.

4th. That it affords, by means of its sections, half subdivisions, and subdivisions, the best means for deploying and reinforcing skirmishers.

5th. That it enables the commander to keep his forces well in hand, by permitting him to engage the minimum number of men required in any given case.

It is also claimed that for all purposes of discipline and service in campaigns, the battalion of four strong companies is preferable to one made up of eight or ten weak ones; that the commander has but four subordinates to whom to communicate orders, hence, less danger of confusion; that with four companies, the battalion resolves itself readily into the natural division of one company as advance, two as the main body, and one as reserve, and that the German organization is by far the most economical in regard to the number of officers and non-commissioned officers.

We shall not stop to discuss directly the above advantages, which are few in comparison with all that are claimed for the company

column by its admirers, but shall allude to them in the course of objections which will be presented.

OBJECTIONS TO THE COMPANY COLUMN.

The first objection to the company column is: that it is based upon the three-rank formation. History shows that every important improvement in arms has been followed by a reduction in the number of ranks in all tactical formations. In the time of the Greeks, infantry was formed in sixteen ranks; in the time of the Romans, in twelve ranks; in the French army, in the time of Louvois, when armed with the pike, in six ranks; afterwards, when the bayonet was substituted for the pike, in four ranks.

The invention of the iron ramrod increased the fire of the Prussian infantry, and enabled Frederick the Great to reduce the formation to three ranks, which was the formation of the French army until Napoleon was compelled to use the double rank as an expedient for concealing his losses.

With late improvements in fire-arms, the French adopted the two-rank formation for their light infantry or chasseur regiments, and within the last few years have adopted it for the line of the army; the two-rank formation is also that of the English infantry, which used deployed lines so successfully in the Napoleonic wars.

The increased use of skirmishers in our war, and a knowledge of the effects of the breech-loader, in the hands of both infantry and cavalry, enabled us at the close of the war to reduce our formation, when necessary, to single rank, the normal formation for movements not under fire being still in two ranks. The single-rank formation is now being advocated in France.

It is admitted that the destructive power of the breech-loader has enabled the "fire tactics" to gain the victory over "shock tactics," or attacks in column; yet Germany, notwithstanding it has carried the use of fire tactics to the uttermost limit, still retains three ranks as the normal formation, which it abandons in the moment of battle.

The retention of the three-rank formation encumbers the German tactics with many tedious and complicated movements. If the battalion be in line, in open column, or column of attack, means must be prescribed for forming the company columns and the shooting subdivisions. In plying from line into close column, or column of attack, and in deploying again into line, the subdivisions march by the flank in the lock step; the tactics prescribe that "each subdivision keeps its own step, in order that the men may not tread upon

each other's feet, and stumble"; notwithstanding this precaution, the lock step, with raw troops, is not only very difficult but with the best of troops continually necessitates losing and regaining distances. On the other hand, with the double-rank formation, the column of fours, whether formed by facing as in the English and French services, or by wheeling by fours as in our service, enables infantry to march by the flank, and preserve its distances in nearly all conditions of ground.

The three-rank formation also necessitates inversions and the countermarch; these movements, which restrict the action of the commanding officer, have been wholly abandoned in our service, and are rapidly disappearing in other services.

The second objection to the company column is its deficiency in the number of officers. In all modern armies, in which the companies consist of 100 men, there are three officers to a company, or one officer to every thirty-three men. In the German company, whose maximum is 255, there are but five officers, or one to every fifty men. The ratio of one officer to every thirty-three men was established long before skirmishing became a means of offensive warfare, and was never found too great when fighting in close order, the men touching elbow to elbow. The new method of fighting requires a dispersion of the captain's command over a front frequently ten times as great as the front when in close order; in proportion to the dispersion, the difficulties of command necessarily increase; the men successively pass from the control of their captain to that of the lieutenants; from the control of the lieutenants to that of the chiefs of section, and frequently, in default of the presence of the chief of section, the men are encouraged, and often compelled, to act on their own responsibility.

The Germans fully recognize these difficulties, and as a partial remedy present to us, as one of the features of the company column, the anomaly of a captain mounted. When operating by itself, it will be admitted, that to be efficient, the commander of so large a body of men as the mammoth German company, should be mounted; but what is to become of him when his company is gradually disintegrated into a skirmish line, and every man is seeking cover? How long could a horse survive under the fire of swarms of skirmishers, at a distance of two or three hundred yards? This remedy, which may save the captain much fatigue and exhaustion on the march, and on the drill ground, must be abandoned in the hour of battle, and therefore fails to meet the case.

A strong reason for increasing rather than reducing the number of officers is found in the casualties of the Franco-Prussian war, the ratio of German officers killed and wounded to the men, being one to fifteen, whereas, the ratio of officers to the men in the company organization, as before stated, is but one to fifty. At the battle of Gravelotte one battalion lost all of its officers. These losses can easily be accounted for by the natural tendency of officers to expose themselves fearlessly, in order to encourage the men; beyond this, however, their exposure is required to induce men, when under cover, to abandon it and move forward.

The moral influence of officers over men being well understood, if we but consider that the extended order of fighting increases the difficulties of command, and at the same time is relatively more destructive of life to officers than fighting in close order, we cannot fail to pronounce any organization faulty, which, in diminishing the number of officers, diminishes in like proportion the brain and nerves of the army.

The organization of the company in Russia and Italy is nearly the same as in Germany. In England, France, and America, the strength of the company is one hundred. The strength of the Roman company was one hundred, hence it was called a century, and was commanded by a centurion. If the sanction of greater antiquity be required in favor of one hundred men as a unit, and of ten such companies as a battalion, we have only to ascend to the time of Moses, who, nearly fifteen hundred years before Christ, appointed among the children of Israel, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. It is this unit of one hundred, with its ratio of one officer to thirty-three men, that under the influence of the Prussian mania we are urged to abandon.

The third objection to the company column is the selection of men possessing the best mental and physical qualifications to constitute the shooting subdivision, since in proportion as this subdivision is strengthened by such selection, the remaining subdivisions must be weakened. The plan too has this disadvantage, that the best men are employed in the early stages of battle, whereas the general practice has always been to reserve the best troops for the decisive blow. Such was Napoleon's use of the "Old Guard," whose advance at the critical moment was the signal for supreme efforts along the whole line.

The division of troops into best and poorest, the equipment of troops for special and exclusive services, is rapidly disappearing in all

armies. Before the advent of the breech-loader, the rifled musket had well-nigh destroyed the superiority of the "corps d'élite" over troops of the line, showing that the subdivision of infantry into Grenadiers, Fusileers, Voltigeurs, and Chasseurs, was no longer necessary. The breech-loader has further elevated the qualities of troops to the same level. Under these circumstances, to set apart men in each company for special use as skirmishers is not only contrary to the tendency of the times, but must have an evil result by branding the greater part of each company as inferior men, thus injuring their pride, lessening their instruction, and diminishing their usefulness.

The objections to the company column already enumerated, might be made without reference to its special adaptation to the extended order of fighting. If now we consider the company column as a part of the battalion, we see that no sooner are the first and fourth company columns formed than they begin to unravel from the rear, by sending successive sections, or half subdivisions, to the front as skirmishers. In fact the column dissolves almost as quickly as it forms. We might therefore ask why it was formed at all.

If we consider the second and third company columns in relation to their method of supporting the other two, we find that the latest regulations forbid supports to move by the flank when advancing under fire. This shows that the Germans, when under fire, consider it dangerous to execute any movement, even the simple one of front into line. The regulations also direct that the supports, when possible, shall form in single rank, and lie down. We see therefore that the remaining two companies are no sooner formed in company column, than they are required to deploy into line, and take a new formation in single rank, which can only be accomplished by the movement of facing and marching by the flank. Wherein then is the great advantage for the company column, when by the simple advance in line, in column of fours, or by the flank of subdivisions, troops can be placed in any position in single or double rank?

The difficulties and dangers attending the German method of skirmishing surge up in appalling numbers. Boguslawski states that at Worth "we saw supports in which almost every regiment in the 11th and 5th corps was represented." With troops thus intermingled in the skirmish line, who is to command, and who will obey? A soldier may yield momentarily a reluctant obedience to a strange officer, but out of his sight how long will obedience continue? To whom are orders to be sent? Where will the battalion commanders be found? In what swarms will the captains be sought, and into what com-

mands may they not have strayed? What disasters may not result from an injudicious "*rush*," led by an enthusiastic sergeant, repulsed by the enemy, and followed by a general advance of his line? How, where, and upon whom, shall skirmishers rally, and what power can arrest them in retreat when once demoralized?

Imagine night falling upon a victorious army, with its units dispersed and intermingled, how long will it take to reform, and what strategical movements can be made to profit by the victory? Imagine also a defeated army broken up into swarms of demoralized men; all command lost; no companies, battalions, or brigades left; artillery, infantry, and cavalry, wagon trains, horses, and men, one inextricable mass of confusion. When can such an army be reorganized? To all this confusion, whether of victory or defeat, the company column has ministered.

So inevitable is the intermingling of units by the German system, and the disorder resulting from it, that Boguslawski, an infantry officer, and one of the advanced thinkers of the German army, urges "that at drill, corps should be frequently and purposely mixed together in the line of skirmishers when practicing battle movements against an imaginary enemy;" this is with a view to accustom men to obey strange officers, and to reduce disorder to its lowest limit.

The German method of defense will be best understood by a quotation from their drill book.

The defense will be commenced by the shooting subdivisions pushed forward in front of the position, whilst the battalion remains as long and as much concealed as possible behind it. If the shooters can no longer resist in free open country, they move back, if possible toward the flanks of the battalion, which advances, if practicable, to the attack. If it has deployed in line it can go toward the enemy, give a volley at about one hundred yards from them, and then without reloading attack with the bayonet, and endeavor to surround the attacking columns of the enemy." The tactics further state that "the conviction must be aroused and fostered in the infantry that it is unassailable in front, and has only something to apprehend when it turns its back."

This method of defense, in connection with their system of attack, shows that the Germans but slightly appreciate the value of field entrenchments, which played so conspicuous a part on all the battle fields of our civil war. No sooner was either of our armies in position, than continuous lines of rifle-pits, often miles in length, were constructed, each regiment and brigade entrenching its own front.

So skillful were our troops in this labor, that in the woods complete protection could often be secured in fifteen or twenty minutes, while

in the open field but little more time was required. The works were generally strengthened by abattis, and were frequently surmounted by head-logs, underneath which were horizontal loop-holes. Against troops in such positions assaults by overwhelming numbers rarely succeeded ; to have attacked them by successive rushes of skirmishers, would have been like throwing feathers against the wind. The three days' battle at Gettysburgh, and the eight days' battle in the Wilderness, and at Spottsylvania Court House, attest the power of entrenchments to prolong the defense. The German tactics, however, if followed, would stake all on a forward movement, which at any moment might be repulsed and converted into a rout.

The assumed unassailability of infantry in front, exposes the Germans to another serious danger, clearly stated in 1866, by the author of the "*Tactische Buckbliche*," who pointed out the tendency in the Prussian infantry to weaken their center, by flowing around the flanks of an object which offers resistance ; an improvised manœuver which may succeed against very inferior or ill-armed troops, but not against such as are equal, and sufficiently awake to their opportunities." He also states that "the attack of the first line resembles very much the charge of hordes of irregular cavalry, while the second line hurries up and becomes confused with the first ; each chief communicates his impulse to what he finds under his hand ; the reserve follows, the original order of battle is broken, and nothing can then insure that each company fights in connection with its own skirmishers, or that the companies of the same battalion, or battalions of the same regiment, can remain united."

Had the author referred to, written the above at the close of the Franco-Prussian war, he could not have given a more true or graphic description of its battles. The Germans were matched against troops inferior in discipline, vastly outnumbered them, always attacked in front, and rarely gained the victory until they had enveloped one or both flanks. Wissemburg, Worth, Gravelotte, and Sedan, were all battles gained by superior numbers, and by grand turning movements. The French, demoralized by the first reverses, always maintained a passive defense, and only gave ground when their flanks were turned. The German system was not therefore put to a crucial test. Had they been matched against disciplined troops like those of England, or of Russia, how many times might not their center have been pierced,*the movement converted by the enemy into flank attacks from the center, and their armies have been driven in confusion and disorder from the field?

It is a mistake to suppose that the Germans alone used skirmishers extensively in the late war; the French used them almost as extensively as the Germans. Boguslawski says that "at Worth, Mar la Tour, and Gravelotte, there was a surging backwards and forwards of swarms of skirmishers on both sides, such as probably the world never saw before on a battle field;" he also admits that the forward rush and disorderly retreat, repeated themselves frequently, and furnished a decisive proof that something was wanting in their system of training to produce greater steadiness in battle.

The relative merits of the company column as a formation for skirmishing, can only be judged by an examination of the systems adopted by other nations. In the English infantry, the battalion consists of eight companies. The battalion being in line, each wing is ployed into close column of companies, in rear of its right company, thus forming two half-battalion columns; the leading company of each column is then deployed as skirmishers, so as to cover one-half of the front of the battalion; the second company follows the first as a support, at a distance of 200 to 300 yards, while the two remaining companies, either in column or in line, are posted as a second support 300 to 400 yards further to the rear. By this arrangement narrowness of front, depth of formation, facility for reinforcing the skirmishers by large or small detachments, and adaptation to the topography of the ground, are secured the same as in the German system. Its imitation of the German system consists in the formation of the two half-battalion columns previous to the deployment as skirmishers, which, since the companies can be sent from line directly to the positions they are to occupy in the extended order, not only appears unnecessary, but also involves a useless waste of time. It may also be doubted if the half-battalion system possesses any particular merit, even when the battalions have the maximum of eight hundred men, since in that case the front usually occupied by the skirmishers is but 275 yards, thus making it practicable, if not desirable, for one officer, the battalion commander, to control the four companies serving as the main body; with battalions reduced to three or four hundred men, the division into half battalions would manifestly be unnecessary. Under the German system, with officers highly trained, a battalion commander is often a powerless spectator of the disintegration and precipitate rush of his command into battle. In the English system, which must be applicable to volunteers and regulars, the freedom of action accorded to subordinate officers is wisely restricted.

The American system provides two methods of deployment:

The first is for a battalion by itself, or when considered as a part of the advance guard of an army. By this method two or more companies may be entirely deployed as skirmishers, the remaining companies being posted in line with intervals to act as reserve. The reserves may be posted in two lines, the front line being deployed as skirmishers to support the advanced skirmishers; the companies of the second line, being in line with intervals, as before explained. Were this method to be employed with many battalions, side by side, each battalion being supported by a battalion in its rear, a prolonged contest would involve an intermingling of units as objectionable as that of the German method, but being employed by a few battalions only, when necessary to cover an extended front while the army is moving into position, it becomes a safe movement, and in every respect is as advantageous as any system employed in Europe.

The second method assumes that the army has moved into position, and is in one or two lines of battle, with masses in reserve still in the rear. The method is called the "deployment by numbers," and consists in ordering Nos. 1, 2, or 3, as skirmishers: at which the number designated in the front rank of each four moves straight to the front, forming instantly a skirmish line twice as strong as that obtained by placing the German files at six yards apart; the skirmish line is accompanied by a lieutenant and sergeant from each alternate company. If this line be not strong enough, Nos. 2 and 3 can be successively, or simultaneously, ordered to the front, being accompanied by officers and non-commissioned officers as before. If two or more lines be ordered to the front, a field-officer takes command.

This method enables one to employ only the men necessary in any given case; the skirmishers know that in moving forward they have the battalion to witness their exploits, to support them if successful, and to receive them if forced to retire. Mutual relations are thus established between the skirmishers and their supports, the colors always serving as a rallying point in case of disaster. If we suppose three or four lines to have been ordered to the front, the battalion with the colors still finds itself in line, in single rank, the unit of four unbroken, and the battalion therefore free to execute any manœuvre the same as before the deployment. Being thus in single rank by a natural operation, the battalion finds itself in the very formation which the latest German writers urge for their supports. If we consider the skirmish line doubled or trebled by the operation described, and a forward movement be necessary, the lieutenant-colonel or major can order the whole line forward, or if that be too hazardous, a particular

number is designated, at which all the men, officers, and non-commissioned officers who deployed by this number move forward. The same applies to movements by the flank and to the rear. This control of skirmishers, when composed of different commands, has before been shown to be impracticable.

For the deployment by numbers, the battalion, with its three field-officers and adjutant, possesses unusual advantages ; the colonel never loses command of his battalion ; the skirmishers always have a nucleus upon which to rally ; if a casualty occurs among the field-officers, two still remain to receive and execute orders.

The above brief examination of the English and American systems, in connection with the use of swarms of skirmishers in our late war, as well as by the French in the Franco-Prussian war, shows that the employment of skirmishers is in nowise dependent upon large companies and the company column ; prudence would therefore suggest that we pause in our admiration of a system which has been insufficiently tried, and refuse, till further developments take place, to abandon a company organization, which, notwithstanding all changes in arms, has met every requirement for more than thirty centuries.

MODERN WRITERS ON GREECE.

AND HER ANTIQUE REMAINS.

"Our ancestors were inspired not only with the desire of wealth, but with the love of glory; and therefore have left us immortal possessions, in the memory of illustrious deeds, and the beauty of the works consecrated to them,—such as the Propylæa, the Parthenon, the Stoæ," etc.—DEMOSTHENES.

"Structures the bloom of which never fades."—PLUTARCH.

WE may not wonder why cultivated minds should be attracted to inquiries concerning contemporary Greece. They feel an interest in studying even the mere physical features of a country which once produced so wonderful an efflorescence of human genius. Then, Greece still preserves upon her soil, through the lapse of more than one-third of all the world's ages, some most precious relics of that ancient art in which, as in her literature, she achieved a pre-eminence that has made Athens especially, as one of her gifted sons in ancient days expressed it, "the teacher of the nations and the ages." At this immense distance of time, from the period in which the hand of the architect and of the sculptor gave them being, we can gaze upon glorious productions, which, grand and noble, even in their dilapidated and fragmentary condition, confirm to us our ideal of what they once were.

Nor can it be a question of mean interest, how far the people now inhabiting that soil, and the language which they speak, perpetuate to us the Hellenic race and the Hellenic tongue of the days of Pericles and Demosthenes. And if the researches of travelers and scholars can discover, in the manners and customs of the Greeks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, marked illustrations of the Hellenic life and character in ages even so remote as that of Homer, then the Greece of our day acquires a yet higher interest in our eyes.

Until little more than a hundred years ago, Greece, with all the

antiquarian interest that attaches to it in the eyes of cultivated men, had been very sparsely visited. The dreary shadows of barbarian despotism seemed, for the three centuries preceding, as with a thick cloud, to hide that once illustrious region of the earth from the eyes of the civilized world. The bigoted and unfriendly feelings of its Turkish masters,—possessed, as these had been, of the consciousness of defiant strength, and from time to time in actual conflict with Christian powers, almost shut out the intrusion of “infidels;” while the discomforts, and the real or supposed dangers of travel were discouraging.

But, now and then, especially after a reviving interest in Greek literature had given impulse to such endeavor, a man more eager, or more bold, than his contemporaries, performed what was like venturing with one’s torch into a cavern dark and unexplored.

TRAVELERS AND WRITERS OF THE FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

First, in the number of all the modern explorers of Greece, there comes before us a man whose name indicates him as of Greek extraction. This was Cyriacus of Ancona, who, according to the best authorities, traveled in Greece, “to collect inscriptions” and make antiquarian researches, about A. D. 1437, though it is an instance of the discrepancies of chronology among different writers, that the date is sometimes put as far forward as 1490. Leake places back more than twenty years before the subjugation of Greece by the Turks, while Brunet places him only some thirty years after the Turkish Conquest, and more than a century before any traveler in Greece of whom we have positive knowledge. He seems for a long time to have been the almost sole reliance for information, as to the condition of that country. Brunet, who gives the name as Cyriacus Pizziculus, but also designates him as “Anconitanus,” (in connection with the title of a posthumous production,) and “d’Ancone,” mentions a work of his, “not completed or published,” in connection with the date 1645, (perhaps then first brought to light or first printed,) as well as two, of later publication, containing results of his observations, under the titles, “*Itinerarium, nunc primum in lucem*,” etc., “*nonnullisque epistolis*” Laur. Mehus (Edr.) Flor. 1742, and “*Commentariorum (Cyr. Ancni.) nova fragmenta, notis*,” etc. “*ab Annibale de Abbatibus Olivero; Pisauri 1763;*” beside a folio edition, published at Rome 1742, of what seems to have been the primary work compiled by him

self, or by somebody else, from his researches, "*Inscriptiones, seu epigrammata Græca et Latinica, per Illyricum reperta,*" etc.

The next name that appears, among the explorers, in that dark period, is involved in some obscurity. As early as the middle of the 17th century, Dr. Spon saw, at Rome, a vellum MS., found in the Barberini library, and bearing the name of "Juliano Giambetti di San Gallo, architect," as its author. It gave descriptions of some of the antique structures and inscriptions of Athens, with "restorations * of Athenian edifices." It is said, however, that most of Giambetti's material is drawn from what Cyriacus had produced. We have seen no account of its publication.

To the Tübingen professor, Kraus, (Krusius,) however, the learned world of Western Europe became indebted, before the close of the 16th century, for more important light, on the state of Greece and her monuments, than it had before received, though this was not full or clear. Kraus did not himself travel there; but he availed himself of opportunities, such as he could command, especially by correspondence with some of the more intelligent Greeks of Constantinople, to gain information. Prominent among his correspondents were Theodore Zygomalas and Symeon Kavasilas. How profound the darkness was which, up to that day, hid Greece from the eyes of the world abroad, appears from the inquiry addressed by the learned professor to the former of these two, whether Athens was yet in existence; the fact being stated by him that the contemporary German writers represented the site of the ancient city as a spot no longer occupied, except, (absurdly enough, as it is five miles from the sea,) by fishermen's huts! His Constantinopolitan friend, being a native of Nauplia, corrects this error, telling him of a city still standing there, much as Wheler afterwards found and described it, though Col. Leake supposes that he over-estimated, by fully one-third, the existing population of the place, in making it twelve thousand. Both he and Kavasilas, though they seem to have been men of some education, yet fall into strange and gross mistakes in describing ancient monuments found there, such as making the Parthenon the Temple of the "Unknown God," etc., etc.; which mistakes, as we shall presently see, were afterwards repeated, by some of the earlier visitors of Athens from Western Europe, who picked up these traditional absurdities from ignorant residents.

* The term commonly applied to drawings or pictorial representations of ancient buildings, as supposed to have appeared, in their original state.

The name of Krusius stands, chronologically, far above that of almost any of the modern explorers of Greece; though his work dates nearly 120 years after the Turkish Conquest. Yet a whole century intervenes, before we reach the names of Babin,* La Guilletière, and Spon. The first of these was a Jesuit missionary, resident at Athens; some of the order having established themselves there in 1645; and a monastery of Capuchins in 1658. The most valuable result of these efforts of the Roman Church was the light afforded by the propagandists just spoken of as to the condition of Athens at that day. It was from Père Babin that the learned physician and antiquary of Lyons, Dr. Spon, derived, by correspondence, the information contained in his work published at Lyons in 1674; and it is not improbable that he edited the one which bibliographical accounts ascribe to Babin himself, of a slightly prior date.

But the long interval above referred to is broken by a venerable name,—venerable for the comparative remoteness of the period in which it appears, and as being, in point of time, the first in the list of English travelers in Greece. It is that of "Geo. Sandys, Esq.," who, having visited Greece as early as 1610, made his first publication in 1615. The title of a subsequent one, a folio edition of which appeared as late as nearly sixty years after, is quite amazing, especially for those times, as to the extent of travel which it sets forth: "Travels; containing a history of the Turkish Empire; a description of Constantinople; also of Greece, of Egypt, of Armenia, of Cairo, etc., also of the Holy Land; lastly Italy described. London, Wm. Junior, 1673." This huge undertaking seems to have been well performed, for Brunet speaks of this last as the seventh edition of a work "interessant, bien écrit, et fort exact;" and English writers mention it with respect.

Next is the name of another respectable Englishman, Mr. Ray, who traveled in Greece before the end of the seventeenth century, and the latter of whose publications went to a second edition.

The work of Marco Vincenzo Coronelli, entitled "Historical and geographical account of the Morea, Negropont, etc., as far as Thessalonica," with forty-one maps and illustrations, was a contribution, of some value, to the existing knowledge of those regions. The London edition of 1688 was a translation from the Italian.

But, quoting the words of an able writer, no work of former ages

* This is Col. Leake's orthography of the name. It sometimes appears as Rabin.

commands more of our respect than that of George Wheler, Esq.,—the learned and good “old Wheler,” (using Prof. Felton’s familiar appellation;) who visited Greece, in company with Dr. Spon, in the year 1675. Douglas, one of the best judges, speaks of it as containing “perhaps the best information concerning Greece, existing,” in his time, “in the English language;” and Prof. Felton as “one of the most quaint and entertaining accounts of Greece contained in our language.” With their literary and antiquarian culture and scientific knowledge, particularly in the line of natural history, Wheler and his companion, whom he commonly styles “Monsieur Spon,” admirably combined the valuable qualities of explorers.

Wheler and Spon, with the few travelers who preceded them, enjoyed, as a rich reward of their pains, the singular felicity, which alas! no visitor of that classic land has ever since shared,—that of seeing the noblest architectural structures of the ancient city still standing, almost in full preservation. Beside the persons already named, Deshayes and the Marquis de Nointel, French ambassadors to the Porte, had seen them, in passing, the one in 1621, the other in 1674; and the Marquis of Winchelsea, British ambassador, in 1675.

It is one of the wonders of those famous buildings that, with all that they display of exquisite art, and probably once displayed of delicate tints of painting,* they were at the same time, so solidly reared upon their grand marble platforms,—immense blocks, to this day, capping some parts of the colonnades,—that for two thousand years from the time of their erection, (nearly 500 years before Christ,) they withstood, with little dilapidation, the effects of time, war, and even slight earthquakes, which have, at times, occurred. The temple of Theseus, erected B. C. 480, stands, in the edge of the modern city, even yet, after a slight restoration of the roof, perfectly preserved. That grand architectural chef-d’œuvre of the world’s ages, the Parthenon, as well as the exquisite little Temple of Wingless Victory, erected after the battle of Marathon, stood almost unimpaired till nearly the last decade of the 17th century; Stuart speaks of Wheler as having “found the Parthenon entire”; and a large part of the Propylæum was standing at that time. The siege of the Acropolis by Morosini, in 1687, performed a sad work for the world of literature and taste. The miniature temple of *Νίκη ἄπτερος*, a little gem of architecture, in a great measure perished, either by the Venetian artillery, or by the hands of the besieged Turks, in their construction

* The ceiling of the Propylæum, (the splendid entrance and “frontispiece” of the Acropolis,) is described by Pausanias as beautifully painted; and some portions of the pediments and friezes of the Parthenon are supposed yet to show slight tints of artificial coloring.

of additional fortifications. Most of the remains of it have been exhumed from the débris of ages, and a partial reconstruction accomplished, since the Greek Revolution. Lord Elgin, early in this century, transported to the British Museum, a part of the frieze, which had been taken and built by the Turks into the Acropolis walls. The eastern side of the Propylæum had been, according to the received accounts, in a great measure destroyed by the explosion of a Turkish powder magazine, as early as 1636; but the western portion of it was in good preservation till the visit of Spon and Wheler to Athens, in 1676. The drawings of the Venetian engineer, Verneda, seem to show that it survived the siege; and they preserve it to us as it then stood. But there can be little doubt that the Propylæum was much injured during the great siege: since the Venetians directed a great deal of their fire against the western end of the Acropolis, by which it is most accessible, and where this grand front was built. Till the period just referred to, the Parthenon stood, in its imperial grandeur and strength, defying even the tremendous missiles of modern warfare, projected by gunpowder; for cannon-shot and bombs generally but scathed its columns, as shown by the fact that for years after the war of 1821-8, one might pick up fragments of shells beneath its standing colonnades. Hence, Dodwell remarked of its preservation as "truly astonishing;" and it was only a force equal, so far as it extended, to that of an earthquake, that could knock down any part of the proud fabric. In the great siege of 1687, the Turks had a powder magazine under the Parthenon floor, about midway between the ends of the building. Some accounts say that the Venetian engineers were advised of this. Be this as it may, one of the bombs directed by them against the old citadel, so fell and exploded that the magazine was ignited, and the central part of the noble edifice was turned into a pile of blocks and fragments. But it shows the wondrous skill and strength of its architecture that the explosion of a magazine of gunpowder brought down only the middle portions of the cella, roof and columns, and left a considerable part of the building, including the two fronts, still standing. The Archæological Society of Greece has done something toward rearing a few of the fallen columns. It is the fact that Spon and Wheler, and the few other travelers who antedated the Venetian siege and capture of the Acropolis, saw and have described to us the matchless monuments of antiquity that stood within it, as they were before this work of ruin took place, that gives peculiar interest to their productions. But it was the good fortune alike of Carrey himself and of the intelligent world

that this French artist was employed at Athens, by the French ambassador, to make the drawings which he executed, only some three or four years before the date of these misfortunes; and which being preserved at Paris, have transmitted to us the pictorial images of these structures as they were then found. Carrey was a young and somewhat rude artist, and fell into some inaccuracies; but his draughts, in red chalk and black lead, are nevertheless of great interest, as made at that period. The originals were deposited in the National Library of Paris: and there are fac-similes of them in the British Museum.

WORKS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Stuart came nearly a century later. But with Revett who accompanied him, he produced a most valuable work, giving to after ages, in visible representations, by his own skill as a painter, and Revett's as an architect, the condition of those relics of antique art, as they were found a century ago;—a contribution for which the world is in indebted mainly to the "Dilettanti," who sent the explorers forth.

Stuart and Revett actually spent the greater part of five years (1750–5,) in and about Athens. But they were twice forced to retire from the place by public disturbances; and a still more remarkable and quite romantic episode of their labors took place in the case of Stuart. He got into a personal "rencontre" with Logothetes, a Greek who was acting as British Consular Agent, and who is represented as a "rapacious fellow"; which circumstance rendered Stuart's stay so disagreeable that he left Athens. Being tempted, unfortunately, by the setting off of a company of Turks to travel, by land, to Constantinople, he joined them. But, growing suspicious, on the way, from some ill-boding signs, that they were meditating the taking of his life, he made his escape, and after various wanderings and adventures, in a region so foreign and difficult to him, found his way to the abode of the British Consul at Salonica. A well written account of this most out-of-the-way passage of Stuart's life would form a narrative of exciting interest.

It was nearly ten years after, (in 1764,) that Richard Chandler performed his mission to Greece; and the united work of himself and his associates appeared in two splendid folios. His previous studies, as evinced in various prior publications on Greek archæology and literature, fitted him for such a mission; and his publication on "Ionian Antiquities," spoken of by Brunet as a "magnificent work," as well as his "Travels," gained for him a high reputation, as shown by the translation and republication of the latter, (if not of the former

also,) by Bocage. Chandler was accompanied in his expedition by Revett, as also by Pas, "an elegant draftsman"; the admirable combination of their labors being made under the auspices of the above society of private individuals, which Col. Leake claims has accomplished more, in the line of its efforts, "than any government in Europe." Dr. C.'s work on the "Inscriptions" must be a valuable one, in its department. He was not, however, always so accurate as Leake and some others. The next, in order of chronology, of the English travelers and writers that have contributed to the Græco-archæological knowledge of modern times, is Dr. E. D. Clarke. In his later life he became distinguished in the line of natural science,—being appointed professor of Mineralogy,—the first appointment ever made to that chair in the University of Cambridge, in 1809. But he had acquired a previous reputation as a traveler and antiquarian. In the year 1799, he began a tour, through Europe, Northern Asia, and the countries of the Levant; the results of which were produced, in dimensions that would be formidable in these days, being 6 volumes 4to. An American edition of the work, (perhaps somewhat reduced,) appeared in several 12mo volumes. The original work contained a number of valuable charts, diagrams, etc., illustrating Greek archæology. But Dr. Clarke came back enriched with antiquarian treasures; for he brought with him nearly 100 valuable antique MSS., one of them a copy of the works of Plato, which is now found in the Bodleian library. He brought, too, quite a collection of relics of antique Grecian art; among them a colossal statue of Ceres, found at Eleusis, which now adorns one of the Cambridge vestibules. For these valuable contributions to her archæological treasures, the University rewarded him with his degree of LL.D. The name of Edward Dodwell deserves a brief mention, as that of a man whose learning and antiquarian tastes enabled him in his two elegant works,—the last, with its valuable picture illustrations, published posthumously,—to contribute to the knowledge already brought out by travelers and scholars, of Greece and her monuments. His productions, aside from this, are interesting, by reason of his extensive travel in Greece, his descriptions of life in Athens at that period, and the accounts he gives of the introduction of tobacco and coffee, some two centuries before, among the Turks, etc.

WORKS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

But no individual has ever gathered such a harvest, from the precious relics of ancient Grecian art, or become so notorious by reason

of his achievements in that line, as Thos. Bruce, Earl of Elgin. Being appointed, in 1799,* British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, he embraced the opportunity which this position afforded of enriching England and the British Museum with the most valuable archæological collection ever made, in the way of originals as well as copies, of the relics of ancient sculptural art still extant at Athens, then, with the rest of Greece, under the Ottoman dominion. For his purposes he employed seven eminent artists of Rome and Italy; one of them a general painter, one a "figure painter," two "formatori" (or cast-makers,) and two architects. Gaining, with some difficulty, leave from the Turkish government, he carried on, at Athens, for three years, an invaluable work of antiquarian inspection, and, in a certain sense, of conservation; making most full and accurate measurements, in detail, of all the interesting architectural relics of Athens, and castings, or copies in drawing, of all the finer sculptural decorations of the grand buildings that have been mentioned. Beside these numerous models, he finally brought home a large collection of pieces of the antique sculpture itself,—many of them, no doubt, fragmentary or detached. If his work of gathering had gone no farther than this, Lord Elgin and his friends might very well, in the vindication which public feeling and the criticism of his action in the case evoked from them, have used the pleas which they urged,—that the Turkish government exercised no care whatever over these precious remains of the past; that their religious prejudices even caused the Mussulman masters of the country to condemn all such works of art;—and that the process of destruction, at their hands, was, all the time, either actually going on or liable to be. As an illustration and proof, he could cite cases, such as the demolition and removal of the Temple of the Wingless Victory for purposes of fortification, and the pounding up, at times, of fine statuary, by the Turks, to use it in making mortar for building. He might perhaps have added that there was something of this risk at the hands of the Greeks themselves,—at least the poorer and more ignorant; for with all the true and wonderful reverence which the Greeks cherish for things ancestral, the writer of this has known of such appropriations even on their part, of fragments of the walls and columns of ancient structures, in rebuilding at "New Sparta," and elsewhere;—and Col. Leake refers to facts of the same sort, observed

* Some writer, (perhaps by mistake of date,) speaks of Lord E. as being "in Greece in 1797." The modern city, as then existing, is represented as having a population of 6 or 8,000, with more of culture and refinement than was found in most parts of Greece. The present city has realized the fable of the phoenix, and has over 30,000 inhabitants.

by him;—the temptation being strong where building material is so scarce;—the example of their glorious ancestors themselves, too, being before their eyes, for every one that goes to Athens can see, where, according to the testimony of Thucydides himself, the great Themistocles, (under the plea of the urgent need of haste in rearing the defences again,) actually built into the Acropolis walls some broken columns of the most august temples which had crowned it before, and which had been destroyed by Xerxes.

But the same extenuation could not be offered for the despoiling of the Parthenon in 1801, of its grandest remaining sculptural decorations, by the taking down and transportation to the British Museum of nearly all that remained of the statuary that once formed so unique and splendid an adornment of its pediments.* The hand of Phidias had done the crowning work toward the embellishment of the great edifice, in placing those groups of mythological figures above the lofty columns, and where the pediment cornices formed a noble frame to what might be called a grand picture in statuary. Most of these sculptures had been, in their elevated position, pretty well preserved, down to the time we are now speaking of. But the Greeks of our day, as well as men of culture who, from other parts of the world visit Greece, as they gaze on the still standing fronts of this grandest representative of ancient architectural art, can not but feel, as they see them so mutilated, that it was a cruel spoliation. Mr. Dodwell, who was present when the “dilapidation” took place, laments that “the person” who directed it was not present, to prevent so much of defacement and injury as took place; in delicate but strong terms expressing his own sorrow, and that of the Greeks, on the occasion. Byron found an opportunity of venting his spleen against the Scottish people, for what he had received at the hands of the Edinburgh Reviewers, by the scathing which he has given the Scotch earl for the deed just spoken of. Lord E. and his friends, as already intimated, vindicated the act in numerous publications. Whether the world thinks that the British government ought to restore the statuary or not, it still stands in the British Museum. The statements which we have just been making form an interesting part of the history of modern archæological research in Greece, while the publications in regard to the question about the removal of the marbles, and in description of the sculptures them-

* The Venetians, in the evacuation of 1688, wishing for a grand trophy, detached and attempted to lower, from the western pediment, the splendid statuary of the Car of Victory, and its horses, large as life. The whole of this group was, by bad management, thrown to the ground and dashed into atoms. Lord Elgin gathered up a few of the fragments.

selves, form a proper part of the general literature (concerning Greece,) of which we are now making an exposé.

The publications of Sibthorpe and Hawkins, and those of Earl Aberdeen and Col. Leake, in "Walpole's Memoirs,"* must be regarded as well worthy of attention, on the part of scholars; and Col. Stanhope has made a contribution of some value, in the line of specific antiquarian exposition, in his essay on the topography of Plataea, etc. Mr. Finlay has followed in the same line, by his publications on Marathon and other localities. So have various French and German writers, some of whose names appear on our list,† and among whom Forchhammer made valuable topographical researches at Athens. Sir William Gell's works gained a considerable reputation; and are to be ranked among the English works on Modern Greece that command the attention of those who desire a knowledge of the general condition of Greece, and that of her existing antique monuments, at the period just preceding the Revolution of 1821-8. He and Mr. Dodwell met, in Greece, as mentioned by the latter, on at least one occasion.

A small and rare work, which we have fallen in with, is one that we have read with quite a degree of interest. This is the essay of "The Hon." Fred. S. N. Douglas on the "resemblances" traceable between the ancient Greeks and those of modern times. Though written so long ago as early in this century, this little volume has lost none of its attraction; for the subject is none the less interesting than it was then; and the traveler in Greece may, at this day, find himself gratified in confirming the observations of this very sensible writer whose production now referred to, proves him to have been, in his classical acquirements, well fitted for the discussion which he undertakes.‡ But, not having use for them in our present article, we omit any statement of the opinions of one so candid and able, and the interesting facts produced by him, in corroboration of his views.

The French writer, Quinet, enters the same important field of discussion; and Henzey, in his work on Acarnania, produces some facts, which, while they are of interest in themselves to classical scholars, bear upon this question of likeness; which question, we may here remark, is capable of far more full investigation and discussion than it

* This compilation on Turkey, (then including Greece,) was by the Rev. Mr. Walpole, and is to be distinguished from the well-known publication, from a different hand, bearing the above title.

† See Appendix.

‡ We have met with only a single copy of this Essay,—we believe in the Congressional library, at Washington.

has heretofore received, at the hands of Occidental literati. We ought to add that our own Prof. Felton has given the literary world the decided and interesting results of his personal observations of the facts bearing on the question. We can not now state them; though we should be glad of a future opportunity of presenting them, along with some extracts from the valuable little work of Douglas.

Sir Jas. Emerson Tennent, in his *History of "Modern Greece,"*—which he seems to run, in its chronology, so far back as the Roman Conquest,—touches on some points of this discussion. He affords, in this work, an illustration of the manner in which certain writers construct theories, and then look through these, as their glasses, at the facts of a case. He first takes for granted that the Hellenic race is variously and greatly intermingled with foreign races; and then he discovers in modern Greece quite a variety of imaginary dialects!

We have already, more than once, referred to Col. Leake. The literary world is indebted to no man more than to this noble Englishman, for the fruits of accurate, candid, and scholarly observation on the Greece of modern times, in respect both to its actual contemporaneous condition and its relations to the Greece of antiquity. The Greek people too owe him their gratitude, for the kind interest which he manifested in them, during their struggle for freedom and subsequently. A great part of his early military life was spent in British government service in missions to Asia Minor, which produced the publication of his "Tour" in that country. Leaving the service, in 1823, with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, he devoted himself more fully to the work which he had already begun, of archæological exploration in Greece. His military studies gave him some scientific qualifications for this work, which show their fruits in the admirable charts and diagrams that add so greatly to the value of his publications. His study of ancient authorities,—especially of Pausanias, whom he endeavors so closely to follow up in his (Col. L.'s) "*Topography of Athens*," "*Demi of Attica*," etc., gave him still higher qualifications for the thorough and important work which he performed. And, though more recent research has, in certain particulars, gone somewhat beyond Col. L., and may have brought about changes in regard to some of the conclusions to which he and others were led by his investigations, yet his productions occupy one of the most prominent places among the standard works written in elucidation of the topographical and architectural archæology of that most classic part of the world. He was a zealous champion of Grecian independence, while the struggle for it was going on, and at a time when the prevalent sentiment in

England, through scepticism about the Greeks themselves, and still more through political considerations operating on the British mind, was at least cold toward it. As he died so late as 1860, numbering 83 years of his age, he lived to see his hopes for that country and people largely and happily fulfilled, in beholding Greece not only free but fully entered on a most promising career of advancement. Besides the work mentioned on our list, Col. L.'s pen gave the public some notices of the "Elgin marbles" in the British Museum. Stanley (hereafter to be mentioned,) pays the honor to Col. Leake's "first edition" (of the "Antiquities,") as introducing an "epoch in the topical knowledge of Athens," and of his "second edition" as constituting yet a new and advanced epoch.

The researches of this distinguished amateur were begun some years before the Greek war of independence, though continued subsequently. But the labors of another Englishman were carried on amid its very throes, and with brilliant success. This was H. W. Williams, Esq., who, after a book of travels in Italy and Greece, previously published, produced, in the years 1825-6, in some six parts, which appeared separately, his work, "Views," etc., giving descriptions and pictorial representations of the ancient monuments and noted spots of Greece; which, despite the fact that it had been preceded by such works, in the same line as those of Stuart and Revett, Dodwell and others, in England, beside the French works which we are yet to name,—nevertheless won for itself a great degree of popularity,—a popularity heightened, it may be, by the public interest in the great struggle then going on, and at the same time, in the opinion of a contemporary critic, augmenting that interest itself, by bringing before the public eye the wondrous memorials of what Greece once was. The "Views" are spoken of, by a contemporary, as being, "to a man of knowledge and taste, volumes of delightful entertainment," and "very splendid displays of art." They would certainly be an ornament to any library; though the pictorial illustrations would hardly now rank so high as they did at the time they were produced. The fine view of the "Parthenon restored," by Cockerell, in Williams' work or the sequel to Stuart's, seems to have been much copied since. A splendid conjectural one of ancient Athens is found also in one of these works.

The more recent works of Penrose and Pennethorne, on the antiquities of Athens, have been highly spoken of by competent critics. The former is taken up with the Parthenon; and brings out, as Hofer and Schubart have also contributed to do, the peculiar and refined

principles of architecture, in the use of slight curves, which the more recent scientific explorers have discovered in the exterior construction of that wonderful edifice. It is a splendid folio, the result of Mr. Penrose's visit to Athens in 1845, and a second visit, for the "Dilettanti"; the work being published in 1851, and pronounced to be one of the most elaborate and valuable contributions ever made to the illustrations of Greek archæology.

The compilation of that accomplished scholar, Dr. Wordsworth, forms a popular and handsome illustrative volume, which adorns many a parlor table. Its pictorial illustrations are not always very accurate; but the book has quite enough of attraction and literary merit to keep up the classic and romantic interest in the old land of famous story. The contribution of Stanley contains a scholarly discussion of classic spots in Greece, in their relation to institutions, amusements, religion, etc., which would be worthy of an extended notice, if we had space for it.

We have not yet, in these notices, except incidentally, mentioned one honored name,—that of President Felton of Harvard. Any student who wants a good manual of Greek history and literature, ancient and modern, will find an admirable one, in his "Lectures." But this work does not, in any great degree, come within the line of our present review; while it discusses some points, relative to the perpetuation of the Greek language and race, which are of exceeding interest, and on which we should be glad at some future time, to give his views and our own.

FRENCH AND CONTINENTAL WRITERS.

To some foreign, and especially French, travelers and writers, we are indebted for rich contributions, in the line of antiquarian research and exposition.

Deshayes, the French ambassador to Constantinople, visiting Athens on his way thither, in 1621, published something about his visit; and he fell into some of the strange mistakes of the travelers of that period; which arose perhaps from their giving accounts of things on the representations merely of natives;—repeating the blunder of Kavasilas, in finding the temple of the "Unknown God" in the Parthenon, which he represents, moreover, as "oval;" and discovering in the Propylæum, the "Arsenal of Lycurgus!"

Carrey was sent to Athens in 1674, by the Marquis de Nointel, (who had himself visited that city, on his way as French ambassador, to Turkey,) to execute drawings of the Parthenon and some other

antique buildings. We have mentioned his execution of the mission.

And here comes in a singular case, in literary history. The name La Guilletière is even now sometimes placed in the number of authors on modern Greece, in connection with a work, purporting to come from him and published in 1675, by Guillet, who claimed the author as his brother and as having performed the journey in Greece therein described, in 1669. It is described, in the book, as having been made with a little caravan, composed of some four or five individuals of different nationalities. It excited a good deal of interest, containing, as it did, quite an amount of marvelous description; and even Dr. Spon, at first, treated it with respect. Mr. Vernon, an English gentleman who traveled in Greece in 1766, and published an account in the *Philosophical Transactions*, was the first to bring to light the internal evidences against the genuineness and the authenticity of the production. Dr. Spon came to the same conviction, and publishing it, had a controversy about it, in 1769, with Guillet, who boldly defended the book. Dr. S., in his last publication about it, even questions whether such a person as the professed author ever existed, and undertakes to show how the ingenious production was compiled,—from the accounts of Père Babin, and those received from the other Papal missionaries then established at Athens, and descriptions taken from Pausanias, of buildings not in existence when Guillet wrote, but represented by him to be;—the whole of this compound being farther mixed with inventions by Guillet, to whom the work was attributed by Spon. Among the laughable descriptions of this bold semi-romance are those of a “Pantheon,” near the modern Bazaar, exceeding in grandeur the Pantheon at Rome; an inscription “to the Unknown God,” on the very front of the Parthenon; and various temples and structures which (including the one just mentioned,) had no existence except in the brain of the ingenious writer of the book, or some ignorant person from whom he had drawn materials.

Of Carrey, we have already spoken. The credit of what he accomplished, in preserving, to the eyes of after ages, though with imperfect execution, the images of the Parthenon, and of some other of the antique structures, as they then stood, is due to the French Ambassador who employed him. His drawings were shown, by the latter, to Wheler and Spon, at Constantinople. But they remained out of sight, (Stuart seeming to have known nothing of them), till they were found, as late as 1797, in the National Library, at Paris. Copies of them were subsequently presented to the British Museum.

The French Government, and its high diplomatic representatives in the Levant, have at different times shown an enlightened interest in Greece and the relics of her ancient art and glory; and some of the most eminent scientific and literary men of France have devoted themselves to the study of them. One of the first of these, in reputation as well as in order of time, was Jos. Pitton de Tournefort, the distinguished professor of Botany of the "Jardin des Plantes," under Louis XIV. With the countenance of the great monarch, Tournefort, in 1700, made a tour of Greece and the Levant, and gathered a large and valuable collection in his department of natural history; publishing, on his return, what he styled the "Corollary" to a former botanical publication of his; as also his "Voyage," in which he gives an interesting account of his journey, and of things, as he saw them in that region, at that early period; a production which has been pronounced, by a distinguished writer, "a master-piece, in point of knowledge and interest;" and Tournefort is eulogized by another author as "one of the most useful, amusing, and accurate writers that ever visited those regions." His work was elegantly published, at the expense of the government, in 2 vols. 4to, and afterwards reprinted in 3 vols. 8vo.

Next, after Tournefort, among the eminent Frenchmen who have contributed to our knowledge of Greece in her later days, was Choiseul-Gouffrier. He was a student of Barthelemy; (the author of *Anacharsis*;) traveled several years in Greece and the surrounding regions; and made an extensive and valuable antiquarian collection, for which he and all the explorers, of even no earlier a period than that, enjoyed great advantages, as gathering from a field not yet traversed by many gleaners. But, receiving the appointment of Ambassador to Constantinople, from Louis XVI. and adhering to the royal party when the revolution came on, he had to spend a number of years in exile. He had published, in 1782, the first volume of the great work, which was the fruit of his researches. The second part did not appear until 1809, after his return to France. The last appeared posthumously, as late as 1824. His collection of antiques he left to the Louvre. It is one of the instances in which we may think, with a degree of sadness, how the museums and cabinets of western Europe have been enriched by impoverishing Greece herself of many of her richest treasures.

Another of the French savans who visited Greece at this period, was Sonnini de Manoncourt. He belonged to the same class with Tournefort, being a distinguished naturalist and a friend of Buffon.

Traveling in various parts of the world, he visited Greece in 1780. The production of his valuable work—valuable in spite of some faults of diffuseness, etc.—the researches for which were made under the patronage of Louis XVI. was delayed by the great convulsions of following years, till 1801. It derives some of its value, of course from the peculiar cast of his studies and observations. De Villoison (J. Baptiste Gaspard D'Annse) had a history very similar to that of his two distinguished contemporaries, just mentioned. But his pursuits lay in a different line from those of the last of these two, and of their eminent forerunner, Tournefort; for Villoison was a great philologist and Hellenist. After various learned publications in Greek literature, he made extensive travel in the Levantine countries, visiting Greece, among others; and making himself acquainted with her people and the modern tongue. Returning, he found his country in the throes of the old revolution; which threw him back in his literary labors. On the accession of Napoleon to imperial power, he received, from the latter, the appointment of professor of Ancient and Modern Greek, in the "College of France." In his tour to the Levant, he had devoted much attention to searching after old MSS., though we believe with not much success. His observations on the country, language, and people, took the shape of a descriptive work, on Ancient and Modern Greece; which, however, did not appear till after his death—this taking place in 1805. Some able writer has said of Villoison, in connection with this work, that he "fulfilled, in a most eminent degree, the requisites of accurate knowledge of the language and history of the ancient Greeks," as combined "with personal observation of their descendants;" and the "North-American Review," in a very scholarly article, (which we fancy to have come from the pen of Prof. Felton,) spoke of him as one of the most valuable authors on Modern Greece. Villoison, if we mistake not, saw, during a visit to Rome, as Dr. Spon had, long before, the MS. work of Giambetti, of so early date, of which we have already spoken.

Pouqueville, as having a brother in the French consular employ at Patrai ("Patras,") and as himself resident, for years, at Joannina, and mingling, at that provincial capital, with men of station, Turks and Greeks, from all quarters, had opportunities of gaining a knowledge of things, especially in relation to the Morea, which have made his book one of the most important for reference, as to the statistics and actual condition of Greece, at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. But many of his statements and conjectures as to population, production, etc., are to be received with some

limitations of faith as to their full accuracy. Turkish official matters were conducted in a very loose way, with almost no definitely ascertained statistics; and it has been too much the character of the Greeks that they are an imaginative people, fond of the marvelous, prone to hyperbole, and disposed to imagine that they know more than they do.

To Mons. Fouriel, the friend of Madame de Stael and Condorcet, the literary public is indebted for his collection of the "Songs of Greece." They were translated into English, with additions, by C. B. Sheridan. The native Greek productions thus brought, in print, to the knowledge of the western literary world—of which Lord Byron, however, had, before this time, given interesting specimens, in the notes to *Childe Harold*—are valuable, not so much for their intrinsic poetical merit—for this is generally quite humble and rude;—but as being so eminently national and unique in their character. The mind of Prof. Felton was carried back by them to the songs of Homeric times. A large part of the collection mentioned is made up of the peculiar songs of that remarkable class of men, belonging to past ages of modern Greek history—the half robber, half patriot and hero class;—many of them for just acts of defence or revenge, or from wrongs suffered, driven from their homes, and some led by the love of wild freedom and adventure; but all bearing the title,—not then a dishonorable one, as applied to them by their countrymen, of "Klefs."

The work on the Morea, produced in 1836 by the "Commission Scientifique," sent to Greece before that date, as coming from such a source, is entitled to very high estimation. That of Beulé, of a later date, on the Acropolis, has been highly spoken of; as also that of Hervé, as a learned and valuable work.

Some time during this century, probably after the epoch of Grecian independence, the French Government established at Athens an institute for archæological and philological study and research, called the "French Academy" of Athens. To this, young men, selected for their talents and scholarship, were sent by the government. This enlightened public effort—so much better than the too common expenditure of governments for purposes of war and bloodshed,—was the means of bringing out several valuable works on Greece, some of them illustrative of her archæology. Among these, that of Lacroix is highly spoken of; as also that of Mons. Henzey, whose researches in the remote and secluded valleys of Acarnania,—where some primitive customs and modes of speech are kept in interesting

preservation,—have thrown valuable light on questions of Greek archæology and ethnology.

Among the students of the "Academy," however, none has achieved a greater notoriety than Edmund About. His two productions on Greece,—the later of them, ("Le Roi des Montagnes,") a romance illustrative of Kleft life, were written in a lively, piquant style, that rendered them uncommonly popular; and being translated into English and republished both in England and America, they have been extensively read, and produced, no doubt, a wide-spread impression. But, as we have, in the present article, confined ourselves to the consideration of works of a somewhat different character, we leave M. About for the present.

We have already remarked, of some German writers, as having made important contributions, in the line of Græco-archæological research and discussion. Among the conspicuous ones stands the name of the Munich professor, J. J. Fallmerayer, whose extreme, and as we might almost call them, outlaw opinions, on points of Greek ethnology, have given it quite a degree of notoriety. But these opinions, especially as coming from such a source, deserve a degree of notice which we can not give them now; and they do not come properly within our present field of discussion.

We may mention, by the side of him, a distinguished Hellenistic scholar, F. W. Thiersch, who filled a professor's chair at the same capital, though originally from Northern Germany. He was an ardent "Phil-Hellenist," in the common modern acceptance of the term; and his opinions about the contemporary Greeks, which are more favorable than those of many writers, are given, as derived from actual intercourse and observation, in his work, published at Leipsic and Paris.

The death of the eminent K. O. Mueller, which took place at Athens, in 1840, and resulted from undue exposure of himself in pursuing researches at Delphi, robbed the world of some valuable fruits of labor in the same line with the authors and works that we have treated of in this article. His works on philology and archæology had created a reputation for him.

It has already been indicated that our present plan of review excludes works produced in Greece itself, except so far as they have been brought within the reach of scholars in these parts of the world by their publication in French or English. We must make an exception of the valuable contributions coming from one Grecian source.

From as long ago at least as 1840, there existed, at Athens, an

association, composed principally of Greek literati, and called the "Archæological Society of Athens;" the object of which has been to explore the famous sites and the remnants of antique art, at that city and elsewhere in Greece, and to gather up the relics of this ancestral art, so far as they have survived the effects of time, war and phil-antiquarian pillage. This association, at one period, published several quarto volumes, containing engraved copies of extant monuments and their inscriptions. We once enjoyed the gratification of attending one of the anniversary meetings of the Society, held under the western end of the Parthenon; and of seeing, in that intelligent and dignified assembly, as it sat, under the shadow of what is yet preserved of the western front and colonnades of the noble pile,—which seems to stand as the grand but almost spectral representative of the ages so far gone by,—the living evidence that the sense of ancestral glory is still alive in the bosoms of the Greeks of to-day. We suppose that the Society still carries on its work and makes publication of the results. But whatever volumes it has produced would furnish any public library most valuable materials of antiquarian study.

Mr. Pittakes, a native Greek, and a sort of "Old Mortality," in respect to the ruins and monuments of his country, was, for some years, the main agent of the exploring work done by the association, and furnished a large part of the matter contained in its publications. He also produced, in his little work, in French, on the antiquities of Athens, some account of the relics of ancient art there found. Mr. Rangabes' work, on the "Grecian Antiquities," published in the same language, furnishes also an accessible and valuable contribution on the same subject. He is one of the more distinguished literati of Greece herself. Professor Ross, of the Athens University, has also, by some of his publications on archæological topics, illustrated the name of that institution. Mr. Rangabes has within late years, represented the court of Greece at the government of the United States; and he produced, in this country, a small volume on that "Kingdom;" but one of such a nature as does not come within our present province.

In finishing our present task, we have to confess that it has led us over a larger field of research than we had anticipated. It has certainly cost a great amount of labor to traverse it.

But, however laborious the task has been, and though some parts of it might seem to be dry and uninviting, it has been by no means an unpleasant employment. In imagination we have borne company, and not without a degree of romantic interest, with these visitors and explorers of that land of classic story, especially those of the

earliest dates, who,—each man perhaps feeling himself specially called to “make his will” before he went,—undertook the distant, as seemed to them then, and difficult and even perilous enterprise, of penetrating that region, when the fierce Moslems bore their sway over it, and when Greece, to the eye of the world abroad, was buried in shadows such as might well, to any imagination, create or magnify dangers and difficulties. And it may well be a little exciting to our own minds to go with Wheler and Spon, or any of the other early explorers who preceded the catastrophes of the siege of 1687, and not only see Greece, as she was in the nadir of her dreary bondage of the ages, but gaze upon the peerless Parthenon, still standing in its almost perfect entireness and majesty, not to speak of the other illustrious monuments of the Acropolis and the city, of which we have made mention, then still so much preserved. Nor has it been uninteresting in the company of later travelers, such as Chandler, Leake, Villoison, and Pouqueville, to look in at Athens, and even roam over the mountains and vales and famed places of the interior, as they were then found, and see the old Greece conserved, not only in the glorious remains of her architecture and sculpture, but in the primitive habits and manners still existing, in the secluded vales which the bold ridges of Pindus, Parnassus, and Taygetus look down upon and gird from the outer world.

Under the inspiration derived from turning over the pages of any of the admirable writers whom we have here commended, or those of the classic historians and poets, the scholar, or the man of means and leisure, may well be attracted, in our day, to visit Greece for himself; since steam will not only convey a person, even from the shores of America to those of Greece, in some three or four weeks, and land him at Athens or Corinth, but will now transport him to at least a few other points in that country. In the spring or autumn, one will find the climate of Greece balmy and delightful: and an Attic winter is not unpleasant, even with its adjunct of the rainy season;—indeed Athens might be a good place of winter resort to invalids,—with the proviso always to be annexed, whatever the climate, that the Englishman or American be furnished, to a tolerable extent, with the comforts of English or American home life.

And if the man of refinement, from these parts of the world, dreads certain contingencies of the traveling there, outside the few places where modern hotels have been introduced, let the inspiring romance of walking amid scenes so classic, and so grand and beautiful in themselves, cover a multitude of inconveniences and evils of

the journey. But, more practically, he may fortify himself against the inconveniences of interior travel by a portable cot, and some of the comforts of living, that may be transported on the extra horse or mule. And, last of all, while he may find here and there among the Greeks, grasping, clamoring khan-keepers, guides and porters, yet let him throw himself, as he will have at times to do, on private hospitality; and he will see, even in the shepherd village, perched high upon Parnassus, and in the far-off, rocky, sterile country of the Maniats,* exhibitions of courtesy, of graceful manners, and of hospitality such as he will hardly see equaled in lands that have attained a much higher civilization than the Greeks have had the opportunity of reaching.

And, while an American eye, accustomed to our vast territorial surfaces, will be struck with the diminutive dimensions of this famed land, and of the several parts of it that once constituted states of illustrious fame; and will, even more, miss the beauty of our wood-crowned hills and mountains; and be able to see no more of the deep cerulean in Grecian skies, or of beauteous tints and hues of gold and purple, on Hymettus and Parnes, at even-tide, than he would see in our skies and mountains, yet, as he pauses at the tumulus where the heroes lie at Thermopylæ; or at the larger one of Marathon; or surveys, from the Acro-Corinthus, the magnificent panorama of the Isthmus, the gulfs, and the grand piles of the mountains beyond, rising to the peaks of Parnassus, and shining in the snow that, at their height, caps them for nine months of the year, like pinnacles of burnished silver; or as he stands under the awe-inspiring cliffs of Delphi; or on the Pnyx and the Bema, where once the Athenian citizenship assembled, and their orators pronounced their splendid declamations; or looks up from the crest of Areopagus to the noble ruins of the Propylæum, and gazes on the melancholy majesty of the Parthenon, even as it now stands before him; he may well feel that he is compensated for some of the fatigues and discomforts of travel to and over Greece; while he will be prepared also,—especially as standing on the soil of a Greece now regenerated through the agonies of an awful struggle, to enter into the sentiment of a writer, who has very appropriately and beautifully said of that land that it is one in which, more than any other, man is brought to hear the voices spoken of by Wordsworth:

“ One is of the Sea,
One of the Mountains; each a mighty voice:
In both, from age to age, thou did'st rejoice;
They were thy chosen music, Liberty!”

* Commonly, but improperly written “Maniotes,”—the name applied to the brave and once rude and fierce inhabitants of the southwestern promontory of Laconia.

THE AGRICULTURE OF PRUSSIA

FROM 1816 TO 1875.

IT has been observed that population has ever a tendency to grow up to the level of subsistence; that the level of subsistence advances with general intelligence; and intelligence with liberty. Hence, as a rule, the freer a people, the more rapidly will it be found to increase in numbers. Conversely, the progress of population is regarded as a guide to the advance of free institutions, of general intelligence, and of the means of subsistence.

To withhold from, or deny to, a people, any measure of liberty which they are capable of appreciating, is therefore literally to cause death; for such an act contributes to retard the progress of popular intelligence, upon which depends the level of subsistence and the growth of human life. Contrariwise, to enlarge the measure of popular liberty within the scope of enjoyment, is literally to confer life; for such an act contributes to promote the march of that intelligence upon which depends the level of subsistence and the increase of population.

Viewed in this light, and this is the broadest light in which it can be viewed, the recent unity of Germany under the leadership of Prussia, is an event for which the names of its principal promoters, William and Bismarck, should be ever revered; for it will doubtless have the effect of introducing into the rest of Germany that superior measure of liberty and intelligence which the population of Prussia already enjoy, and lead to such an advance in the level of subsistence as will result in a large increase of population in Germany, and a greater share of the product of industry for each of its inhabitants.

By Old Prussia is meant the territory subject to the government of Prussia previous to 1866; by New Prussia the territory subject to the same government subsequent to 1866, including Old Prussia, the Kingdom of Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenburg, the Hohenzollerns, and Hesse Nassau, which latter comprises Old Hesse Nassau, Hesse Homburg, Frankfort-on-Main, the Electorate of Hesse Cassel,

and small portions of Bavaria and Hesse Darmstadt. By Germany is meant the territory formed into an empire by the Decree of 1871, excluding Alsace-Lorraine.

The progress of population in the several parts of Germany during the last half-century will elucidate this point :

PROGRESS OF POPULATION IN GERMANY SINCE 1816.

Year.	Old Prussia.	Saxony.	Hanover.	The rest of Germany.	Total Germany.	New Prussia.
1816	10,349,031	1,200,000	1,031,000	10,414,215	22,994,546	13,103,791
1834	13,509,927	1,595,668	1,662,629	12,371,742	29,139,966	17,221,630
1837	14,160,063	1,652,114	1,668,288	12,510,246	30,000,711	—
1846	15,615,049	1,836,433	1,758,856	13,293,683	32,504,021	19,489,431
1852	16,935,470	1,987,832	1,819,253	13,698,444	34,440,999	21,155,855
1858	17,739,913	2,122,148	1,844,651	13,627,826	35,334,538	—
1861	18,433,050	2,225,240	1,888,070	14,005,185	36,551,545	22,779,436
1867	19,607,710	2,426,300	1,937,637	14,538,213	38,509,860	24,021,420
1871	20,222,524	2,556,244	1,957,607	14,772,362	39,508,737	24,691,203

From the above table we learn that while since the year 1816, the population of Old Prussia increased 100 per cent., that of the rest of Germany, except Saxony and Hanover, increased but 42 per cent. If we contrast New Prussia (including Hanover) with the rest of Germany (excepting Saxony) it is 89 per cent. against 42 per cent.

With the exceptions of Saxony and Hanover, it therefore appears that Germany, outside of Prussia, has advanced in numbers since 1816 less than half as fast as Germany inside of Prussia.

We are not obliged to depend upon the generalizations which preface this article, for the reasons of this comparative retardation. Previous to 1816 the peasantry of Prussia were serfs. With that date freedom dawned for them, and ere a generation had passed away they stood in the full blaze of its light. Then intelligence made its way, the means of subsistence increased, and the population that was born survived in greater numbers than ever before. Except in Saxony and Hanover, and only measurably in those States, this was not the good fortune of the rest of Germany, until later dates, and, in some parts, not until very recently.

As an interesting and hitherto unwritten contribution to German history; as a tolerably correct guide to the sort of progress which we

are unquestionably about to see, indeed which has already begun, in the other parts of Germany; and as a Collection of Historical and Statistical information which, it will be shown, has an important bearing upon the future of American industry, we purpose now to briefly trace the progress of those reforms which constitute the pride and advantage of Prussia among her neighboring States, and show the material results that have flowed from them.

The emancipation of Prussian labor, the real mark of the freedom of that State, commenced with the reforms of Stein and Hardenburg, the first of which bears date the year 1807.

The objects marked out for attainment through the legislation thus initiated were as follows:

1. The abolition of serfdom, or any other form of restriction to personal liberty, such as attachment to the soil, etc.
2. The abolition of trade guilds.
3. The abolition of all restrictions to the right of property in land; the reduction of all tenures to simple ones; and of land to the condition of a marketable commodity.
4. The diffusion of taxation with the view of relieving the peasant from the intolerable burden of being the special and sole subject of governmental exactions.
5. The abolition of the feudal powers of lords of the manor, and the conversion of peasants' tenures, of whatsoever nature, into simple and absolute fees, with compensation to the lords of the manor.
6. The commutation of the real charges and services resting upon private rights, which charges and services were attached to various kinds of landed property.
7. The commutation of rights of common and enclosure of common lands.
8. The consolidation of farms and other landed properties.

These items will sufficiently indicate the condition of the peasantry previous to 1807. They were slaves, bound to the soil, to the state, to the lords. The lands they tilled were not their own, and the tenures upon which they held them compelled them to discharge so many obligations, to perform so many services, to shoulder so many burdens, to submit to so many exactions, that it seems wonderful that they should have survived them. There was but one other alternative—starvation and death. Escape was out of the question. Painting and song have transmitted to us the stories of the roystering barons who fed upon this mass of wretchedness and suffering, and history is filled with the grand doings of the kings and leaders of those barons; but the simple annals of the miserable classes be-

neath them are as yet unwritten. Even for a graphic description of the appearance of the peasant of the olden time, we must refer to French literature; for there alone was it inscribed. However, the description holds good for the peasant of any country in Continental Europe. Says La Bruyère:

"One sees certain dark, livid, naked, sunburnt, wild animals, male and female, scattered over the country and attached to the soil, which they root and turn over with indomitable perseverance. They have, as it were, an articulate voice, and when they rise to their feet, they show a human face. They are, in fact, men; they creep at night into dens, where they live on black bread, water and roots."

This is a picture of the peasant in years of plenty; in those of dearth myriads of them perished on the soil to which they were chained. There was no obligation on the part of the feudatory to support them, indeed he had no obligations at all; these were all the other way; and upward of three hundred distinct ones were counted by Moreau de Jonnés.

The Edict of 1807 began by setting the peasant free. But personal freedom without assistance to maintain it, would, in his then condition of destitution, have been no advantage. Indeed it would have relapsed into serfdom again. So the plan was adopted of permitting the peasant to retain the bit of land which he had been cultivating, with the privilege of commuting the feudal charges entailed upon its possession and the services due from him as a vassal to his lord, into money, and paying the same out of the produce of the land, which produce he was clothed with the right to sell. He had furthermore the privilege of purchasing the land within a certain term of years.

To accomplish these ends it behooved the peasant that his conduct should be very exemplary and his labor unremitting; and since the earnestness of the latter had been already pushed to the last degree of endurance, it was necessary that the State on its part should help him.

This it did, as far as possible, by readjusting the incidence of taxation, so that the privileged classes should bear some portion of the public charges; by denying to those classes any further right to pasture their herds and flocks upon the arable lands of their vassals; by ordering all common lands to be enclosed; by permitting several separate bits of land belonging to one peasant to be exchanged for an equal quantity of land connected, so as to save him the time lost by the necessity of his going from one piece to another; by abolishing trade guilds and opening to the peasant an opportunity of changing his occupation if he chose, etc.

Upon the heels of this great basic reform followed a series of others which are even yet not wholly completed, the most notable ones, not immediately connected with the abolition of serfdom, being the irrigation law of 1845; the meadows decree of 1846; the forest law of 1854; the law of 1859 for the reclamation of swamps and barrens; a series of works of improvement (begun in 1850) for the general benefit of agriculture, instituted by the aid of several million dollars loaned by the State; a system of assessments for strictly local improvements by means of land debentures; the establishment of land banks, agricultural institutions, colleges, model farms and technical schools; a compulsory system of general rudimentary education; a geometrical survey of the country, etc.

A system of public registry for the record of sales of and liens upon land was established about the year 1853, and though better than the defective system which is still permitted to continue in England is not nearly so perfect as that which has long prevailed in all the United States.

Before proceeding to examine into the effects of these reforms let us ascertain the extent and character of the territory throughout which they were intended to operate.

Prussia, in its eastern and northern parts, is a flat plain intersected at great intervals by ranges of small hills. This flat country is the westward extension of the Russian plains, and embraces two-thirds of all Prussia. In the southern and western parts the land rises gradually to a higher elevation and is crossed and bounded by ranges of hills or mountains. Prussia has about 600 miles of sea-coast on the Baltic and North Seas, but the water is shallow and there are but few good ports, the best being Dantzic, Hamburg, and Bremen. The river systems all belong to the Baltic and North Seas, and the principal rivers are the Vistula, Oder, Elbe, and Rhine. The extent of Prussian territory in the basin of the Oder is 39,654 square miles; of the Vistula 13,762; of the Elbe 18,028, and the Rhine and Meuse 15,235; the others being small. This arterial system, which so largely rests upon the Oder and Vistula, renders the ports at the mouths of those rivers, viz. Stettin and Dantzic, of great importance.

The national water-ways of Prussia are but 3,370 miles in length, and many of these and the Baltic Sea are frozen in winter.

We should like to add to these details something about the climate; the frozen months of winter; the brief summer (days of 66° Fahrenheit), which, commencing in Berlin late in May, ends early in September, after a duration of rarely more than 100 days; the days of sunshine and cloud; the rainfall during the year, which varies from

18.356 Paris inches in Posen, to 25.233 in Rhineland, and increases to 27.006 in Hirschberg, Silesia, and to 33.427 in the Harz district, etc. But these are days when literary indigestion is easily excited in the reader—and we forbear. Suffice it to say that Prussia is not an Eden, and that in man's fight against nature there, the latter holds the means of maintaining a desperate resistance.

The total area of Prussia is as follows:—

	Acres.
Old Prussia	66,942,080
Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg	4,744,960
Hanover	9,501,440
The two Hohenzollerns	282,240
Hesse Nassau: Old Hesse Nassau	1,153,280
Hesse Homburg	67,840
Frankfort-on-Main	27,520
Hesse Cassel	2,835,200
Portion of Bavaria	241,280
“ “ Hesse Darmstadt	186,240
Total New Prussia	85,982,080

The soil of old Prussia is classified as follows:—

FAVORABLE LOAM AND CLAY SOILS:

Loam on elevated ground	15.8
Loam in river levels	2.7
Gray loam (clay) in river levels	2.0
Mixed sandy loam and loamy clay soils	34.4

UNFAVORABLE CLAY AND BOG SOILS:

Gray loam (clay) on elevated ground	7.7
Sand soils	30.0
Bog “	5.2
Water	2.2

Per cent. of surface of Old Prussia 100.0

We have no similar details with reference to New Prussia, nor are they needed in this connection; because the reforms, whose effects we are seeking to examine, had to operate in the territory of Old Prussia. This, it will be perceived, was a most unpropitious ground, nearly one half of the surface unfavorable for cultivation, being either in sand, hilly barrens, bog or water: and the rest by no means very choice land.

The proportion of this which was cultivated in the last days of serfdom has never, to our knowledge, been accurately determined, but it must have been—*i. e.* the arable lands, gardens, and vineyards—about twenty million acres. The population was then ten millions, so that it required about two acres to support each life. The arable land,

gardens, and vineyards, now comprise about 35,000,000 acres, and the population is over 20,000,000, so that now less than $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres suffice to support a life. But the comparison is very much more creditable to the progress that has taken place if the whole amount of productive land, including meadows and pastures be compared, as it should be, with the population at the two periods. The productive land was in 1807 about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each head of population; in 1870 it was about $2\frac{1}{8}$ acres, a balance in favor of the superior productiveness of freedom over serfdom, to the extent of about 50 per cent. The following tables show the progress that has been made since the year 1830:

ACRES OF CULTIVATED AND OTHER LANDS IN PRUSSIA, ETC., IN THE YEAR 1830.

Divisions of Land.	Old Prussia.	Hanover.	Hesse Cassel.
Arable,	26,943,000	3,500,000	1,400,000
Gardens,	272,000		500,000
Vineyards,	34,000		
Meadows and Pastures,	12,875,000		
Forests,	16,225,000	1,413,000	750,000
Waste land,	10,600,000	4,558,000	185,000
Total,	66,949,000	9,501,000	2,835,000

ACRES OF CULTIVATED AND OTHER LANDS IN PRUSSIA, ETC., IN THE YEAR 1870.

Divisions of Land.	Old Prussia.	Hesse Cassel.	The rest of New Prussia.	Total, New Prussia.
Arable,	34,740,000	1,457,109	7,395,806	43,592,915
Gardens and Vineyards	490,000	502,820	2,590,030	601,875
Meadows,	6,430,000			8,082,317
Pastures,	5,120,000			6,448,658
Forests,	16,250,000	750,769	4,150,617	21,151,586
Water,	1,530,000	252,466	1,932,263	1,375,714
Non-Arable,	245,000			257,946
Non-productive,	1,465,000			3,611,248
House sites, yards, etc.	680,000			859,821
Total,	66,950,000	2,993,364	16,068,716	85,982,080

The details of this progress are instructive. They show that almost 6,500,000 acres have been added to the productive surface of Old Prussia since 1830 and that this has not been obtained from the improvident felling of forests, as is commonly the case in other countries, but from the reclamation of waste lands. Another important detail is that the pasture lands have diminished and the plowed lands increased.

If from the increase of cultivated lands we pass to the succession of crops grown on that land, the evidence is still more striking. Up to about the year 1830, or, say a generation after the institution of personal freedom and land reform in Prussia, the triennial fallow system had reigned supreme since the days of Charlemagne. Under this system more than one-third, nearly one-half, of the arable land was always in pasture: whereas in 1870 this proportion had fallen to one-sixth and the biennial course of 1. roots and 2. seeds, which gives the land no rest and yet never exhausts it, has spread all over the country.

Great improvement has also taken place in the physical condition of the peasant, and as a consequence, in the efficiency of his labor. This is proved, first, by the decreasing proportion of agriculturists, but also by the positive evidence of greatly increased product.

In 1816, the agricultural population of Prussia embraced seven-eighths of the whole; in other words, every eighth man was a master and the rest were slaves. Beside agriculture and the arts subsidiary to it, few industries were prosecuted; and since little beside food was produced, little beside food was obtained; the trifling commerce that was prosecuted having been barely sufficient to supply the masters with the clothing and other luxuries which their wealth commanded.

Perhaps no more striking evidence of the superior efficiency of free labor over serf, can be adduced than this table affords. Assuming the ratio of occupied agriculturists (Class 1) to total agriculturists (Class 3) to have been the same in 1816 as it is shown to have been in 1867, viz., 35.5 per cent., then the number of actual tillers of the soil in 1816 was 4,076,092 or 31.1 per cent. of the total population, (Class 4), against 4,105,362 or 17.1 per cent. in 1867. In other words, though the total population was but little more than one-half as numerous in 1816 as in 1867, yet it took the same absolute number of field hands to produce food enough for the whole, a mode of measurement which proves that in this case serf labor was but half as efficient as free.

By the year 1867 the agricultural population of Prussia had fallen to 48 per cent. and 39 persons more than in 1816, out of every 100, were thus set free from the fields to take part in those industries which contribute to clothe and shelter a population or minister to its higher wants. The following table is from the census of 1867:

PROPORTION OF AGRICULTURISTS IN THE POPULATION OF PRUSSIA, ETC., IN 1867.

Classes and Relations.	Old Prussia.	All the rest.	Total New Prussia
1. Occupied in agriculture,	3,286,954	818,408	4,105,362
2. Their families,	6,124,329	1,297,749	7,422,078
3. Total Agriculturists,	9,411,283	2,116,157	11,527,440
4. Total population,	19,607,710	4,363,231	23,970,941
Per cent. of occupied Agriculturists to total population,	16.8	18.8	17.1
Per cent. of Agriculturists to total population,	48.0	48.5	48.1

We now come to that positive evidence of the progress of agriculture in Prussia which by some readers will be regarded as the most convincing, viz. the evidence of the crops. Without discussing this point we desire to observe that the statistics of the product for the year 1868 seem to us to be excessive, while those for 1870 and 1871 appear deficient. We have, however, no reason to doubt their substantial correctness.

We have no statistics for any year previous to 1830, but since the progress from 1816 to 1830 was scarcely noticeable, we believe that it would not be far wrong to estimate the total breadstuffs product of 1816 (including potatoes reduced to grain) at about 200,000,000 bushels, or a fraction over 15 bushels *per capita* of total population. From this product to that of late years, which appears to be about 20 bushels *per capita*, the increase has been about one-third.

As the foreign grain trade of Prussia has always been too small to be worth considering in this connection, the product is substantially the measure of the consumption. It follows then, that, not only as previously shown, is the free peasant better clothed, housed, and furnished, than was the serf, but also better fed; for he consumes, either in the form of bread, or the various edibles or beverages

ages manufactured from breadstuffs, an allowance one-third greater than fell to his lot in the wretched days of serfdom.

TABLE SHOWING THE POPULATION, PRODUCTION OF BREADSTUFFS, AND PROPORTION OF THE SAME PER CAPITA OF POPULATION, IN NEW PRUSSIA, IN EACH OF THE YEARS NAMED. POTATOES REDUCED TO GRAIN AT THE RATE OF FIVE BUSHELS FOR ONE. SUMS, IN COLUMNS 3 TO 9 INCLUSIVE, IN MILLIONS AND TENTHS OF MILLIONS OF BUSHELS.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
YEAR.	Popula- tion. Millions.	Wheat. Bushels.	Barley. Bushels.	Rye. Bushels.	Buck- wheat. Bushels.	Peas and Beans. Bushels.	Potatoes. Bushels.	Total Bushels.	Total, per capita, Bushels.
1830	16.0	35.0	35.0	125.0	5.0	10.0	64.0	274.0	17.1
1865	23.6	85.3	78.8	173.6	9.2	18.5	80.3	445.7	19.0
1868	24.1	94.6	88.9	203.9	16.2	19.9	102.6	526.1	21.8
1870	24.4	71.9	75.3	171.9	11.5	15.1	131.2	476.9	19.5
1871	24.7	77.2	113.9	150.1	13.0	16.7	111.5	482.4	19.5
1873	25.0	89.8	100.0	197.0	15.0	18.0	111.0	535.8	21.2
1874	25.2	90.0	100.0	167.0	15.0	20.0	100.0	492.0	19.5

Not only the quantity, but the quality of his food has improved. He eats more wheat and less rye; more legumes and less potatoes; a larger portion of the latter being consumed in the manufacture of spirits. Green vegetables, which in the sad and olden days were only enjoyed by the nobles, and the game which they chose to pasture upon the poor man's land, are now the common fare of all. Beet root sugar now figures largely among the products and consumption of Prussia; in the days of serfdom its sugar was imported from abroad, and known only to the rich. Wine, which was formerly produced in quantities only sufficient to satisfy the demands of the favored classes, now trickles down the basest throat in the land and is exported in considerable quantities, in exchange for foreign products. The State monopoly of salt was abolished in 1866, and, although the tax is still very high, viz. 1.3 cents per pound on the production of domestic or importation of foreign salt, the annual consumption has increased, and is now 15.61 pounds *per capita*, of cooking, and 16.06 pounds of rock salt, for agricultural and industrial purposes.* Better

* This is, however, the average consumption of salt for all Germany, not Prussia alone for which we have not the statistics at hand.

clothing is worn; better cottages shelter the peasant and mechanic, and meat (chiefly pork) is becoming an article of food to a population who, formerly, were entire strangers to its taste. We append such statistics on these points as are available.

QUANTITIES OF BEET ROOT CONVERTED INTO SUGAR IN NEW PRUSSIA.

Year.	Beet Root, cwts.
1840-41	4,000,000
1870-71	50,000,000

There were few or no edible roots cultivated in the days of serfdom; the total quantity of "beets and other roots" produced in 1865 was 312,213,000 cwts.

The quantity of wine produced in the days of serfdom was about 5,000,000 gallons per annum. The average annual product from 1819 to 1835 inclusive, was 6,000,000 gallons, fluctuating between 370,000 gallons, lowest, in 1821, and upward of 14,000,000 gallons, highest, in 1834: nine-tenths of the total product being that of the Rhine provinces. In 1869, the quantity of wine produced in Prussia was about 50,000,000 gallons.

NUMBER OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS IN OLD PRUSSIA IN THE YEARS MENTIONED.

YEAR.	Horses.	Horned Cattle.	Sheep.	Swine.	Goats.
1816	1,243,261	4,013,912	8,260,396	1,494,369	145,000
1834	1,374,594	4,446,368	11,665,675	*1,800,000	300,000
1837	1,472,901	4,838,622	15,011,452	1,936,304	327,525
1858	1,622,400	5,527,402	15,374,717	2,589,371	*700,000
1862	1,680,663	5,634,510	17,428,017	2,709,709	805,808
1864	1,863,009	6,111,994	19,329,030	3,257,531	871,259
1867	1,878,187	5,997,964	18,820,780	3,802,143	1,045,321
1872	2,274,533	8,600,672	19,589,624	*4,800,000	*1,200,000

Although the number of horned cattle *per capita* of population in 1872, shows no material increase as compared with 1816, yet if the number of oxen used for draught purposes, 727,561 in 1816, and only 695,519 in 1872, be deducted, the increased ratio will amount to 22 per cent. as follows: 1816, population 10,349,031; horned cattle other than draught oxen, 3,286,351; ratio 0.32 per cent.; 1872, popu-

* Estimated.

lation, 20,222,524; horned cattle less draught oxen, 7,905,153; ratio 0.39 per cent. Increase of ratio in 1872 over 1816, 22 per cent. It should be stated in this connection, that while the number of draught oxen diminished, that of draught horses increased, from 1,041,329 in 1816, to 1,487,421 in 1872. Sheep and goats both show a considerable increase *per capita* of population from 1816 to 1872, but the chief augmentation has been in swine. In 1816 the ratio of swine to total population in Prussia was 0.144; in 1872 it was 0.237. In other words, in the days of serfdom, there were but 144 to every 1,000 inhabitants; now there are 237, or, more than half as many again to the same number of people.

We have now shown, and we think by the most irrefragable evidence, that of the augmentation of population and the means of subsistence, the great progress that has taken place in Prussia since the days when her people were emancipated from serfdom, and her lands freed from the thralls of feudality. Without going into similar details with reference to the other States of Germany, the slower progress of population in those States, as compared with Prussia, is regarded as sufficient evidence to prove that an equal progress, or nearly an equal progress, has not taken place in those States.

It is held, therefore, that the great Act which joined all the German States into one nationality, which destroyed all barriers between them, and extended over all of them the same laws and institutions, can not fail to have the same beneficent results predicted at the opening of this article, and that until the outlying German States shall have caught up to the higher level of Prussian liberty, intelligence, industrial product, and growth of population, we are destined to see within them evidences of a newly awakened activity and progress, such as they have hitherto been wholly unaccustomed to.

Connected with this great movement is a subject, which, for Americans, possesses a peculiar and powerful interest.

The United States of America produce annually about 275,000,000 bushels of wheat. Of this amount they consume over 230,000,000 bushels, and have about 45,000,000 surplus left for sale.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland produces annually about 95,000,000 bushels of wheat, consumes 190,000,000 bushels, and has, therefore, a deficit to purchase, of 95,000,000 bushels. In other words, it has two bushels of wheat to buy where we have one to sell; the remainder of its supply is picked up in all parts of the world, mainly in Russia, and hitherto, to a considerable extent in Germany.

The following table furnishes the data:

IMPORTS OF WHEAT AND FLOUR (THE LATTER REDUCED TO GRAIN AT THE RATE OF 4 TO 5), INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND THE PROPORTION OF THE SAME FURNISHED BY GERMANY. (DUCHIES OF SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN AND LAUENBURG NOT INCLUDED IN IMPORTS FROM GERMANY UNTIL 1861.)

YEAR.	Total Imports. Cwts.*	Portion from Germany. Cwts.	Ratio, per cent.
1845	4,959,740	2,494,232	50
1846	10,195,930	2,112,415	21
1847	19,422,627	2,807,348	14
1848	13,377,217	4,596,878	34
1849	20,850,604	4,824,986	23
1850	20,976,612	5,272,357	25
1851	23,161,718	4,164,036	18
1852	18,092,627	2,738,565	15
1853	27,077,079	6,739,993	25
1854	19,426,781	5,072,593	26
1855	13,940,322	4,308,258	31
1856	22,611,568	2,034,610	9
1857	17,620,499	5,580,638	32
1858	23,200,941	4,210,117	18
1859	21,497,734	4,561,521	21
1860	31,841,926	6,904,819	22
1861	37,646,705	6,658,462	18
1862	50,042,394	7,930,849	16
1863	30,887,892	5,728,626	19
1864	28,837,203	6,842,721	24
1865	25,843,552	7,224,371	28
1866	29,371,679	6,801,657	23
1867	39,136,780	7,873,216	20
1868	36,506,045	7,224,597	20
1869	44,447,772	7,546,688	17
1870	36,906,115	4,487,773	12
1871	44,362,227	4,258,823	10
1872	47,612,896	5,183,601	11
1873	51,631,197	3,019,406	6
1874	49,266,470	3,992,887	8

The present requirements of foreign wheat in England, are, as has been stated, about 95,000,000 bushels per annum; but this has

* 1 cwt. equals about two bushels.

not always been so. England's wheat deficit in 1845 was less than 10,000,000 bushels; but since that time it has gradually increased. At that time Germany supplied *one-half* of the British deficit, and so late as the period from 1862 to 1867, it supplied one-fourth; but with the extension of the Prussian dominion, which substantially began with the last-named year, the supply dwindled down to one-twelfth, and in our opinion, will continue to diminish in future.

Indeed if the German statistics of the imports and exports of breadstuffs into and from Germany be consulted, it will be found that ever since 1861 her imports of grain have balanced her exports; in other words, that Germany imports breadstuffs from Russia and other countries to quite as great an extent as she exports them to England and other countries—even the United States having supplied her, last year, with 2,591,774 bushels in about equal proportions of wheat, wheat flour, Indian corn, and rye.

This stoppage of bread supplies from Germany to England, and opening, for such it is, of bread supplies from the United States to Germany, inaugurates a new era in American agriculture and commerce, as great in promise as that which was ushered in by the repeal of the British corn laws. Nor is this the mere step in industrial progress which it may appear to the superficial observer; but one of the molecular movements of nations by which the homogeneity of the human race shall be eventually brought about. Just as the amelioration of the people of outlying Germany was secured by the involuntary act of its thirty princes, who in 1871 laid their crowns at the feet of William; so will the amelioration of all mankind be brought about by the necessity of things which renders a republican nation the most numerous, powerful, and progressive in the world. The movement may be a slow one; but no one who has studied the laws of population and the circumstances that affect its growth will refuse assent to the faith, that some day or other America is destined to feed not England alone, but the entire civilized world; and moreover, to extend its free institutions over the world it shall feed.

LIFE INSURANCE.

PROBABLY every one acquainted with the subject of Life Insurance is from time to time asked his opinion of the best company to insure in, and the best kind of policy to take out. To such inquiries a conscientious man must find it extremely difficult to return an answer satisfactory to himself. No one doubts the general benefits of life insurance, not simply as securing a provision for a family which might otherwise be destitute, but also as a system under which many will save a considerable sum who would otherwise save nothing. But, as almost universally practiced, there are two incidental drawbacks to these advantages, of so serious a character that it may be questioned whether they ought not to be considered as, in most cases, sufficient to neutralize all the advantages of the system. One of these arises from the nature of the contract into which all companies require their policy-holders to enter, while the other arises from the practical management of the business.

We believe that all policies of life insurance are issued under the condition that in the event of failure to pay any premium on or before the day when due, all the rights which the policy-holder may have acquired under the policy are forfeited to the company, and this provision is enforced with a disregard of equity found in no other branch of business. In general legal practice, when a party pledges valuable property or other rights for the payment of a definite sum of money, the equitable rule is adopted that he shall forfeit only the amount which he has failed to pay, or the amount which will make good the loss the other party has sustained by non-payment. A familiar instance is that of bond and mortgage, where, however clearly the terms of the bond may provide for the forfeiture of all the mortgagee's rights in the land, the courts will actually forfeit only the amount necessary to pay his debt and expenses. Life insurance is the solitary business in which a party may forfeit rights worth a thousand dollars, beyond all hope of recovery, for a failure to pay ten. Since there are combinations of circumstances constantly arising—absence from home—sudden sickness or misfortune—the failure of an agent—the misdirec-

tion of a letter—and a score of others, which may prevent the most careful person from paying a premium by the proper time; the condition in question requires every insured person to constantly incur an artificial and unnecessary risk of losing all his rights under his policy.

Such a system is possible only because the public at large are entirely unacquainted with the nature of a mutual life insurance company, and the equitable rights of individual policy-holders in it. Life insurance as seen by the actuary and the book-keeper; life insurance, in fact, as it actually is, and the same subject as seen by the lawyer and the public, are two entirely distinct things. In the view of the first, and in actual practice, it is a kind of mutual benefit society and savings bank, to which the individual members contribute. These contributions are constantly gaining compound interest, and constantly suffering depletion by the death of members, and the consequent payment of losses to their heirs. The balance of these contributions at any time make up the gross assets of the company, and the share of these assets belonging to each individual member, on any given day, admits of being determined with mathematical precision.

In law, all this is entirely ignored, and the subject is viewed as a simple case of the law of contracts, governed by nearly the same rules which apply to fire insurance. In the latter, if the house owner insures up to a certain date, and, when that date arrives, fails to renew, and his house burns down the next day, he is entitled to nothing from the company, either in law or equity. The fact that life insurance is in its nature, practice, and objects, radically different from fire insurance is not understood, and therefore, the same rule is applied to it. The principal object of the present article, is to explain the nature of a life insurance company in such a way that the intelligent reader may clearly understand the equitable rights of a policy-holder in it. In doing this we shall assume the company to be a mutual one, not only because mutual companies are now the rule, but because, when the policy-holders are themselves the only stockholders, the question of the equitable rights of individuals is a more simple one. And since, both in the public mind and in the eye of the law, fire and life insurance are intimately associated, we shall begin by pointing out the analogy, in order more clearly to show the essential points in which they differ.

Suppose that I insure my house for one year, paying therefor a net premium of 50 cents on \$100. The basis of the bargain then is that there is one chance out of two hundred that my house will burn down in the

course of the year. In assuming this risk, the insurance company has given me the worth of my money, even if, at the end of the year, the house is still standing. If it has, in like manner, insured two hundred other houses, the chances are that one of them has burned down in the course of the year, and all the net premiums have then been required to pay this loss. If, at the end of the year, I fail to renew the assurance, and have not in the meantime, made any contract for its renewal, I have from the termination of the year, no more claim on the company than if I had never insured at all. But, if I have, in the meantime, entered into a contract with the company to pay the premium for the second year, my insurance is still good, though the actual payment has not been made. All that equity requires is that the payment of the premium shall have been made sure, independent of the event whether my house burns or stands.

Now, let us pass to the case of life insurance, and, to fix our ideas, suppose the person to be insured is 30 years of age. The tables of mortality show that for a person of that age, in ordinary health, and not of a sickly constitution, there is about one chance out of 120 that he will die within a year, the remaining 119 chances being in favor of his surviving. In other words, out of 10,000 such persons we may expect that 84 will die in the course of a year, and 9,916 survive. Consequently, if such a person wishes his life insured for one year, in the sum of \$100, he can have it done for 84 cents, plus a small sum to compensate the company for expenses, and insure to it a profit. And, if his chances of life were always going to be as good as they are now, so that he might be immortal but for accidents, the same annual premium would continue his insurance as long as he chose to pay it. In fact, life insurance would then be just like fire insurance, and governed by the same principles.

But, such is not the case with human life. If our man survives one year, the chances of his dying the year following are somewhat greater, so that he would have to pay 86 cents instead of 84 for his second year's insurance, and the increase would continue with greater rapidity every year, so that at the age of 60, the premium would amount to \$3.03. Now, to avoid the inconvenience of constantly increasing payments, it is customary to make these payments at once so much larger than the risks run when the policy is first taken out, that the surplus thus paid in during the early years shall make up for the deficiency during the later years. Thus, our man of 30, instead of paying a premium ranging from 84 cents when he began to \$3.00 or more, if he reached the age of 60, and far more if he attained a much greater

age, can start with an uniform annual premium of \$1.70, to be continued without increase during his life. The excess of this payment above the risk for the year the company puts out at interest, thus forming a constantly increasing fund for making up the increasing risk of later years. The first year 86 cents of the premium would be thus invested, the second year 84 cents, and so on, until the assured attains the age of 51, when, if he continued to live, the annual premium of \$1.70 would just balance the risk for the year. The investments thus made form a reserve fund, which goes on increasing during the whole life of the policy-holder. The reason of this is, that whenever the policy-holder dies, the whole of this reserve fund will be applied to the part payment of the policy, so that the risk which the company really runs is only that of having to pay the balance of the insurance over the reserve. The annual interest which this reserve fund is continually drawing, plus the annual premiums, will always more than pay the annual net risk just described.

The non-mathematical reader may more clearly understand this if we suppose a simple concrete case. Suppose 1,000 people, each 30 years old, form a mutual insurance company in which the insurance is for \$100 each; so that the annual premium for each member is, as before supposed, \$1.70. Then, supposing the deaths to occur according to the tables of mortality, the financial history of the company will be about as follows:—

First year, received 1000 premiums at \$1.70	\$ 1700
Paid, 8 losses by death, of \$100 each	800
Balance at the end of year, excluding interest	900
If the premiums were all put out interest at 4 per cent. the company would have had, on the average, \$1,300 yielding in interest	52
Second year, received 992 premiums	1686
So that it commences the second year with	2638
During the year it pays 9 losses by death	900
	1738
And it gains 4 per cent. interest on \$2188	87
Making at the end of the second year	1825
During the third year it will receive 983 premiums	1671
and, for interest an average of \$3050	122
Total receipts	1793
It pays 9 losses by death	900
Increase of reserve during the year	893

Thus it would end the third year with \$2,718, when, receiving 974 fourth year's premiums, it would start the fourth year with \$4,374. The reserve would go on increasing at nearly this same rate of \$900 a year for twenty-five or thirty years, the gradual falling off in the premium receipts, caused by the diminution in numbers by death, being more than made up by the increasing receipts from interest. By the end of the third decade, when the members were 60 years old, their numbers would be reduced to 650, and the deaths being now 20 annually, would nearly absorb both premium receipts, and interest, and the increase of the fund would be changed to diminution, after amounting to about \$28,000. If, at any time, the company should break up, the reserve fund would be divided equally among the members. Such a division would, theoretically, cause no loss, because any other company would, in consideration of the reserve, and the annual premium, be ready to assume the insurance; if the party desired it.

If any member wishes to withdraw from the company, he would be equitably entitled to his share of the reserve under certain practical limitations to be considered hereafter. He would cause his fellow members no harm by so doing, because the share left for each member would be the same as before. At the end of the third year, for instance, the account of any member with the company would stand about thus:—

Creditor, By 3 annual premiums at \$1.70 each	\$ 5.10
Interest, on average balance of the same . . .	0.30
Total	<u>5.40</u>
Debtor, To 3 years' insurance of life at \$0.90	2.70
Balance in favor of member	<u>2.70</u>

This balance is known as the "premium reserve," or "value of the policy." It goes on increasing during the whole life of the member, for, although, in our theoretical company, the sum total of the reserve begins to diminish after about 32 years, yet the number of members among whom it is divisible decreases by death in a yet larger proportion, so that the share of each individual one becomes greater. At the age of 65 the share of each individual would be about half the amount of his policy, or \$50. At the age of 91 there would be but 10 members left, while the reserve fund would amount to nearly \$1,000, and therefore would alone nearly pay the policies.

There is another way of considering this reserve. If we suppose that the individual policy-holders should not be allowed to withdraw

their share of reserves from the company, but that, for all the premiums they pay, should take an equitable equivalent in insurance, then the premiums will pay the insurance for a certain time in advance. For instance, the first year's premium of the man of 30 will pay his insurance for two years, or till he is 32; the second will insure him till he is about 34; the third till he is about 36, and so on, for some time. It is true that an insurance for two years on a man of 34 is worth something more than \$1.70, but in the present case the company has two years' interest on the premium before that particular risk begins, and has besides, a certain small chance of not having to take that risk at all, because the man may, in one case out of 55, die in the meantime.

In what we have just said, we have supposed each member to make annual payments during his whole life. But there are other forms of policy in vogue, and many other modes of payment. Endowment policies are now very frequent, by which, if the party lives to a certain age, the insurance is then paid just as if he should then die. A very small additional premium, accumulating at compound interest, will secure such a policy. A company issuing such may be considered as combining the functions of life insurance company and savings bank. The extra premium is saved up by the company, not for insurance proper, but to be paid to the party on his attaining the specified age, if he lives so long. If he withdraws from the company at any time before his endowment is due, the charges of the company against him for insurance are no greater than if he had an ordinary life policy, so that the balance in his favor is greater by the whole accumulated amount of extra premium he has paid.

Many policy-holders whose future income is uncertain, or who do not wish to be troubled with perpetual annual payments, prefer to pay up in a few years, five or ten. The excess of payments over insurance received is then many times larger than when payments are continued during the whole period of the policy, and the holders of such policies therefore own a much larger share of the assets of the company than in the other case.

In the preceding explanations, we have spoken only of the net or mathematical premium, which would just suffice to pay all losses if the deaths happened in exact accordance with the tables of mortality, and the investments yielded interest at the rate of four per cent. per annum. But, the actual premium charged by any company must necessarily be somewhat higher than this. In the first place, the expenses of management are to be provided for, and the net premium makes

no allowance for these. In the next place, the deaths may be greater than the number given by the tables of mortality. Finally it is morally possible that the company may not be able to command four per cent. interest on its investments during the whole life of its members, though, for the present, this must be considered extremely improbable. It has therefore been customary in the mutual companies to increase or "load" the mathematical premium by about one third for expenses and contingencies.

This heavy loading has proved unnecessary and excessive, and has indirectly been the source of one of the greatest evils with which the business of life insurance has had to contend. No doubt the principal reason for doing this has been a vague feeling of insecurity, arising from the idea that there must necessarily be a great uncertainty in a business depending on the duration of human life. In reality, however, if we leave out the possibility of losses by fraudulent management and foolish investment, against which no amount of loading will insure, there is hardly a branch of human affairs more certain than the business of life insurance, if only the number of lives insured is sufficiently large. For example, if we take 100,000 men, each 30 years of age, in average health, and of good character and habits, there is hardly any thing in human affairs more certain than that more than 99,080 of them will be living at the end of a year, and, in all probability, more than 99,120 will survive. If they are also free from constitutional disease, and from any hereditary tendency to consumption, we may confidently stake any worldly interest on one-half of them living beyond the age of 66 years. The case is one of those numerous ones in which the very uncertainty respecting individuals is productive of almost absolute certainty respecting masses. Still, it is not to be expected that the deaths will exactly follow the tables of mortality; and there is a very simple mathematical rule for finding what deviation it is necessary to allow for. The probable range of uncertainty is represented by the square root of the probable number of deaths as deduced from the tables, and we may consider the double of this range as a limit beyond which it is not necessary to make any allowance. For instance, in the case we have just supposed, of 100,000 men aged 30, the probable number of deaths the year following indicated by the tables is 843. The square root of this number is 29, which, added to 843, gives 872 as the number which the deaths are not likely to exceed. Adding it a second time, we have 901 as a number which it is almost certain they will not exceed, and beyond which it is hardly necessary to allow for. Again, if the probable

number of deaths in a company be 100 a year, they will seldom exceed 110, and a whole generation may pass without their exceeding 120. If they are above the average some years, they will be below it in others, so that the actual allowance which prudence demands is even less than the probable range for a year. On the whole, we may say that in a company insuring 10,000 lives, five per cent. would have been ample for contingencies of this class, while if the number amounts to 100,000, it need not amount to two per cent.

The fact is, experience has proved that our companies need not have made any allowance at all for excess of deaths over the tabular number. The mortality tables now commonly used in life insurance computations are derived from the "combined experience" of seventeen English life companies between 1762 and 1840. The experience of our own companies has been decidedly more favorable than that of the English, for two reasons: In the first place it is a familiar statistical fact that with the progress of wealth and intelligence there is a constant tendency to increased longevity, or, more exactly, a constant diminution in the number of deaths during youth and middle life. In the next place, our companies are, as a rule, more severe in the selection of lives than the English companies have been. Between a life which is clearly insurable, and one which is clearly non-insurable, there is a pretty wide range, within which American companies are more inclined to reject risks than the English companies have been.

There is another circumstance which has favored newly formed companies in a very important degree. A man is nearly always sick before he dies; the approach of death is generally visible months, or even years, before it actually arrives. In a mortality table the sick and well are necessarily mixed together. But an insurance company admits only well and healthy men, in whom no trace of incipient disease can be found. The result is that the mortality among newly assured members is materially less than that of the tables; so much less, in fact, that the advantage to the company, during the first three years, is almost equivalent to the first year's insurance. Thus a newly formed company, if not unlucky, has a very good fund for starting itself in business. As a matter of fact, we believe that if all the large American companies had charged only the mathematical net premiums, and had managed their business without cost, they could have made good all their obligations to their policy-holders, and still have had a handsome surplus.

As regards interest, we have said that the mathematical premiums in this country are generally calculated at four per cent. But the

actual rate, instead of falling below this figure, has ranged from five to seven per cent., and is not soon likely to fall below the former figure. There is therefore no need of "loading" for this contingency. We have left only expenses as a basis for loading, and the question of expenses of management is one we shall consider hereafter.

From what has been said, it will now to be seen that the annual premium paid for life insurance consists of three parts:

(1) A sum paid for insuring the life until the next premium is due. In theory this sum is supposed to be expended by the company in paying current losses by death.

(2) An additional sum to compensate for the increased liability to death in future years. This sum is kept out at compound interest by the company to assist in fulfilling its obligation to the policy-holder when he dies, and its accumulated amount is the sum it should always be willing to pay to be released from this obligation. It is designated "value of the policy," or "premium reserve," and is the share of the policy in the assets of the company.

(3) The "loading," to make good expenses and all possible contingencies. If the company is economically managed, and no extraordinary accidents arise, the accumulation of this last item should all be paid back as dividends.

In the case of the company we have already described, the premium actually paid would be \$2.27 instead of \$1.70. The assured being 30 years of age, and having an ordinary life policy, his premium would be made up as follows:—

One year's insurance on his life for \$100	\$ 0.84
Reserve for insurance in future years	0.86
Loading for expenses and contingencies	0.57
Total premium to be actually paid	2.27

If, instead of a life policy, he had an endowment policy, payable at 60, or at his death if he died before that age, the premium would be \$3.18, made up about as follows:

One year's insurance for \$100	\$ 0.84
Reserve for endowment	1.54
Loading for contingencies	0.80
Total premium	3.18

It will be seen that while the premiums of the ordinary policy contribute annually \$1.43 to the investments of the company, those of the endowment policy contribute \$2.34, or over 60 per cent. more.

We have thus shown how every policy-holder in a life insurance company contributes to the funds of the company a constant surplus over the cost and risk of insurance, which surplus the company keeps out at interest, in order to insure its ability to pay the insurance when due. We have also seen that as life advances, this accumulated surplus gradually approaches the amount of the insurance. Now, under our present system of life insurance, this surplus, the gradually accumulated savings of years, and as much the equitable property of the member as deposits in a savings bank, is liable at any moment to be totally forfeited to the company by any one of the numerous accidents which may prevent the payment of a premium on the day when due, and, with it, the policy-holder loses in a moment all that he has acquired by his previous payments. No one would object to any reasonable fine for delinquencies, nor to the companies making every possible provision to insure themselves against direct or indirect loss or damage through such delinquency. But, the absolute and indiscriminate forfeiture of all the rights the policy-holder has acquired, be they great or small, is so completely at variance with the equity which governs every other branch of business, that its continued legal existence is a marvel, to be accounted for only by the ignorance on the part of the law of any thing but the words of the contract. To take a parallel case, suppose a landowner should make a contract with a builder to erect him a house, payment for which was to be made in a number of installments, with the provision that in case any payment was not made on or before the day when due, house, land, and all previous payments should be forfeited to the builder. If such cases were at all numerous; if every one who had a house built was compelled to enter into such a contract, and if thousands of people had thus lost their houses as thousands have lost their policies of life insurance, we may be sure that the courts would soon begin to consider the contracts as simple mortgages, which the owner could redeem by subsequent payment of the amount due.

We propose now to consider how such cases may be equitably dealt with, so as to afford as complete a remedy as is consistent with entire security on the part of the company. Before doing so, however, it may be well to examine some partial and incomplete remedies which are more or less in operation. We find three such:—a growing custom on the part of the better companies to renew lapsed policies in certain cases; the issue of so-called non-forfeiture policies; and the Massachusetts non-forfeiture law.

Some of our larger companies, perhaps all of them, will, “only as

an act of grace" however, renew a lapsed policy, provided that the assured is alive and in good health. If however he is sick or dead; that is, if he is in the very condition against which he has been making all his payments, this fails.

The "non-forfeiture" policies are such as are paid up by a limited number of annual payments, usually five or ten. For each payment made the assured becomes entitled to a paid-up policy for a proportional amount. For instance, if he has a policy for \$10,000, to be paid for in ten installments, after two installments are paid he becomes entitled to a paid-up policy for \$2,000; after three installments, to one for \$3,000, and so on. But, so far as the writer's knowledge extends, and he can not pretend to any extended knowledge of the exact provisions of the policies of this class issued by all the various companies, these policies are as forfeitable as any others, because they contain the very same forfeiture clause. They do not themselves provide for the payment of the proportionate amount on the death of the assured, but only promise that on surrendering them, the assured can have a new policy for that amount. It is nearly certain that if he die without surrendering the old policy his heirs will get nothing: it is doubtful whether the companies generally will make the exchange after the lapse of the old one. These are however points on which, in the absence either of legal decisions or of the publication by the companies of the exact terms of their policies of this class, it is impossible to speak with entire confidence.

The Massachusetts non-forfeiture law is the most important and praiseworthy step yet taken in this country in the direction of equity. It provides that, notwithstanding the non-payment of premiums, the policy shall be continued in force a certain length of time, determined from the tables of mortality, and if the assured die within this limit, his policy is paid. Yet, notwithstanding the salutary nature of this law, it does not completely satisfy the demands of equity. In the first place it allows the forfeiture of all the additions to the policy from dividends. Now, these dividend additions are really policies paid up for the whole life of the assured out of the proceeds of the extra premium which the company has charged for contingencies and has not needed. They are bought and paid for with the money of the policy-holder, and there is no more reason for their forfeiture on account of non-payment of subsequent premiums than there is for the forfeiture of his house. Their omission from the law can only be regarded as a sop to the insurance Cerberus.

A much slighter short coming is that the companies, in addition to

the dividends, are allowed to retain one-fifth of the premium reserve. We shall hereafter see a reason why they might retain a small percentage of it; but not so much as one-fifth.

Finally, the company, if they have to pay the policy at all, are allowed to take out from it the whole amount of unpaid premiums, with interest. At first sight this looks very reasonable, for, if they are not taken out, the assured, if he died within the assigned time, would actually have gained an advantage by his failure to pay. But, he has lost a corresponding advantage, that of having his insurance continued beyond a specified date, and this date is, by the very terms of the law, calculated upon the assumption that the unpaid premiums are not to be taken out. The law requires in effect, that the accumulated excess of the net premiums paid in, over and above the cost of the insurance, shall first be determined for the day on which the policy lapsed, that then the time that four-fifths of this amount will continue the policy without any subsequent premiums being paid shall be determined, and that the policy shall be continued accordingly. Now, it is very evident that an insurance from which premiums are to be deducted can be continued longer than one from which no deductions are to be made. Indeed if the company could recover from the policy-holder's heirs the whole amount of unpaid premiums, with compound interest, whether it was greater or less than the sum assured, the policy could be continued during the whole life of the assured, irrespective of any lapse of payment. The system does in fact make the man pay twice for the same insurance, in case of his death.

It must, however, in justice to the law, be said that there is a possible reason for taking out the premiums which must not be overlooked. It is conceivable that a policy-holder, finding that he was certainly going to die before the law would allow his policy to lapse, might discontinue the payment of premium without running the mathematical risk of total loss deduced from the mortality tables. But, the cases in which such a trick could be safely practiced must be too rare to be worth taking into account. If, however, for this or any other reason, it is considered advisable to take out the unpaid premiums, the limit of time to which the policy is good should be extended accordingly.

This excellent law was at first fought by some of the leading Massachusetts companies with a blindness truly extraordinary. They tried to make a bargain with all new members that they should give up their rights under the law in consideration of being permitted to share in the profits from lapsed policies. Among the questions put

to applicants was one which was in substance, whether they knew that the non-forfeiture law would not apply to their policy; and the writer was personally cognizant of a case in which an applicant was rejected for answering this question with a *No*. Very gratifying proof of the enlightenment of the public conscience is afforded by the fact that the companies soon gave up this vain and suicidal contest, and now advertise the non-forfeiture law in all their announcements.

It is due to justice to say, as a matter of history, that the conception and passage of this law is due largely or entirely to Mr. Elizur Wright, then Insurance Commissioner of Massachusetts. The annual reports of this officer to the Legislature may almost be regarded as unique contributions to the literature of life insurance, combining, as they did, clearness, incisiveness, and soundness in a remarkable degree. In his contest with the companies he kept to windward on every tack. To cite a single example of how completely he did this, the companies, among their numerous objections to the law, complained of the enormous labor of finding out how long a policy ought to be kept in force. Mr. Wright soon met them with an extended table, showing at a glance how many years and days any life policy whatever would have to run at any stage.

We now reach the question. In what manner ought a company, in equity, to deal with policies which have lapsed through a failure on the part of their holders to pay a premium? The course most in accordance with the strict legal construction of the contract would be to return to the policy-holder his accumulated savings, which the company has been keeping for the sole purpose of enabling it to pay his policy, and which, as we have seen, has arisen entirely from the excess of his contribution over the cost of insurance. If the company is released from its obligation to the policy-holder, it has no longer the shadow of an equitable right to this fund, except that it should be allowed to retain a reasonable amount as damages for the loss of a member. The justice of this will soon be apparent. If all forfeitures were purely accidental, no member ever intentionally withdrawing from the company, there would be no need of any but nominal damages. But it is impossible to decide between an accidental and an intentional default, and if the principle is established that the company is to pay all defaulting members their full share of the assets of the company, it would be the same thing as allowing each member to withdraw with these assets at pleasure. If every person was equally healthy during his whole life, and death were an instantaneous and unforeseen accident, there would be hardly any more valid objection

to this course than to allowing depositors in a savings bank to withdraw at pleasure. But every company contains members who have lost health, and are not likely to live their proper term, and it is conceivable that all the healthy members might, under the system we are considering, withdraw from the company with their assets, leaving the sickly ones without sufficient means to secure their insurance. A life insurance company may, in fact, be said to invest in a man's health, and if that investment proves a good one the company has a right to the benefit of it. Consequently, in the cases under consideration, the company must be allowed to retain a sufficient share to remunerate them for the loss of a healthy member. The exact share it is impossible to fix without more statistical data respecting sickness than we now possess, but we may be sure that ten per cent. would be a most liberal allowance, and probably twice as much as would be really necessary.

For the very reason that a company can not return a healthy member the full amount of his assets, it can return an unhealthy one a great deal more; and if the latter is sure to die speedily, the equitable sum to which he is entitled may be almost the full amount of his policy. The difficulty of deciding on the state of one's health, and expressing it in numbers suggests another way of dealing with the funds of the defaulting policy-holder, which, though less in accordance with the terms of the policy, is more in accordance with the business relations of the parties. The more healthy the man, the more cheaply the company should insure his life for a limited term, say one year. The more sickly he is, the more the insurance will cost; until, if he is dying of consumption or apoplexy, it will cost almost the whole amount insured. In other words, the sum which the company ought to pay the defaulting or withdrawing member, so far as that sum depends on his state of health, is proportional to the cost or risk of insuring his life for a definite term. The most natural and convenient course would therefore be to pay him in insurance instead of money, a course which is recommended by the further circumstance that insurance is the very commodity in which the company deals. But this brings us to the system of the Massachusetts non-forfeiture law, under which the company insures the life for a period depending on the amount of net premiums actually received over cost of past insurance. The course directed by this law therefore seems to be the one most consonant with equity to all parties. The amount which the company should be allowed to retain as damages for the loss of a member is a matter of detail into

which we shall only enter to remark that if this were fixed at 5 per cent. of the reserve of the policy, the company would still be able to profit by the withdrawal of members.

We have spoken of the possible injustice to the company involved in allowing its members the option of withdrawing all their funds from it. We may add that in general the allowing of options in which the assured may take one course if he is well, and another if he is sick and likely to die, his money, for instance, in the former case, and its equivalent in insurance in the latter would not be strictly just to the company. But, there is one circumstance which shows that the injustice likely to be done in this way is not very serious. Many companies are in the habit of allowing their assured the option of taking their dividends either in cash, or in its equivalent in insurance, and they may choose the latter course without giving any information respecting the state of their health. Thus, many who are sure to die within a week or a year, who are entitled to a certain sum in cash from the profits made by the company are allowed to take two or three times the amount in insurance, just as if they were in good health. Yet, the fact that this option has been given by companies for a whole generation shows that no serious inconvenience has been felt from it.

We have said that a serious objection to insuring one's life arises from the practical management of the business. All the expenses of the company must, of course, be paid from the premiums received from policy-holders, so that the greater the expenses, the more costly the insurance. As life insurance partakes largely of the nature of an investment, it soon becomes a bad one if a large fraction of the money is expended in the single act of investing. In every respect except expensiveness, Americans may point with pride to the management of their life insurance companies. Fraud, in connection with that business, has been almost unknown, while the very few failures have resulted from a too sanguine spirit on the part of managers. But, when we consider the expenses of our companies, we can not avoid the conclusion that they are managed with such extravagance as to seriously diminish the benefit of insuring in them. The reports of the Massachusetts Insurance Commissioners show that the average annual expenses of all the larger companies in the country, generally amount to nearly or quite 20 per cent. of the entire premiums received, and, in some years, actually exceed the amount paid out for losses by death! A policy-holder, paying in money for the benefit of himself and family in future years, finds twenty dollars in every

hundred absorbed before it gets invested. A company organized to insure lives, pays out more money for the cost of management than it does to the heirs of policy-holders. What more astounding picture of extravagance could we have?

A large part of this money, we have no data for saying exactly what portion, but probably much more than half, and very likely three-fourths, is paid to men whose only important service is to induce people to insure. Each company must have an expensive office and head agent in every town where it expects much business. If the town is of any size or importance there will be a number of opposition offices. If the people do not come to his office in sufficient numbers, he must employ drummers, and a drummer may expend a whole day's work in getting a single recruit. The agent and his drummers must live, and the cost of a fine office in the most expensive part of the town must be paid. All this involves very liberal expenditure, and, the further west we go, the more liberality we find. Of course, we have no exact data for saying just what the arrangements between each company and its agents are, as these are matters of private business. But, in the West, extraordinary stories are told of the commissions agents receive. It is said that half the first premium is a very common commission, and the whole of it is one not unknown, while of subsequent premiums the agent is allowed to retain from five to twenty per cent.

This expenditure has been possible only in consequence of the unjustifiably heavy premiums companies are in the habit of charging. Of course all the superficial arguments are on the side of such premiums. To be assured \$100 at his death for an annual payment of two dollars and a quarter, seems like a wonderful bargain, and it is very easy to convince the average man that a company which would guarantee him the same sum for two dollars must be too unsafe to trust. We have already shown how rapidly the funds of the company must accumulate under these heavy premiums. A net premium is first calculated from the most unfavorable data: interest at 4 per cent., and a rate of mortality exceeding that which actually obtains in the best selected lives. Having thus got a perfectly sure premium, it is increased by one-third for "contingencies." The interest actually being 6 per cent., and the contingencies (expenses excepted) being all in favor of the company, a surplus is constantly accumulating, the disposition of which has been one of the great problems of life insurance. In the larger and better companies all that can be spared is now returned to the policy-holders who have contributed to it, but other companies expend it in the manner we have just described.

If any one wishes to form an idea of the difficulties which every attempt to reform the management of life insurance must meet with, he has only to study the attempt made by the largest company in the country, two years ago, to cease adding this useless surplus to its premiums. The reform was one against which it was impossible to raise any valid argument, for the simple reason that all reason and all experience showed the extra premium to be useless, corrupting, and expensive. But, so loud a clamor was raised by the other companies against the reduction, that the Mutual was obliged to succumb, and continue the circulation of money from the policy-holders to the company, and from the company back to the policy-holders the money being depleted by the commissions of agents on each round.

It is only fair to remark that the extraordinary ratio of expenses to premium receipts which we have mentioned, are averages for the principal companies of the country, and that if we take only the two or three best Eastern companies, we shall find their expenses to be only from eight to twelve per cent. of the premiums received. But, this amount is far in excess of what can be really necessary, the principal item in it being "commissions to agents." The employment of agents to secure business was no doubt necessary in the early years of life insurance, but the business has now developed to a degree in which such auxiliaries should no longer be necessary. It is indeed considered by the best insurance authorities that agents can not be dispensed with, the ground for this belief being that nearly all new business comes through agents. But, this is no index to what might be the result of dispensing with all agents, and letting the public know that by doing so, the largest item in the expense of insurance was saved.

If it be really true that hardly any would insure their lives unless solicited to do so, a proposition that the writer is by no means willing to admit, there is a very easy course through the difficulty. The fact which has not been taken in account is that the larger companies have at their hand in every part of the country and in great numbers, a body of agents far more numerous and effective than those they actually employ, of whose services they may avail themselves gratuitously. These are their own members. Their great advantage is that their personal acquaintance may be said to embrace the entire community, while that of any one agent is necessarily extremely limited. It would be difficult to find a respectable young man who has not among his acquaintance one or more members of some leading life insurance company, but it is not likely that more than a very small fraction are personally acquainted with a life insurance agent. If the

agent seeks him out, he labors under all the disadvantages of being looked upon as an interested individual of a not very welcome class. How great the advantage of the members themselves as soliciting agents, may be judged by the simple reflection that if each of the present members of the larger companies should, on the average, bring in one new recruit in five years, the growth of the company would be sufficient to satisfy the most ambitious. The actual number they could and would bring in, if properly appealed to by the company is probably much greater than this.

Of course it will not do simply to drop the agencies, and take no further steps. The members must be appealed to, and their support in the plan secured, a support which ought to be and would be freely given, because they are the parties really most interested. Of course there must be some sort of an office in each town, and the natural office is that of the examining physician. Under the present system, the first duty the agent has to perform is to give the applicant the proper blank form, and send him to the physician. The necessary blanks, information, and instructions can just as well be obtained from the physician as from the agent. Indeed we are much mistaken if, at the present time, many examining physicians are not quite ready to perform all the duties of agents after an applicant once puts in his appearance. Finally, if any precedent is wanted for the entire success of the plan of dispensing with agents, it is found in the case of several of the leading companies of London, which have gained great advantages by this very policy.

Life Insurance Companies are becoming the great savings banks of the country. Their features unite a provision for the family in case of death with a provision for old age in case of life. The necessities which the companies have supposed they were under, of charging premiums enormously above the cost of insurance, have resulted in the savings bank feature entirely outgrowing the life insurance feature. For the sums thus saved, the companies should be held to a strict responsibility. That the entire deposits of each individual in the bank, with all the interest and all the profits they have gained, should be in constant danger of being lost through an accident which may happen to any one on a payment coming due, and that the cost of receiving and managing the fund should amount to fifteen or twenty per cent. of the whole amount deposited, are blots on the system so dark that it may be an open question whether hitherto the evils of life insurance have not exceeded its benefits. We must live in the hope that with public enlightenment on this subject a better era will dawn upon it.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF REPUBLICANISM IN EUROPE.

I FEEL some diffidence in writing for an American periodical on a subject of which, from one point of view, American readers have an amount of practical knowledge that few Europeans can have. And I feel some diffidence too in taking up a subject which I can hardly treat except as in some sort a continuation of essays which I have myself written elsewhere, but which my present readers may never have seen. But the comparison of the different forms of government, especially of the different forms of executive, the balancing of the good and bad sides of each, is a study which has for many years occupied my thoughts; and the events of our own time are constantly supplying somewhat to add to or to modify what I have written about such matters, even a few years ago. More than ten years ago, in November 1864, I wrote in the "National Review,"—which has since unhappily come to an end—an article on Presidential Government, afterwards reprinted in my first Series of Historical Essays. In that essay I compared the three main forms of executive, the hereditary and irresponsible king, with or without a responsible ministry; the single responsible president; and the executive council. And among the different varieties of these three which have arisen in various countries and various ages, I picked out three typical examples for special consideration, namely, the Constitutional Monarchy of England, the Presidency of the United States, and the Federal Council of Switzerland. Nine years later, in October 1873, I took up a subject in some respects kindred in the "Fortnightly Review," in an article headed "The Growth of Commonwealths." In this my object was to show that those States have been most stable and prosperous which, in casting off an old allegiance or in ordering their political constitution afresh, made no more change than was absolutely needful, and did not violently snap the tie between the old and the new state of things. Among many other instances, both in earlier and in later times, I mentioned the two confederations of Switzerland

and the United States, as examples of commonwealths whose success has been largely owing to the comparatively small amount of change which accompanied their acquisition of independence: and, from this point of view, I contrasted them with the ephemeral commonwealths which have from time to time sprung up in France—commonwealths which have been ephemeral largely because they have had no root in the past. But, since 1864, and even since 1873, some new pages of the history of the world have been written; events have happened which throw fresh light on the subjects which I took in hand at those several times. Events have happened on both sides of the ocean which have thrown new light on the comparison of the three chief forms of executive. And events have happened which have once more shown that to change the constitution of a country, whether from a monarchy to a commonwealth or from a commonwealth to a monarchy, is neither an easy task nor one that can be carried out in mere obedience to any ingenious theory. As the course of thought which these events call out would seem to have a special interest for citizens of the commonwealth whose constitution and history must always hold so great a place in all inquiries of this kind, I have gladly accepted the invitation to deal with some kindred points of political study in the pages of an American periodical. I do not know that the year and a half since 1873, that the ten years since 1864, need cause me to withdraw any thing which I said at either of those times. But the events of those ten years have added much to our stock of knowledge. Those events may require that I should modify some statements of fact which were true then but are less true now. Most of the changes which have happened have been simply the development of principles which were already at work, and have only given us new examples of old and unchanging laws.

First, as to the comparison between the three chief forms of executive, events have happened both in England and the United States which put the comparison between the forms of executive in the two countries in a somewhat different light. When I drew my comparison between the theory and practice of the executive in the two great English-speaking lands—between the King and his ministers in the United Kingdom and the President and his Cabinet in the United States—I pointed out that the real comparison lay, not between the President and the King, but between the President and the King's chief minister. That the real comparison lay here had not come into men's minds at the time when the American Federal Constitution was framed; indeed, in the days when George the Third was king, it

may be doubted whether the position would have been a true one. At all events it is certain that, just as Blackstone and De Lolme, when writing of the English Constitution, took no notice of that body, unknown to the law but so all-important in practice, which is now familiarly known as the *Government*, so no notice of it was taken by Hamilton and the other supporters of the American Constitution in the "Federalist." They made their comparison directly between the King and the President, and they showed that the legal restrictions on the will of the President were far greater than the legal restrictions on the will of the King. They did not point out, because in their day it was much less obvious, indeed much less true, than it is now, that the personal will of the English King counts for much less than the personal will of the American President. The legal powers of the King are indeed far greater than those of the President; but the President is far less fettered—though perhaps more fettered than the framers of the constitution meant him to be—in the exercise of those powers which the law gives him. Of the vast powers which the written law of England still vests in the King, some are now never exercised at all; the rest are exercised only under the advice of ministers who can hold office only so long as the House of Commons approves of them. If the House of Commons disapproves of their conduct, it can at any moment, by a process informal indeed, but practically most effectual, remove from office. But since 1864 some public steps have been taken in the development of the unwritten constitution of England. In England every thing goes by precedent, and since 1864 a most novel and important precedent has been set. It has long been known that the ministers of the Crown are, though not formally, yet practically, appointed and removed by the representatives of the people. It has been shown that there are circumstances in which they can be, in the same practical though informal way, appointed and removed by the people themselves. It is not too much to say that, in November, 1868, Mr. Gladstone was chosen Prime Minister by the electors of the United Kingdom in their polling booths. He was as truly chosen by the popular vote as any president or other elected magistrate could be. Indeed, I should doubt whether a President of the United States is often called to power so directly by the voice of the people as Mr. Gladstone was then. Mr. Gladstone was not the choice of any caucus or convention; nor was he, for he had never been at the head of the Government before, the conventional chief of the Liberal party. The people of the United Kingdom, as by a sudden inspiration, chose Mr.

Gladstone to be the practical ruler of the kingdom. The existing government of Mr. Disraeli acknowledged and bowed to their choice ; they did not wait to face the newly chosen House of Commons, but resigned office before Parliament met, in deference to the unmistakable demand of the constituencies. The precedent thus set by Mr. Disraeli has since been followed by Mr. Gladstone. In February, 1874, the voice of the electors was as distinctly given against Mr. Gladstone as, in November, 1868, it had been given for him. Just as Mr. Disraeli had done, Mr. Gladstone did not wait for the meeting of Parliament, but resigned in deference to the voice of the constituencies. I ought to add that, in my own private opinion, I did not look upon the course taken by either minister as necessary or dignified. I held that a minister ought to receive his doom from the House of Commons only, and should not resign office on account of what is, after all, merely a surmise as to what a newly chosen House of Commons is likely to do. But the thing has been done ; a course first adopted by Mr. Disraeli and then followed by Mr. Gladstone, will undoubtedly be looked on as a precedent, and will be followed by future ministers. It will become one of the principles of the unwritten constitution of England that the electors in their polling booths can appoint and remove a minister as well as the House of Commons in the palace of Westminster. In this way it is, I think, clear, that in certain cases, in every case of a dissolution of Parliament, the people of the United Kingdom have a more direct voice in the choice of him who is practically their chief magistrate, than the people of the United States have. In no case, save that of a legal impeachment for some legal crime, can an American president be removed before the end of the term of office for which he is chosen. An English prime minister, for however short a time he may have held office, may be removed by the House of Commons at any moment when Parliament is sitting, and he may be removed by the people themselves, if a dissolution of Parliament happen, either through the operation of the law or because the minister has himself chosen to run the risk.

In this way it is plain that since 1864 precedents have been set which have brought a new principle into the unwritten constitution of England. The direct action of the people, as distinguished from the action of the representatives in the House of Commons, is now acknowledged in a way in which it was not acknowledged before. And I think that I can also see a change in a smaller point which is not likely to have drawn to itself much of public attention. I need not explain that the body known as the Cabinet is absolutely unknown

to the written law of England. The law knows the members of such a cabinet as members of either House of Parliament ; it knows them as privy-councillors, and as holders of the particular offices which they usually hold. In their collective character as a cabinet or "government," the law knows nothing about them. The law assumes that the sovereign does no act except by the advice of some one or other of his privy council, but, as far as the written law knows, any particular act is as likely to have been done by the advice of one privy-councillor as of another. In the view of the written law, any act done by the royal authority at this moment is as likely to have been suggested by Mr. Gladstone as by Mr. Disraeli. Both are alike privy-councillors ; the fact that Mr. Gladstone holds no office, while Mr. Disraeli stands first among the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Treasurer, makes all the difference in the eye of the unwritten constitution. It makes no difference in the eye of the written law. Now for a long time it has been usual for the sovereign, wherever he goes, to have always with him one of his secretaries of the state to countersign any documents which may have to be put forth in the royal name, and thereby to take the responsibility of such documents upon himself. Within the last few years a different rule has been introduced. The duty of constant attendance on the sovereign, which used to be taken by the secretaries of state in turn, is now taken by all the members of the cabinet in turn. Now, as I have just said, so far as the written law goes, a member of the cabinet, except in the actual discharge of some particular office, differs in nothing from another privy-councillor. The secretaries of state are by their office the natural persons to be in attendance on the sovereign. There seems no reason why such a duty should be laid on the President of the Board of Trade or the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The change is clearly a step, though perhaps a small one, toward the more direct recognition of that singular body which is so great in the eye of the unwritten constitution, so utterly unknown in the eye of the written law.

Meanwhile, since I wrote in 1864, changes have happened on the American as well as on the European side of the ocean. I am shy of writing about matters of which my readers must have far more knowledge than myself. But I conceive that I am safe in saying that, while the events of the last ten years have clothed the President of the United States, as regards the several States, with a degree of power unthought of before the war, it has also been shown that, when President and Congress come into direct collision, the Congress is the

stronger power of the two. One of the points on which I insisted in comparing the three chief forms of executive government, was the relation between President and Congress, as compared with the relation between an English minister and an English House of Commons. The minister and the House of Commons have each of them means of getting rid of the other. The minister can dissolve Parliament; the House of Commons can pass a vote of censure on the minister, or reject some measure, which he deems equivalent to a vote of censure. The President cannot dissolve Congress, nor can Congress remove the President, except by the legal process of impeachment on a charge of some legal crime. In the Swiss Federal constitution, the Federal Council cannot dissolve the Assembly, neither can the Assembly remove the Federal Council. But under the provisions of the Swiss constitution, dissensions between the legislature and the executive are much less likely to happen than they are in the United States.

But nothing that has happened in England, nothing even that has happened in the United States, has been so fitted to set the political student thinking about the different forms of executive, as what has happened since 1864 in two of the great nations of continental Europe. When I wrote in 1864, the only example of presidential government which I saw any need to discuss was the Presidency of the United States. It was then the only example in the world of that form of government on a great scale. The other examples which I had occasion to speak of, in which a single magistrate is placed at the head of a republican state, were either things of the past, or were to be found in secondary commonwealths, like the particular States of the Swiss and American Confederations. The President of the United States stood out as the type of his class, the great example to be compared with the constitutional sovereign in England and with the Federal Council in Switzerland. To be sure, in 1864 one other example of presidential government, though a thing of the past, was not a thing of the remote past. Thirteen years only had then passed since the experience of France had shown how easily, under certain circumstances, the president of a commonwealth may change into its tyrant. Since then the events which have happened in the same land, and in a neighboring land, have largely increased our experience of commonwealths and presidents. Since 1864 two great European nations have declared themselves republics. The greater of the two calls itself a republic still. The questions arising out of these great changes are not only among the greatest practical questions of present European politics, but they also suggest much of

instructive thought for those with whom political constitutions are a subject of scientific study.

The events of the last few years, both in France and Spain, seem to me very strongly to illustrate the difficulties which must follow on the attempt to establish republican forms of government in the old monarchic States of Europe. I am not arguing as a zealot either for or against any particular form of government. I hold that, of all follies in political matters, the greatest is to set out with any cut-and-dried theory on behalf of any form of government, be that form what it may, as abstractedly the best in all times and places. The best form of government for any particular country will commonly be found to be that which the events of its history have given it. Governments which are the creatures of theory do not commonly last. Governments which have sprung out of the history of the nation commonly do last. The strongest argument on behalf of the constitutional kingship of England, of the personal presidency of America, of the executive council of Switzerland, is that each of them exists; that each of them is a form of government which has arisen out of the events and necessities of the country. England has had kings of some kind ever since she was one united nation; the circumstances of her history have given to her kingship the special character which it now bears. The United States, in abjuring their allegiance to a king, did not, any more than the old Roman Commonwealth, abolish the kingly power; they simply transferred it from an hereditary and irresponsible king, holding his office for life, to an elective and responsible magistrate holding his office for a term. Switzerland, which, in its federal character, had never known a personal head of any kind, when the old weak Diet was changed into a real federal government, naturally limited the executive power far more than it is limited either in England or in America. And those powers which it left to its executive, it no less naturally intrusted, neither to a king nor to a president, but to a council. Each of the three countries then has that form of government which the events of its history have made natural for it. In all the three the existing political system is founded, not on any abstract theory, but on the practical needs of the time and place. Each of the three then will do wisely in keeping the form of government which its history has given it. Each will act wisely in making any changes in detail which its circumstances may call for; but any one of the three would act very foolishly if it tried bodily to transplant the system of either of the other two countries. Happily there does not seem the least likelihood of either of the three attempt-

ing any such unwise change. On all these points matters are much the same as they were in 1864. It is to France and Spain that we have to look for new knowledge on these matters. And if the late revolutions of those countries supply us with examples which we may be inclined rather to avoid than to follow, the instruction which we may draw from those revolutions is none the less valuable.

The third French republic, as it arose in 1870, and as it took something like a regular shape in 1871, had, as I remarked in my article of 1873, one very great merit. It came of itself, and was not the result of any theory. The fall of the tyranny left the country without any executive government of any kind, because the tyranny had no root in the history of the nation. Had the same amount of national misfortune fallen either on England or on the United States as then fell upon France, cannot not believe that all the powers of government would have been wiped out in the way in which they were wiped out in France. Either in England or in America, if any one of the lawful powers of the state remained—King or Parliament, President or Congress—that one power would form a center round which the other powers might gather afresh. Some irregular acts might be done, as they have been done in trying times in both countries; but we cannot believe that there would be any clean sweep of every thing, that there would be any need for all political institutions to start afresh from the beginning. In France, where none of the institutions of moment, neither tyrant nor senate nor legislative body, had any root in the history of the country, the whole fabric fell with a crash, and every thing had to start afresh. And the first start was by no means a bad one. A legislature and an executive were needed, and a legislature and an executive came, as one might almost say, of themselves. The Bourdeaux Assembly and the Presidency of M. Thiers might seem rude and simple elements; but their rudeness and their simplicity were their merit. The immediate needs of the country were supplied by the creation of some legislature and some executive, and, had things been let alone, law or custom might have gradually settled the relations of the two powers to one another, and the details of a settled government might have grown up around them as they were wanted. But no party in France seems to have been satisfied with this simple course. The rudimentary commonwealth would seem to have been set up, not for all good citizens to join their efforts in working it into a more finished shape, but simply as a butt for every party to aim at and to plot against. Every party has had some scheme or other, hostile to the growth and improvement

of the institutions which the working of events had given to the country. One party sought for a more advanced republic; another sought for a king by divine right; another sought for a constitutional king of the modern type; while men have been found so degraded, so dead to every feeling of patriotism and self-respect, so lost alike to the sense of shame and the sense of right, as to seek to lay themselves and their country once more under the heel of a tyrant. We came to see the strange sight of a land where the government was in name a republic, where the word "Republic" appeared in every national document, on every coin and every stamp, but where for a man to be called a Republican was held to imply that he was disloyal to the existing republic. We came to see the strange sight of a republic whose chief magistrate was confessedly a stop-gap, a stalking-horse, in his best form an *Interrex*, holding a provisional power till it was agreed at the feet of which king or tyrant the nation should again throw itself. Men who know not what the words Republic or Democracy mean, men who shut their eyes to the teaching alike of the past and of the present, men to whom the institutions of Athens and Rome, of Uri and Ditmarsh, of our own forefathers in our own land, are alike utterly unknown, can glibly chatter in speeches and newspapers and books, and point to France and Spain as proving forever the utter weakness and worthlessness of republican institutions. Men who fancy that "Republic" necessarily means Democracy, and that "Democracy" necessarily means anarchy—men with whom the possession for all time is of less value than a modern newspaper, and who do not read their modern newspaper with care enough to know whether the Swiss Confederation has altered its constitution or whether it has any constitution at all—are ready enough to point a moral from facts which they do not understand, and sometimes, in their more festive moments, they seem unable so much as to propose the health of their own sovereign without indulging in ungenerous taunts on the institutions of other lands. Surely a deeper respect is shown to the institutions of England, a truer loyalty is shown to the sovereign whom the law puts at the head of those institutions, by looking at the constitution of England simply as that form of government which has grown out of the events of English history, as the form of government which reason therefore pronounces to be the best for England, while the same process of argument leads it to pronounce that other forms are equally the best for other lands. Still, late events in France and Spain do point their moral, though it is a very different moral from that which is drawn

from it by blind and obstinate ignorance. They do not prove that a republic, or any other form of government, is inherently good or inherently bad; but they do prove that a republic, like any other kind of government, is a hard thing to set up, when it has to be set up without any historical groundwork. And they prove moreover that in most of the modern attempts to set up republics, their founders have begun at the wrong end.

The question might be raised whether the governments which have at different times in later French history been called republics have really any right to that name. If the word republic or commonwealth is to have any practical meaning, it surely means something more than that the executive power is vested in some one who is neither a king nor a king's minister. I am far from denying the rights of aristocratic commonwealths, like those of Venice and Bern in past times, to bear the name of commonwealths. We condemn, and rightly, the confining of all political power to one order in the commonwealth; still it is plain that in a commonwealth of this kind all republican qualities may flourish in the highest degree within the privileged order. In France, on the other hand, it is hard to see that there is any room for the exercise of real republican qualities. Under all forms of government, whether republic, king, or tyrant, there is the same utter prostration before the government. As long as mayors and prefects openly and impudently meddle with elections, it really matters very little what is the nature of the power by whom mayors and prefects are appointed. A free state is free, not so much because its executive, or even because its legislature, takes a certain shape, as because its people are free to speak their minds and to act as they choose, within the limits of the law, in all matters public and private. According to English or American notions, that is the best form of government, whatever may be its name, that best secures these powers to its people. But governments which arbitrarily suppress newspapers, which keep cities and districts in a state of siege, which encourage their agents to tread freedom under foot, are not any the more worthy to be called commonwealths because their executive chiefs may be called presidents, and not kings or emperors. In England and Switzerland and America, national freedom has grown out of personal and local freedom. The national power has taken such shapes as have been found consistent with personal and local freedom. If some of us are beginning to think that, in England at least, a little more centralization would not be amiss, if some of the theories of local inde-

pendence are beginning to seem a little worn out, it is simply because the nation at large has won so much direct power over the national government, that centralization no longer looks so dangerous as it once did. A man who trudges through muddy roads which the local board neglects to repair, begins to wish that a government inspector might be sent to make the local board do its duty. In France it is all the other way. Whatever may be the form of the executive government, its powers are exactly the same, its way of acting is exactly the same. A large part of the French people have lost the habit of doing any thing for themselves; they expect the government to do every thing for them. People in this state of mind cannot have any real republican feelings. They can have nothing of that spirit of independence which exists in truly free states, whatever may be their form of executive, which is common to England, America, Switzerland, and Norway. If France ever wishes to have a real republic, it must begin in quite another way from any in which it ever has begun. That form of executive, that form of legislature, will be the best which will most let the people alone, and which will do most to encourage them in habitually acting and thinking for themselves. The first step toward a real commonwealth will be, not to debate about this or that form of government, but to keep the government, whatever may be its form, within its proper range.

It is then not a little unreasonable to turn the ill success of governments which have lacked the simplest groundwork of republican character, into an argument against republican government in the abstract. But the fact that men think that they are founding republics, while they seem to have no notion of what is the very essence of a republic, shows how difficult the task is to set up republics in the present condition of Europe. That there is one successful commonwealth in Europe, people who declaim against republicanism always seem to forget; the causes which have made it successful, they would doubtless be unable to understand. The federal commonwealth of Switzerland has been successful because it was not made but grew. The various attempts at republics in France have been unsuccessful, because they did not grow but were made. And the fact that the Swiss commonwealth has, while the French commonwealth has not, the groundwork of really free local institutions, has a great deal to do with the fact that the one has grown and the other has been made. In France since 1789, the whole comes before the parts: departments, arrondissements, communes, are administrative divisions of the one whole called France. In Switzerland it is just the other

way. The parts come before the whole: the smaller units are not divisions of the whole, but the whole is made up by the aggregation of the smaller units. The confederation is a collection of cantons; each canton is a collection of *communes* or *gemeinden*. And each stage, *gemeinde*, canton, confederation, is alike self-acting within its own range. Here then there is every opportunity for the real republican spirit to grow and prosper. The national institutions are republican, because the local institutions are republican. None but a republican form of executive could possibly suit a people whose whole daily life is republican. In Switzerland the whole thing hangs together; in France, all that has been ever tried has been to set a republican head on a body which is not republican. Switzerland has the immeasurable advantage over France, that her institutions rest on an ancient and immemorial groundwork, that whatever is new in them has grown naturally and consistently out of the old. In this way many of her cantons have changed from oligarchies to democracies, many have risen from the rank of subjects to the rank of confederates, without ever utterly breaking with the past. France has broken with the past, and on her has therefore fallen the actual work of reconstruction. To reconstruct is far harder than to preserve, to develop, to improve. Still, when a nation is so unlucky as to be driven to reconstruction, there is a right and a wrong way of beginning the work. Switzerland has good local institutions ready made; France has still to make them. To found such institutions now will be a hard task; still the attempt to found them will be, if not more successful, at least more deserving of success, than the attempt to build up a republican superstructure where there is no republican foundation.

It may sound like a truism, if I say that the chief difficulty in the way of founding republics in France or Spain is the fact that there have been kings of France and Spain. What I mean will be plainer when I say, by way of contrast, that there never was a king of Switzerland or of the United States. Both those countries have been subject to kings; but there never was a king of either of those countries. What I mean here to insist on is, in fact, the same as the argument of my article of 1873. This was that those commonwealths were most successful where the nation and the commonwealth grew up together, and where the commonwealth arose by certain parts of a greater dominion gradually separating from the center. In such a case there need be no violent break. The authority of the central power gradually dies out or is thrown off; the colony, the district or the city, gradually becomes a sovereign commonwealth; its magis

trates and assemblies gradually change from the magistrates and assemblies of a municipality into the magistrates and assemblies of a sovereign State. This was the way in which the two great federal commonwealths of Europe and America grew up. I say grew up, because the process by which the United States separated from Great Britain, and the process by which the Swiss cantons separated from the Empire, though at first sight they seem very unlike one another, are essentially the same. The difference is that a process which took some centuries in the European case was got through in a few years in the American case. In America the royal authority was thrown off; in Switzerland it died out. But in both cases the process of separation was gradual, though it was far more speedy in one than in the other. In both cases there was an unbroken continuity between the States in their dependent and in their independent character. All that was needed was to frame terms of federal union for the States that were to enter into the federal relation. And here again the process has been gradual. Step by step, very lax terms of union have been exchanged for much closer terms. The *Staatenbund* has become a *Bundesstaat*. In this state of things there is no national life, there are no national memories, apart from the commonwealth; the institutions of the commonwealth grow up bit by bit along with the growth of the nation itself. This is a state of things wholly different from the case when an already existing nation, with definite boundaries on the map, and with long national memories, most of them perhaps identified with kingship, gets rid of its king and tries to set up some other form of executive. The commonwealth which comes in as a violent break in the history of an old State has by no means such good prospects as the commonwealth which grows up along with the growth of a new State. The experience of England, France, and Spain shows that, where kingship has been exchanged for some other form of government, it is possible not only to set up some other form of monarchy, but to restore the old kingship in the old house. It is possible to do so, because the old house is probably still in being, and because the old kingship still lives in men's memories. There is a definite something to fall back upon, something which has been and which may be again. There is therefore a temptation to restore kingship; a party in the State may very likely wish for it, and the accomplishment of their purpose need not make any change in the relation of the State toward other nations. Charles the Second, Lewis the Eighteenth, Alfonso the Twelfth, have all been restored; some day perhaps Henry the Fifth, or—grievous as is the thought—Napoleon the

Fourth, may be restored also. Charles, Lewis, Alfonso, have been restored because there was something to restore, and because their restoration did not necessarily affect the national position. England, France, and Spain are equally England, France, and Spain, whatever may be the form of government in each country. But this kind of change could not take place in Switzerland or in the United States. We may conceive some Cæsar or Buonaparte setting up a tyranny in either country; we cannot conceive the restoration of a lawful national kingship in either country, because there is no lawful national kingship to restore. The kingship to which they were once subject can not be restored without doing something much more serious than any change in the form of government. It can not be restored without the utter surrender of the national life. The sovereigns of Great Britain and Germany* are now, as regards the American and Swiss Confederations, simply foreign potentates. To bring them in again would be something very different from bringing in Charles, Alfonso, or even Henry. That is to say, the lasting establishment of a commonwealth in France or Spain is made a much harder task by the fact that there have been kings in France and Spain.

A commonwealth then which steps into the place of a monarchy in an already existing nation, has in any case a harder task before it than a commonwealth which is born along with the nation, and grows up along with it. But the task becomes harder still when all parties seem agreed in one point only, not to give the new commonwealth a fair chance. Till quite lately the main question in France seemed to be what kind of monarchy should take the place of the commonwealth. But one main question still seems to be how the commonwealth can be made most like a monarchy. Till the voting of the last constitution, the republic seemed to live only because the partisans of the two kinds of kingship and the baser votaries of tyranny each hoped that by keeping on the *interregnum* somewhat longer, they might have a better chance of in the end setting up their own kind of monarchy. Even now the great object seems to be to make the *Interrex* as much like a king as may be. It is curious to see how, in the constitutional proposals which have been passed or rejected since the fall of the Tyranny, ideas which are in place only in a monarchy have hung

* To avoid misconceptions I may say that, in my view, the modern German Empire, though in no sense a restoration of the Holy Roman Empire, is a real restoration of the ancient German Kingdom. The Empire of William of Hohenzollern fairly represents the German kingship from which the Thirteen Ancient Cantons gradually split off.

about every scheme. From the very beginning we heard of "ministers," and all that has happened since, shows that the theory of a ministry, a theory quite in its place in a constitutional monarchy, but quite out of place in a republic, has never been got rid of. The theory of a constitutional monarchy is that the existence of an hereditary king at once gives the state a greater stability, and provides for the more easy change of the actual governing power. The king, not chosen for his fitness to rule, but accepted through the accident of birth, must reign, but not govern. The real governing power must be men who act in his name, but who must resign their power at the implied bidding of the representatives of the people, or of the people themselves. In a commonwealth there is no place for this artificial system; there is no need for it, no meaning in it. In Switzerland, where the executive power is in the hands of a council, there is of course no room for a ministry. The council is at once king or president and ministry. The Federal councillors divide among themselves the chief departments of the state, but this is purely for convenience; every important act must be the act of the council as a body. This, to my mind, is the most perfect type of republican government; but, even where there is a personal president, I can see no room for a ministry in the sense which that word bears in a monarchy. The ministers, in a constitutional monarchy, govern in the name of a king whose birth entitles him to reign, but who may have no qualifications to govern. But, while the king is meant to reign without governing, the president is surely meant to govern without reigning. It is to be supposed that he is chosen on account of his capacity for government, and there can therefore be no need to appoint others to govern in his name. The only reason for making this or that man consul, president, or chief magistrate under any other title, is that he is held to be a fit person to discharge, according to his own discretion, those powers with which the constitution clothes the chief magistrate. Ministers of a certain kind he must have; he can not do the whole work of government with his own hands. But surely the nature of the case implies that such ministers will be strictly his own ministers, responsible to him, responsible doubtless to the law, responsible to the Assembly as the great inquest of the nation, but not responsible to the Assembly in that peculiar conventional sense in which an English ministry is said to be responsible to the House of Commons. Accordingly the constitution of the United States knows nothing of any ministry. The President is intrusted with certain powers to be used at his own discretion within the limits of the law. If he breaks

the law, means are provided for punishing him. The constitution assumes the existence of "principal officers in each of the executive departments;" but these are simply persons whose opinion the President may require in writing, but whose opinion the constitution in no way binds him to follow, or even to ask. That nothing approaching to a ministry in the English or French sense was designed, is plain from the article which forbids any person holding any office under the United States to be a member of either House of Congress. This restriction makes an utter difference between the two systems; for it is of the essence of the existence of a ministry in England, or in any other constitutional kingdom, that the ministers should be members of one or other House of Parliament. The ministers of a president are in truth more like the ministers of an absolute king than those of a constitutional king. They are his counsellors, but not his masters; they are to obey him, not he to obey them. Now it is well-known that, in the United States, a body called the Ministry or the Cabinet has grown into an importance which the founders of the constitution never dreamed of; but it still remains essentially different from an English ministry. This is shown in two points. An English king is personally irresponsible; his ministers take all the responsibility, legal and conventional, of all the acts which are done in his name. As the sovereign is beyond legal responsibility, he is held to be also beyond the reach of praise or blame for any political act. But, though American cabinets have grown into something which Washington and Hamilton never designed, they have not grown to that height that they can shelter the President either from praise or blame or from legal impeachment. And the old restriction which shuts out the President's advisers from Congress still remains; and, as long as it remains, the position of an English and of an American ministry will be wholly different. To speak my own mind, the Swiss system is better, more truly republican, more likely to promote a good understanding between the legislature and the executive, than the American. But the American system answers all the essential requirements of a republican constitution. However the cabinet may have grown, it has grown in a conventional and extra-constitutional manner; whether we think the exclusion of the President's ministers from Congress wise or not, there is nothing either in the constitution or in actual practice to put the ministers of the President in the same position as the ministers of the King.

By a late vote of her Assembly, France has now a republican constitution. I at least hope that that republican constitution may

live and prosper. But what are its chances? Let us look back at the various schemes which have been proposed from February, 1871, onwards. The notion of a ministry, a ministry in the English sense, except so far as it is to be something known to the law, begins with the beginning of the new republic, and has grown with what we may call its backward growth. M. Thiers was no *Interrex*, but a real president, a man whom the nation put at its head because he was the best man for its needs. No commission could be more honorable; but the brief decree which first appointed him took a strange form. It defined nothing as to his powers, nothing as to the duration of his office, nothing as to his relations to the Assembly. Under the exigency of the moment all decision was put off as to these points, points which make the difference between one constitution and another, and some decision about which is essential to any constitution at all. Still, even at such a moment, the decree found time to take for granted that the President would have ministers, and to settle something about his relation toward them. It was decreed that M. Thiers, as "chief of the executive powers of the French Republic, shall exercise his functions under the authority of the National Assembly, with the assistance of the ministers whom he shall have chosen, and over whom he shall preside." One might have thought that it was of more importance to fix some term for the political existence both of the Legislature and of the executive chief, than to settle the way in which the executive chief should consult his ministers, whether by presiding over them or in any other fashion. Nothing can show more clearly that, in the minds of those who drew up this decree, the monarchic conception of a ministry was still the only possible thing. Nothing can show more clearly how far they were from any idea of a real republican executive, according to either the Swiss or the American type, than this strange clinging to ideas fitted only to a different kind of government. Next comes the Rivet Law of August, 1871. Here we get something which is meant to be more definite, but which is really vaguer than the few words of the earlier decree. Now we are told that the President of the republic, "after having informed the President of the National Assembly of his intention, names and dismisses the ministers." Then it is further decreed that "the council of ministers and ministers are responsible to the Assembly;" that "every one of the acts of the President of the Republic must be countersigned by a minister;" and lastly, that "the President of the Republic is responsible to the Assembly." Now, whether the acts of the President are countersigned by a minister is a formality of no essential importance.

There is no reason on earth why they should not be so countersigned, just as most of the acts of a private man require the signature of a witness. In Switzerland the acts of the Federal Council are signed both by the President of the Confederation * and by a ministerial officer, the Chancellor ; and no doubt, in all cases, two signatures are safer than one. But such a matter would hardly have seemed worthy of a place in a solemn constitutional decree, were it not that it shows how strong the traditions of monarchy were in the minds of those who framed the decree. In a constitutional monarchy it is absolutely necessary that every act of the sovereign should be countersigned by a minister, because the minister thus takes on himself the responsibility of the act of the irresponsible king. If there is any thing illegal in the act, the law, which can not punish the king, will punish the minister. If the act is no way illegal, but is in the eyes of Parliament conventionally unconstitutional, or even simply inexpedient, the king can not be made the subject of a parliamentary censure, but the minister may. But all this is utterly inapplicable to a republican president, to a president who is expressly declared, as his ministers are also declared, to be responsible to the Assembly. Then in what sense is the President, in what sense are his ministers, responsible to the Assembly ? Does it mean in a legal, or only in a conventional sense ? Does it mean that, if they commit any crime, the Assembly, and no meaner tribunal, is to be the court to try them ? Or does it merely mean that, if the Assembly dislikes their policy, they are to resign ? The former is a kind of responsibility which may be defined beforehand ; the latter can not. In England we know practically what is meant by the parliamentary responsibility of ministers ; but it is not defined by law ; the phrase is purely conventional ; it has no legal meaning whatever. There are cases in which a minister, in the face of an adverse vote of the House of Commons, is clearly bound to resign ; there are cases in which he may fairly dissolve Parliament ; there are cases in which he may acquiesce in defeat. But no one can define such cases beforehand ; till the case happens, no one can say which course a minister ought to follow. Therefore the parliamentary responsibility of ministers, as distinguished from their legal responsibility, must remain matter of usage and can not be made matter of law. Neither in the law of England nor in the constitution

* It must be remembered that, though the *Bundespräsident*, or President of the Confederation, bears a title so like that of the American President, his position is wholly different. He has no independent power, but is simply chairman of the Federal Council, with the usual powers of a chairman.

of the United States can any phrase like "responsibility of ministers" be found. We read, indeed, "The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." Here are the words of common sense; a legal trial and a legal punishment are prescribed for a legal crime. But chatter about a President responsible to the Assembly, and ministers responsible to the Assembly, without defining what responsibility means—chatter too so wholly childish as that about the President's acts being countersigned by a minister—all this simply shows the confusion of mind natural to people who are trying—or not trying—to set up a republic, but who, in so doing, can not keep clear of traditions and phrases which have no meaning except in a constitutional kingdom.

When a statesman is set aside to make room for a marshal, things are not likely to mend. The present ruler of France came in, as we all know, as a mere *Interrex*, a stop-gap, till it could be settled in favor of which among the rival pretenders the commonwealth was to be overthrown. Thiers, in a moment of real public need, was chosen that he might really govern; Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, and the rest of his titles, was chosen in a mad freak, that he might reign for seven years, and might so let down the commonwealth easily, into the jaws of some one who might reign more lastingly. During his *Interregnum* the Assembly for a long while steadily refused to pass any constitutional laws whatever. Yet ever and anon we heard of a ministerial crisis—of a change of ministers, of ministers resigning before a parliamentary defeat, of every thing, in short, which is in its place in England or Belgium, but which is impossible in Switzerland or America. Now at last France has a constitution, a constitution voted as a protest against at least one possible way of ending the *interregnum*, a protest against the restoration of the tyranny. Its provisions are well worth studying. The form given to the Senate, like other attempts to form a second chamber, a senate, or whatever it is to be called, calls for hardly more than a passing word. I have often had occasion to point out, when discussing matters of this kind, that the question of a second chamber is wholly different in a federal state and in a state which is not federal. In a federal state, a body like the American Senate and the Swiss *Ständerath* is absolutely necessary, if both the elements of the Federal body, the united nation, and the separate states, are to be fairly represented. And the American constitution, in this wiser than the Swiss, has strengthened the Senate by giving it other special powers, which make it one of

the most important elements in the commonwealth. In a commonwealth which is not federal, there is no such absolute need of a second chamber. It does not in the same way represent any distinct element in the state; only there is a general, and by no means an unfounded, belief that two legislative chambers do the work of legislation better than one. It is purely owing to the accidents of English history that England has a parliament of two houses, instead of three, as in France, or four, as in Sweden. But of this accident has arisen that bi-cameral system which many other nations have imitated, and which, wherever the state is federal, has been imitated with good reason and with good success. The constitution of the English House of Lords is, like every thing else in England, the result of a series of accidents. No one would, no one could, set up such a body for the first time as something new; but the House of Lords has the great merit of existing; and, as it exists, as it does its work much less badly than might have been looked for, though there are good reasons for modifying its constitution, there are no good reasons for destroying it. But a second chamber which has not an historical groundwork like the English House of Lords, which is not absolutely necessary to represent one element in the state, like the American Assembly and the Swiss *Ständerath*, is a mere creation of theory, a mere ingenious device, which may do very well in fair weather, but which can not stand the brunt of a storm. It has no such root in national needs and national feelings as either the executive or the popular branch of the legislature, and in any time of change it is the very first thing to give way. The form of Senate is a question of infinitely less importance than the form of executive, and the question where the power of dissolving the Assembly is to be vested.

By the present constitution it is decreed, as it was proposed by the Commission of Thirty, in July, 1874, that "the President is only responsible in the case of high treason," and that "the ministers are responsible as a body before the chambers for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal actions." Now what does this mean? We are again driven to ask what kind of responsibility is meant. What is really to be done to the President who is guilty of high treason—supposing, by the way, that we are quite certain what high treason is? Is he to be, like an American president in the like case, impeached by one House and tried by the other, and if found guilty, condemned to a certain definite punishment ordained by the law? Or is all that is meant some vaguer kind of parliamentary censure, which it is hoped may drive him to resign? What if the

President commits some crime, public or private, other than high treason? The American constitution specially provides for the case of a President guilty of bribery. When it is declared that the President is responsible for high treason only, it is implied that he is irresponsible in all other cases. Does this mean that, if the President commits any ordinary private crime, he can not be tried in the court which has jurisdiction in case of such crime? This is a point which ought to be made clear, because, when an English king is said to be irresponsible, it means that in his own person he really is irresponsible; his command is no excuse for an illegal action on the part of another, but there is no way of punishing an illegal action done by the king with his own hand. Then what is meant by the council of ministers being responsible for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal actions? Again we ask, what kind of responsibility is meant? The responsibility of a council of ministers, as a body, for the general policy of a government, sounds like a purely parliamentary responsibility; a responsibility enforced by the Assembly's vote of censure, and by nothing worse. But the responsibility of each particular man for his personal action sounds like that kind of responsibility which can be enforced in ordinary courts of law, or in Parliament by way of impeachment. The whole of this proposed legislation shows itself to be the work of men who, in professing to draw up a republican constitution, are unable to grasp in any practical way the essential differences between a republic and a monarchy.

Again, in the new constitution, as in several earlier proposals, we find provisions for the dissolution of the Assembly. The President may dissolve, with the consent of the Senate. Now, undoubtedly nothing is more needful in the present state of France than the dissolution of the present Assembly and the election of a new one. When the present Assembly was chosen, in the moment of the greatest national danger, no particular term was fixed for its duration, nor was any power of dissolution vested anywhere. There must therefore be one dissolution, but there need never be another. A moment's thought will show that the power of dissolving Parliament is an essentially kingly power, for which there is no place in a republic. The theory of the king's power to dissolve Parliament is that it is the king's Parliament, summoned by his writ; a body which he has called into being, and to whose being he can therefore put an end. This is, of course, a mere lawyer's view, which a knowledge of the real history of the national assemblies of England at once puts to flight. In the

earliest forms of the English constitution there could be no dissolution in the modern sense. The whole theory of dissolution goes on the notion of the royal power being supreme in the state, of its being the source from which all the other powers of the state flow. But no republican theory acknowledges any such supremacy in the chief magistrate; no one in America or Switzerland looks on the President or the Federal Council as the original source of all the powers of the state. Therefore neither the American nor the Swiss constitution vests any power of dissolution anywhere. The Assembly is chosen for a definite time; when that time is up, it dissolves by the operation of the law; before that time is up, no power can lawfully dissolve it. That is to say, the American and the Swiss constitutions are both of them honest constitutions, republican constitutions framed with good sense and in good faith. But either good sense or good faith is lacking in a constitution which fixes no term for the regular duration of the Assembly, but which gives the President, in conjunction with some shadowy Senate, the right of dissolving the Assembly. That is to say, there is a proposed constitution, nominally republican, in which the chief magistrate, if he can get the Senate on his side, may at any moment get rid of a patriotic assembly, while he may keep on a subservient one at his good pleasure. Here is a commonwealth, not only organized after the pattern of kingship, but which seems to have chosen the reign of Charles the Second as the model of kingship. Then how is the power of dissolution to be kept in harmony with the proposed responsibility of the President and his ministers? Can a President, charged by the Assembly with high treason, escape from trial by dissolving the Assembly? Can a council of ministers, responsible to the Assembly for the general policy of the government recommend a dissolution as a means of escaping from a threatened censure of the Assembly? No doubt the necessary concurrence of the Senate will be some check, but we must remark that the President and the Chamber of Deputies are essentially strong powers, while the Senate is something essentially weak. Such are the absurdities into which men are driven when they try to set up a commonwealth without being able to clear their minds of ideas which belong wholly to monarchies. In no true republic is either the chief magistrate intrusted with the power of dissolving the Assembly, or one branch of the Assembly. Such a power is given to the French President.

That shows either how little wish there is in the French Assembly to form a real republic, or else how little knowledge there is of the right way to set about forming one. It does indeed seem to be

a hard task for minds used to monarchy to take in the true republican idea. Men can not get rid of the notion of the personal ruler. If they can not have a king, they will have a president, and they will make their president as much like a king as they can. When men, even in England, talk either seriously or sportively on the subject of republican government, they seem to assume as a matter of course, that the one alternative of a king must be a president. Here, I believe, is one great danger, one great difficulty, in the way of setting up any real or lasting republics in countries which have once been governed by kings. The chief thing that is needed is to get rid of the notion of the necessity of a personal chief. I am not arguing against presidential government. I have said over and over again that the President is one possible form of executive, a form which has its own advantages and disadvantages, to be balanced against the advantages and disadvantages of other forms. In the United States it has the greatest of all arguments in its favor—it exists. And in the United States presidential government does not carry with it any of the dangers which it certainly does carry with it in Europe. No American president can be the warming-pan of a coming king; it is hardly more likely that he should find the means of setting up a tyranny in his own person. In France or Spain either form of revolution may happen, because both have happened. But it is the form of the executive, the vesting the headship of the state in a single man, which makes both these forms of revolution so easy. And in France, at least, they are again made more easy by the personal form given to the local administration. Where there are prefects below, why should there not be a king or a tyrant above? The personal headship again opens a wide field to the baser instincts of mankind. For those whose minds can not take in the highest of man's thoughts, for those on whose ears the great names of Law and Commonwealth—*νόμος* and *πóλις*—fall as sounds without meaning, the personal head supplies something to bow down to, something to cringe before, something in the sun of whose presence the would-be courtier may find the means feebly to bask. To such men an assembly or a senate is nothing; a president is something; a king is something better; a tyrant is best of all. And so we have seen men striving to bring back to rule them a lad of whom personally nothing either good or evil can be known, but whose one qualification, whose one recommendation, is the infamy of his descent. Honest men in search of a ruler would rather go out into the highways and hedges and take the first man whom they met. The first man whom they met would at least not

be a Buonaparte. He would, at least, not belong to that class which the honest instincts of old Greece looked on as the most loathsome form of man's nature. He would, at least, not be a tyrant, offspring of tyrants—*τύραννος ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκός*.

And yet the constitution-makers of France need not go far afield to find those who can show them a more excellent way. Close on one of their own frontiers is the still abiding home of that ancient spirit which taught Athens at once to drive out her oligarchs and to respect the engagement which those oligarchs had made—of the spirit which taught Florence to bear up in the late crisis of her fate against the united powers of Pope and Cæsar. The Everlasting League—may that ancient epithet have been given to it in a prophetic spirit—still lives on to shame the novel and momentary devices of the kingdoms and commonwealths which rise and fall around it. There, in the home and birth-place of European freedom—in the land where the immemorial liberties of our common race still live on as they were painted by Tacitus—there is no fear of men casting aside every principle of republican life to throw themselves at the feet of a personal ruler. The Confederation of Switzerland may in some dark day be overthrown by foreign invasion; it may on some almost darker day be split asunder by religious dissensions. But there is no king waiting at its gates to be brought back to a vacant throne; there is no magistrate clothed with those dangerous powers which might tempt him to overleap the narrow gap which sometimes separates the president from the tyrant. In a spirit of the highest wisdom, Switzerland refuses to trust her executive power to any single man; it places it in the safer hands of a Council of Seven. Around her Federal Council no rag of kingly purple can hang. There is nothing about her seven chiefs to invite the homage of those whose chief object it is to find something to abase themselves before. The Federal Council is never born, it never dies, it never marries, it never falls sick and recovers; its walks and rides can not be recorded in a court circular; it holds no drawing-rooms or levées; it pays no one the honor of a visit, and no one has the honor of being invited to visit it in return. The President of the Confederation is as accessible as a Roman Tribune; he has no guards, no lords in waiting, no gentlemen ushers; you may go to his official quarters with as little ceremony as you may call on a friend in college; the private stranger may knock at the door, and the chief magistrate of the commonwealth bids him to come in. Here is the true commonwealth; here is the true form of executive, an executive which never suppresses a newspaper nor declares a city in a

state of siege. With such an executive as this, all the chief difficulties of other forms of government seem to be got over. A Legislature chosen for a fixed term, which can not be dissolved before the end of that term, chooses an executive council for the term of its own existence. There can be no penal dissolution, no ministerial crisis, where a dissolution and a re-election of ministers take place at a fixed time by the operation of the law. There can be no question of ministerial responsibility, no question of votes of censure, no temptation—the greatest of all temptations in an English parliament—to vote for or against such a motion, not because it is good or bad, but because it may help to keep in or turn out a particular minister. All these dangers are altogether avoided by the relation which the Swiss Constitution establishes between the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Council. The members of the Federal Council can not vote in either house of the Assembly, but they may attend and speak in either. The Swiss Assembly therefore has, what the American Congress has not, the advantage of a direct ministerial explanation; while that ministerial explanation can not be, as it may be in England, mixed up with fears of votes of censure on one side, or of a penal dissolution on the other. Here is, to my mind at least, the most perfect political system which the wit of man has yet devised. I am far from approving of much that has of late been done in Switzerland in the way of what I can not but call religious persecution. I can not but look with fear and trembling on some of the changes made by the late constitutional revision. But none of these points touch the relations between the legislature and the executive, which seem to me to be, both in theory and practice, the happiest which have ever been devised. The institutions of one country can never be transplanted wholesale into another: and, as I have before said, Switzerland has the greatest of all advantages in that her republican forms have not been set up in the place of some other forms, but have grown up along with the nation itself. Still such a model may surely supply hints. It surely supplies the most important hint of all, that a commonwealth should not place itself at the mercy of one man, least of all the mercy of a man whose training has been, not that of the senate house, but of the camp. Our own age has indeed seen a Cavaignac, but Cæsars and Buonapartes are characters far more common. The details of a system which suits Switzerland would most likely not suit France or Spain, for the simple reason, that France and Spain are France and Spain and not Switzerland. Each country, if it wishes to legislate wisely, must legislate for its own needs, according to the habits and feelings of its own people. But the general lesson

is surely one which may be weighed and followed. The Swiss system avoids the danger which besets the French Republic of 1875, as it beset the French Republic of 1848. It opens no path for the chief magistrate of a commonwealth to march along to a tyranny. If the nature of the French people is such that they would despise so simple and homely a form of executive as the Swiss Council, if they can not do without something of the gewgaws and trappings of a personal ruler, such a taste shows that they are unfit for republican institutions at all; they had better call back one of the sons of Saint Lewis, and have a real king rather than a sham president.

Such are the difficulties against which real republican principles have to struggle in those countries of Europe in which attempts at founding republics have been made on the greatest scale. These attempts have failed, partly because they have begun at the wrong end, partly because men have been honestly unable to set themselves free from the inapplicable traditions of a kingly form of government, partly because men have dishonestly tried to make the name and forms of a republic serve as tools to compass other purposes of their own. That republican movements have failed under such hindrances proves nothing whatever against republican institutions in the abstract; at most it proves that those particular countries are not fit for republican institutions. This is most to be regretted, because in one way the circumstances both of France and Spain seemed favorable for the republican experiment. In both cases the republic in a manner came of itself. In France a tyranny fell in pieces; in Spain an elected king gave up the hard task of reigning. And in both cases there was one favorable sign. The cry for Federalism in Spain, might not be in every sense appropriate, but it was not the ridiculous cry which it seemed to shallow sneerers in England. It was a protest against the over-meddling of central governments, whether kingly or republican. So far it was healthy. And any one who read the French local papers in the year before the fall of the Tyranny would see that there was a strong spirit abroad in favor of freer and more healthy local institutions. This last reform can be made, whatever may be the form of the national executive: the experience of England alone shows that a monarchy can get on without being represented by prefects. But whoever gets rid of prefects will have taken the first step toward making a real republic possible. A king without prefects is better than a president with prefects; a king, I am inclined to say, is in any case better than a marshal. But a king without prefects might perhaps some day lead to the *cuthanasia* of kingship before a system better than them all.

SUPERNATURAL RELIGION:

An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelations. In two volumes
London: Longman, Greene & Co.; Boston: Roberts Brothers.

LIKE the far-famed Impostor in Lalla Rookh, the prophet of neology secures reverence only by being veiled. By drawing away the veil and giving, in remarkably terse and vigorous English, the results of German scholarship, the author of "Supernatural Religion" has enabled English readers to measure for themselves the force of arguments, whose weight they have hitherto been compelled to take wholly upon trust. In this paper we shall endeavor to inform our readers of the character of the book, and so of the character of the most cogent objections to Supernatural Religion, incidentally indicating what appear to us to be the inherent weaknesses in those objections.

Whether Christianity is a supernatural religion, which is therefore superior to, though not inconsistent with, reason; or a human system of ethics, to be placed on the same plane with that of Jeremy Bentham and Mill, and like theirs tested by reason, is the question which our author proposes to investigate. In this investigation he asks and undertakes to answer two questions: *First*, Are the contemporaries of our Lord, on whose testimony we found our faith in the miracles, credible witnesses? *Second*, Have we really their testimony; or are the four Gospels mythical productions of a later age?

His argument against the credibility of the Apostles as witnesses is not new. It can be stated in a paragraph. But it is illustrated and enforced, if not supported, by an amount of historical information of which it is impossible in these pages to give even an idea. A miracle is a work wrought in attestation of a message or messenger, and so evidently transcending human powers as to constitute a reasonable evidence that the message or messenger possesses a peculiar divine authority. If such works had been wrought only by certain special messengers, as by the patriarchs and prophets in the Old Testament era, and Christ and the Apostles in the New Testament era, and they were thus, as many regard them, isolated phenomena interjected, at a

particular time and for a particular purpose, into the world's history, or if they were constantly repeated, and now from time to time these divine signs were afforded, in the healing of the sick and the resurrection of the dead, and under circumstances which gave opportunities for careful and thorough scientific investigations, such a presumption of divine authority might be drawn from them. But this is not the case. Miracles have always characterized the ignorant and superstitious eras of the world's history, and have always disappeared with the advent of a widely diffused intelligence. Not merely Christianity—every religion has claimed for itself the sanction of miracles. Particularly they have accompanied the Jewish and Christian religions. The Rabbinical books are full of accounts of supernatural events occurring among the Jews about the time and prior to the advent of Jesus Christ. By common consent these miracles are disbelieved; and only those which are recorded in the Bible are accepted by the Christian world as worthy of their credibility. For such a distinction there is no philosophical reason. The age which witnessed to the miracles of the New Testament was an ignorant and superstitious age. It had no power of discriminating between natural law and the supernatural. It attributed nearly all disease to the influence of evil spirits, and knew no remedy but that of exorcism. The tendency of religious minds to imagine mysteries and wonders where there really are none, and to exaggerate, embellish, or misstate such as really exist, had full and untrammelled play in such an age. The wonders, which we find narrated in the New Testament are therefore to be attributed to the prevailing superstition of the age, as the *pseudo* miracles of the later church, or of modern spiritualism are by the great mass of intelligent thinkers, and this without even a careful investigation into their nature or the evidence in support of them.

This in substance is the argument of the author of "Supernatural Religion." But the erudite account of Jewish and Christian superstition, and of the rejected miracles which preceded and followed the Christian era, filling over ninety pages, gives an appearance of weight to the argument which even in an impartial summary it does not seem to possess.

We need not stop to notice the radical difference between the Gospel narratives and the Rabbinical and ecclesiastical accounts of miracles, a difference which our author concedes, but of which he makes small account; nor the radical difference in the nature of the miracles themselves, which he labors, not very successfully, to disprove. The weakness in his argument, and in all forms of this argument how-

ever presented, lies in its curious confounding of fact with opinion. Superstition affects the *judgment*, not the *eyes*. A superstitious witness, if he be honest, unprejudiced, and disinterested, is perfectly competent to tell us what he has actually seen. When he mixes up with that an account of what he thought, we make allowance for his conclusion. For example, Mrs. Stenhouse in her recent book on Mormonism, gives an account of a Mormon miracle. She was present when a Mormon elder laid hands with prayer on a sick woman, confined to her bed by long illness; after the laying on of hands the woman arose, perfectly cured. In this case opinion and fact are commingled in the account. That Mrs. Stenhouse did see a woman lying in bed, heard the prayer, and saw the laying-on of hands, and beheld the woman subsequently get up and go about the house, there is no reason to doubt. But we have a right to our own opinion on the question whether the woman was as helpless as she pretended to be, or as she really thought she was. Imaginary sicknesses are easily healed by imaginary miracles; and whether this was a real or imaginary sickness and cure, is a point on which the reader's opportunity for judging is nearly or quite as good as Mrs. Stenhouse's. Now if the accounts of the New Testament miracles were like Augustine's accounts of the ecclesiastical miracles, general in their terms, if we had only general assertions that miracles were wrought, or even more specific assertions that the sick were healed, the blind made to see, etc., we might say these are the conclusions of a superstitious age, and its judgment we can not accept. But this is not the case.

Let us take, to make our meaning clear, the most stupendous miracle wrought by Jesus Christ—the resurrection of Lazarus. John does not draw from this miracle any conclusion, he does not even say that a miracle was wrought, he does not even assert that the dead was raised, he does not even assert that Lazarus was dead. He simply tells what he saw and heard, and leaves his readers to draw their own conclusion. He was with Jesus beyond Jordan. Word came to them that Lazarus was sick. Jesus remained where he was two days. Then he told the disciples that Lazarus was dead. When they reached Bethany, they found a scene of mourning. The friends had come according to Jewish custom to console the friends. Both sisters stated, impliedly and reproachfully, that Lazarus was dead. When they arrived at the grave, one of them said he had been dead four days, and that corruption—though this evidently is only her presumption—had already commenced. Christ directed the stone to be rolled away, commanded in a loud voice,

"Lazarus come forth," and he came forth, bound in his grave clothes. This is John's account. If the author of "Supernatural Religion" had been appointed by a scientific commission to be present and report the results of his observations, he could not have reported them more absolutely impartially. No hint of any opinion as to the nature or significance of the action is given by the Evangelist. There is almost nothing in this *language* * different from that which might have been used by one who thought the whole affair a trick, or who entertained no opinion on the subject whatever. We are at liberty to conclude that Lazarus was not dead, but the case was one of syncope; or as Renan has done, that it was a trick contrived by Mary and Martha and Lazarus, to which Christ was reluctantly accessory, or that it was really wrought by the power of God in attestation of the divine character and mission of Jesus of Nazareth. But if we believe that John was present, that we have his account, and that he is an honest, fair-minded, and disinterested witness who means to tell the truth, the fact that the age was a superstitious age, has absolutely no relation whatever to the credibility of the narrative. The testimony of a score of honest Roman Catholics to the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius or the winking of a Madonna, or of an equal number of honest spiritualists to the tipping of a table, or to the sound of music in the air, or to letters of fire on the wall of a dark room, is not to be, and is not in fact, doubted because they are thought to be superstitious. We doubt their *conclusions*, not their unvarnished accounts of what they have actually seen.

If the statements of *fact* contained in the four Gospels are accepted, if we believe that the blind were made to see, the lame to walk, the deaf to hear, the sick were healed and the dead were raised, this age, which is not a superstitious age, draws therefrom but one conclusion, namely, that these wonders were wrought by divine power. For the theory that they were wrought by fraud is now universally abandoned, Renan's suggestion of pious fraud being received with derision, even by the sceptical world. That the Apostles were honest men, who meant to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, is absolutely unquestionable. The only question that remains to be considered, therefore, in investigating historical Christianity, is, Have we in the Gospels the writings of eye-witnesses, or are they the mythical compositions of a later date? And to this problem our author devotes the larger part of his work.

In the early part of the fourth century (A. D. 332) Eusebius prepared,

* The only exception is in verse 49: "Then he that was dead came forth."

under the direction of the Emperor Constantine, fifty manuscript copies of the New Testament as then generally accepted in the church. These copies correspond exactly to the New Testament of to-day, except that the Apocalypse is omitted.

The Sinaitic manuscript is believed by Tischendorf to be one of these copies, or at least of the same date. If then the Gospels are spurious, they must have been invented and palmed off upon the church at some time between the middle of the first century and the beginning of the fourth. But there are extant writings of religious authors, extending from the latter part of the first century, *i. e.* while some if not most of the Apostles were still living, down to the time of Eusebius, and these extant writings have generally been thought to bear conclusive evidence that the Evangelical narratives were written during the first century, *i. e.* during the life-time of the Apostles, when therefore, a forgery would have been sure to have been discovered and exposed. There is no doubt that as early as the first half of the second century, there were current Memorabilia of the Life of Christ "which were called Gospels,"* for Justin Martyr distinctly refers to them as the principal source of his information. There is no doubt that there were current in the church at that time a Gospel attributed to Matthew, and another attributed to Mark, for Papias distinctly asserts the fact. There is no doubt that all the substantial facts and teachings recorded in the four Gospels were accepted as true by the church from the days of the Apostle John. For in the writing of the immediate successors of the Apostles these facts and teachings are referred to, generally in language very closely resembling that of our Evangelists, and these references are so abundant, that if the four Gospels were blotted out of existence, all that is essential in them both of the life and the teachings of Jesus Christ, could be gathered from the writings of the fathers.

These writings, it should be added, represent every section, geographically, of the early church. Africa, Alexandria, Constantinople, Rome, Spain, and every part in it, heretical and orthodox. And neither by sect or section is the authorship of any Gospel, or the authenticity of any portion of any Gospel, called in question. These are the facts as we gather them from the pages of "Supernatural Religion," the facts, that is, which the most radical scepticism not

* This sentence the author of "Supernatural Religion" supposes may be an interpolation in Justin Martyr's writings, by a later hand. But he assigns no reason for this surmise; and none appears to exist, except the fact, that the sentence militates against the author's theory of the later origin of the Gospels.

only admits but even asserts. Of course we might present the case still more strongly if we were to add those which Christian scholarship maintains, but rationalistic scholarship doubts or denies. These facts, however, are sufficient. For they present this alternative: We must either believe that the Gospel story is false, not in incidentals but in its essentials (for, as the author of "Supernatural Religion" has shown, the miracles are of the very essence of the Evangelical narratives), that the falsehood was universally and unquestioningly accepted in the Christian Church, and in all branches of the Christian Church, from the days of the Apostles down; that Gospel narratives were written by contemporaries of our Lord,* came into general circulation, were quoted from, and became extinct, so extinct that not a vestige of them in literature remains, and that new writings, embodying the same substantial facts, were produced at a later day, and palmed off upon the church as the production of our Lord's contemporaries, and accepted with a credence so absolutely unquestioning that no one, heretic or orthodox, ever called their authenticity in question until the eighteenth century; or else we must believe that the Gospels were written, substantially as we now possess them, by the authors whose names they bear, that their testimony was accepted in the Christian Church because it was known to be a testimony of contemporaries of our Lord, and that these Gospels formed the basis of the writings of the fathers, and the source whence they chiefly derived their information respecting the facts of our Lord's life and his teachings. To the Anglo-Saxon mind, the latter conclusion will seem to require less credulity than the former.

The force of this conclusion our author endeavors to avoid by calling attention to two facts. *First*, the earlier, and therefore more important, citations do not refer to the Gospels by name, but simply to the facts and teachings, which might, for all that appears, have been derived from some other source, ancient traditions for example, which we know were appealed to as a source of knowledge; or apocryphal Gospels, of which there were certainly some, perhaps many. *Second*, the quotations, if they may be called quotations, rarely correspond with verbal accuracy to our Gospels; these verbal variations thus render reasonable what would otherwise be only an hypothesis, namely, that the patristic writers drew their information

* The author of "Supernatural Religion" does not question that a Gospel or something like it, was written by Matthew, and another by Mark, but denies that the description of these Gospels by Papias answers to our Gospels.

from other sources than our Gospels. This fact of variation in expression, on which our author lays great stress, he exhibits by an elaborate comparison of the evangelical and the patristic writings. He has spared no research to illustrate and enforce his position. Fortunately it is not necessary for us to follow him in detail in this comparison. Of the fact so laboriously proved, there is no manner of question. The patristic and the evangelical accounts are not verbally identical. A single quotation will suffice to exhibit both the strength and the weakness of this argument :

“Justin’s account of the removal of Joseph to Bethlehem is peculiar, and evidently is derived from a distinct uncanonical source. It may be well to present his account and that of Luke side by side :

‘JUSTIN, Dial. c. tr. 78.

‘On the occasion of the first census which was taken *in Judæa* (ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ).

under Cyrenius (*first Procurator* (ἐπι-τροπος) of *Judæa*, Apol. i. 34), Joseph went up from Nazareth, where he dwelt, to Bethlehem, from whence he was, to be enrolled ;

for his descent was from the tribe of Judah, which inhabited that region.’ ”

‘LUKE ii. 1-5.

‘1. . . there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that *all the world* (πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην) should be enrolled.

‘2. And this census was first made when Cyrenius was Governor (ἡγεμὼν) of *Syria*. 4. And Joseph went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth into Judea, *unto the city of David*, which is called Bethlehem ;

because he was of the house and lineage of David ; 5. to enroll himself.’ ”

In considering whether such verbal variations as are here seen indicate that Justin derived his information not from Luke but from ancient tradition, or an uncanonical Gospel, we have, happily, not to engage in any elaborate or erudite examination of classical literature to ascertain the manner and form of similar quotations by other writers. The quotations in the New Testament from the Old Testament are ready at our hand, and are within the easy reach of every reader. And by even a casual examination of such quotations it will be seen that the ancient writers rarely or never quoted by the book, but almost universally from memory, and with those verbal variations, and sometimes more than verbal variations, which are the natural result of such a method of quoting. A single illustration—and we have not sought for one appropriate to our purpose, but have used the first that came to our thoughts—shall suffice,

"PAUL, I Cor. ii. 9.

"As it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him,"

"ISAIAH lxiv. 4.

"For since the beginning of the world men have not heard, nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside Thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him."

The value of the argument of the author of "Supernatural Religion," who rests his whole case against the canonicity of the four Gospels on such variations as we have indicated above, will be readily perceived by any one who will apply his reasoning to this quotation in Paul's Epistle, thus: "Paul's account of the glory of a Christian experience is peculiar, and evidently is derived from some other and apocryphal book than that of Isaiah." Incidentally, too, the reader will perhaps notice that in the New Testament, as in the patristic writers, the authors of particular books are not often referred to; the quotation is either preceded, as in this instance, by a mere, "It is written," or, as in many instances, by no mark or indication of quotation whatever. And in one or two cases the wrong book is cited.

We repeat, in closing, what we said in opening this article: we are glad that the results of German rationalism are placed before the American public in a form so clear, so compact, and so easy to apprehend. The average American common sense will detect the inherent weakness in the argument, notwithstanding its concealment behind so much imposing but often superficial and misapplied learning. The giant's harness is ponderous, but the joints in it are very palpable.

MR. BANCROFT'S LAST VOLUME.

History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent. By George Bancroft. Vol. X. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

WHEN, on the 16th of June, 1834, Mr. Bancroft wrote the Preface to the first volume of his *History of the United States*, he gave utterance to these words:

"I have desired to give to the work the interest of authenticity. I have applied, as I have proceeded, the principles of historical scepticism; and, not allowing myself to grow weary in comparing witnesses or consulting codes of laws, I have endeavored to impart originality to my narrative, by deriving it from writings and sources which were the contemporaries of the events that are described."

At the time when these sentences were penned, the author was

thirty-four years of age, in the full possession of the powers of his intellect, driven to his work by a laudable ambition, and unrestrained by the bitter lessons of experience. He flattered himself that he should live to write the history of his country from the discovery of the continent to his own day; and that he should reach the end of his proposed labors in a fourth or fifth volume. His reason for publishing his first volume before the completion of the whole work, was a fair one. As expressed by himself, he was unwilling to travel so long a journey alone, and desired, as he proceeded, to correct his own judgment by the criticisms of candor. He hoped, also, to make for himself friends disposed to assist him in his arduous endeavors. Mr. Bancroft has no cause to complain of the good offices of his friends.

It is just forty years since the first volume was published. In 1837 it was followed by a second, and in 1840, by a third. In 1852 and 1853, were issued the fourth and fifth volumes respectively. In the next year appeared the sixth, and, four years later, the seventh. This last volume begins the history of the Revolutionary struggle, which is continued through the eighth and ninth, and is brought to a close in the latest instalment of the work. Of the first volume, Edward Everett asserted that, "it does such justice to its noble subject as to supersede the necessity of any future work of the same kind": and a similar strain of eulogium was very generally conceded to successive issues.

We have now to examine briefly the concluding volume of the work. There is nothing but the solitary "End," on the last page, to let us know that the distinguished author has completed the task which he proposed to himself. It would not have savored of egotism, had Mr. Bancroft alluded in some manner to the length of time in which he has been at work. The public certainly had a right to expect from him something of this sort. Those famous words of Gibbon, which describe the manner in which he parted company with the "Decline and Fall"—a work, by the by, which consumed only twenty years of his life—are even more widely known than the "History" itself; and no one has ever blamed the author for writing them. Mr. Bancroft, on the contrary, has refrained from letting us into the secrets of his life-work, and doubtless supposes that he has given to the world all that it has a right to know, and, perhaps, cares to know, from him.

This is, indeed, the place in which to review the labors of Mr. Bancroft and to pass judgment upon them. But such a duty we have not wished to undertake, for two reasons. Each one of the pre-

ceding volumes has been thoroughly explored and criticised, enough, at least, to satisfy the author; and judging from the present outlook, the task of reviewing the History as a whole belongs properly to a future generation.

The volume which lies before us deals with a period of our history most important and interesting. The Constitution was adopted in 1789, and the volume ends with the year 1782. Truthfully speaking, then, Mr. Bancroft's work does not treat of our history since the States became United, but concludes full seven years before that remarkable event. From 1778 to 1782 our history was full of events, vain and disjointed efforts, and disappointments. They are years to which the student of American history will revert with painful interest, because every thing which occurred in that period is striking and significant.

Mr. Bancroft has searched in every nook and corner for data on which to base his latest affirmations. He has enjoyed alike the kind offices of his friends and the confidence of his readers. He has applied, as usual, "the principles of historical scepticism"; and has evidently striven to give to his narrative an original tint and the semblance of impartiality. All the learning and research and experience of nearly forty years have been at his disposal; and, in this final volume, he has had a most excellent opportunity to impart elegance and grace of finish to the substantial monument of his genius.

Here, in 1874, we are confronted with the tenth volume. Long ago, those ominous words "to the present time," were taken from the title-page; and we gave up all hope of ever receiving from Mr. Bancroft, the History of the United States in full. Shall we say that he has only rewritten what had mainly been written before? And if so, of what worth is the present volume, which now demands at least an impartial reading?

In the opening chapter, we discover the effect which the alliance between France and the United States produced in European courts. This alliance, we are told, "arraigned the British ministry at the judgment-seat of the civilized world."

"In point of commercial wealth, industry, and adventurous operation, England at the time had no equal; in pride of nationality, no rival but France; yet her movements were marked by languor. There was no man in the cabinet who could speak words of power to call out her moral resources, and harmonize the various branches of the public service. The country, which in the Seven Years' war had been wrought by the elder Pitt to deeds of magnanimity, found in the ministry no representative. Public spirit had been quelled, and a disposition fostered to value personal interest above the general good. Even impending foreign war could not hush the turbulence of partisans. The administration, having no guiding principle, held its majority in

the House of Commons only on sufferance, its own officials only by its control of patronage. Insubordination showed itself in the fleet and in the army, and most among the officers. England had not known so bad a government since the reign of James the Second. . . . It was a conglomerate of inferior and heterogeneous materials, totally unfit to guide the policy of a mighty empire, endured only during an interim."—p. 36.

The historian deals, as will appear evident from the passage just quoted, with the subject in hand quite fearlessly. Although his statements are apparently based on truth, it is a question, whether his valor has not carried him too far in the expression of his indignation. Mr. Bancroft is an intense admirer of European politics, and rarely suffers an opportunity to pass by without encroaching on his favorite topic. Moreover, he is given to discursiveness and digression. As if caring nothing for the trunk of the tree, he prefers to light upon every branch and twig that belongs to it. Sometimes, too, he wanders off into fields which have very small connection with that which he is supposed to be exploring.

This habit of discursiveness—not a new one by any means of Mr. Bancroft—shows itself again in the first chapter under review. His account of the effect of the alliance is burdened by many unnecessary details relative to the status of several European governments. We fail to understand why the history of our nation should have already increased to such immense proportions, and are misled into the belief that our author had also formed the design of writing a Universal History. He can scarcely present a fact without at the same time making it serve as the text of a political sermon; and he is unwilling to take for granted the intelligence of his readers. For instance, the struggles of the Netherlands have made a deep impression on the mind of Mr. Bancroft. Anybody who has ever read the picturesque narratives of Motley, knows something of such an impression, and, perhaps, has himself felt a desire of plunging deeper into the subject. It is, indeed, a splendid theme for an able historian, but also a difficult one to handle. Between the struggling for freedom of the Netherlands and that of the United States, Mr. Bancroft discerned a similarity; and in order to dwell upon the former, he has found cause for connecting the two in a very tame and discursive manner. He takes up the affairs of the Dutch Republic in the first chapter, and enlarges upon them in the greater part of the twelfth and twentieth chapters. We are told that the United States sought no assistance from Switzerland, "but gratefully venerated their fore-runner;" and then he asserts melodramatically:

"The deepest and the saddest interest hovers over the republic of the Netherlands, for the war between England and the United States prepared its grave. Of all the branches of the Germanic family, that nation which rescued from the choked and shallowed sea, the unstable silt and sands brought down by the Rhine, has endured the most and wrought the most in favor of liberty of conscience, liberty of commerce, and liberty in the state. . . . Out of the heart of a taciturn, phlegmatic, serious people, inclined to solitude and reflection, rose the men who constructed the code of international law in the spirit of justice."

Now, it would very naturally be supposed that the republic "which was the child of the Reformation," and considered by England "an ungenerous rival in trade," and which, "in proportion to numbers, was the first in agriculture and in commerce," and the first to see clearly that, "great material interests are fostered best by liberty," would favor the cause of the United States, or at least connect itself indirectly with the interests of the latter. If there had been any love between the present and future republics, Mr. Bancroft would have been justified by his eloquent dissertations on the subject; but the historian himself affirms, in effect, that there was none. We are then forced to seek the truth in this affair.

As every body knows, in the year 1780, Catharine of Russia declared an armed neutrality, which was acceded to by Denmark, Prussia, Sweden, Austria, Portugal, and the United Netherlands, the object of which was to protect the rights of neutral flags.

"Her Imperial Majesty," says the state paper, "in manifesting these principles before all Europe, is firmly resolved to maintain them. She has therefore given an order to fit out a considerable portion of her naval forces to act as her honor, her interest, and necessity may require.

"The Empress made haste to invite Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and the Netherlands to unite with her in supporting the rules which she had proclaimed. The voice of the United States on the subject was uttered immediately by John Adams. He applauded the justice, the wisdom, and the humanity of an association of maritime powers against violences at sea. . . . For the moment the attention of Europe was riveted on the Netherlands."—p. 281.

We are told previously that, in April, 1778, the American commissioners endeavored to establish "a good understanding and commerce" between the two republics,

"And promised to communicate to the States-General their commercial treaty with France. The Dutch government, through all its organs, *met this only overture of the Americans by silence and total neglect. It was neither put in deliberation nor answered.* The British Secretary of State could find no ground for complaint whatever."—p. 261.

England was terribly frightened by the thought that the Nether-

lands might at any moment accede to the principles of the armed neutrality. The Netherlands, be it remembered, had ruled most of the carrying trade with France, and their shipping afforded tempting prizes to British cruisers. In order to prevent them, therefore, from accepting the maritime code, England declared war on the Netherlands. Says Mr. Bancroft :

“ ‘ The contemporary documents show that England declared war on the Dutch Republic *solely to prevent her* from being unconditionally received into the armed neutrality,’ which is only repeating the assertion of Vergennes, that ‘ England has declared war against the Netherlands from hatred of their accession to the neutrality.’ The more I reflect, the more I am perplexed to know whether we ought to be glad or sorry.”

The war was of short duration. The purpose of the neutrality was evidently to wound England, but also had some reference to her American colonies. For,

“ When in the summer (of 1778) an American privateer hovered off the North Cape, and took seven or more British vessels bound for Archangel, Paine informed Harris ministerially that, although the vessels which were taken were foreign, *yet it was the Russian trade* which was molested ; that so long as the British treated the Americans as rebels, the Court of St. Petersburg would look upon them as a people not yet entitled to recognition.”

We have searched in vain through the pages of Mr. Bancroft for some excuse for the sweeping statement that the war between England and the United States “ prepared the grave of the Republic of the Netherlands.” How was its destiny affected, and what were the results ? Its independence was surely not destroyed by the war : for it was not until 1794 that the country was invaded by the French, who were welcomed by the republican party in Holland, and the Batavian Republic was proclaimed, after the abolishing of the stadtholderate, in close alliance with that of France. We believe that Mr. Bancroft has wasted much valuable time and space by his essay on the affairs of the Dutch Republic, and well-nigh exhausted the patience of his readers. Strange inconsistencies, too are readily discerned, the one which we have pointed out, not being indeed the least remarkable.

The historian's passion for foreign politics again runs riot in his second chapter, which is entitled “ Germany and the United States.” Here he has undertaken a labor of Hercules, without the strength of Hercules, and, we might add, without any just reason. In the beginning of the chapter he mildly prepares the mind of the reader for the reception of his budget of facts, by saying that, “ the people who dwelt between the Alps and the northern seas, between France and

the Slaves, founded no colonies in America, but, in part, gave to the rising country its laws of being." He then traces them "to their origin," and seeks "for the universal interests which the eternal Providence confided to their keeping," *ab ovo usque ad mala*, Mr. Bancroft's history of the Germans.

Germany, in point of fact, took a very small part in the American war. Frederic the king wrote, in 1775, that "every thing which is taking place in America can be to me very indifferent in the main; and I have no cause to embarrass myself either about the form of government that will be established there, or the degree of influence of the party of Bute in the mother country." In the next year, he refused a direct commerce with the United States, on the ground that he would "never be able to form a navy strong enough to protect it," but, in 1777, "he promised not to be the last to recognize the independence of the United States;" and his minister wrote officially to one of the American commissioners in Paris: "The king desires that your generous efforts may be crowned with complete success. He will not hesitate to recognize your independence, when France, which is more directly interested in the event of this contest, shall have given the example." Surely so much is not a sufficient apology for Mr. Bancroft's abridged History of the Germans.

But, perhaps, we may detect another reason. The miserable Frederic was foolish enough to send Hessian mercenaries to devastate American soil, a course which was certainly not flattering to the German prince. For these hirelings,—Mr. Bancroft has omitted this part of their history,—George the Third paid three million pounds, to which sum may be traced the origin, it is said, of the wealth of the Rothschild family. This incident ought, at least, to preserve the memory of the unfortunate wretches who fought and died at Trenton. But Mr. Bancroft, as we have remarked, has omitted this story, and given us a History of the Germans. His literary allusions, truly valuable to the great metaphysical writers of that period, are just and well considered, and abound in pleasing interest.

Mr. Bancroft really recommenced his History of the United States in the fourth chapter of the present volume. Washington was at Valley Forge when he received the tidings of the French alliance. On the 17th of June, 1778, Clinton crossed the Delaware, and one of the most beautiful passages in the volume depicts the scene.

"The winter's revelry was over; honors and offices turned suddenly to bitterness and ashes; papers of protection were become only an opprobrium and a peril. Crowds of wretched refugees, with all their possessions which they could transport,

fled with the army. The sky sparkled with stars; the air of the summer night was soft and tranquil, as the exiles, broken in fortune and without a career, went in despair from the only city they could love."—p. 127.

Meanwhile, Lee "was treacherously plotting the ruin" of the American army. "To secure to the British a retreat 'on velvet,' he had the effrontery to assert that, on leaving Philadelphia, they would move to the south." Unmoved by suspicions, Washington crossed the Delaware, and set out in pursuit of the British. Lee continued to show apathy, and perplexed the movements of the army as much as possible.

"At about eight in the morning (June 28th), Clinton sent against Lee two regiments of cavalry, with the grenadiers, guards and Highlanders. Lee should now have ordered a retreat; but he left the largest part of his command to act for themselves, and then expressed indignation that they had retreated. . . . When Washington encountered the fugitives, he, in a voice of anger, demanded of Lee: 'What is the meaning of this?' Abashed and confused, Lee stammered: 'Sir—sir,' and to the renewed inquiry, answered: 'You know that the attack was contrary to my advice and opinion.' Washington rejoined: 'You should not have undertaken the command, unless you intended to carry it through.' Lee was ordered to the rear, and 'gladly left the field, believing that the Americans would be utterly beaten.'"

A new attack was made, in which Wayne established his fame. The British were heavily repulsed, and fled. Washington marched towards the North River, and Clinton for New York by way of Sandy Hook.

Such was the battle of Monmouth, on hearing of which Frederic of Prussia exclaimed, "America is probably lost for England."

"The army and the whole country resounded with the praises of Washington, and Congress unanimously thanked him 'for his great good conduct and victory.' Nor may history omit to record that, of the 'revolutionary patriots,' who on that day periled life for their country, more than seven hundred black Americans fought side by side with the white."—p. 133.

Mr. Bancroft's account of Monmouth occupies barely one page. The pen, that has wasted so much ink, and so many fine words on European princes and politics, when brought to bear upon the conflict at home, lacks skill, cunning, and earnestness. The reader thirsts for mental enthusiasm and excitement, and, on the eve of the important contest, his patriotism kindles within him. A most important battle of the Revolutionary war is treated as if it were only a skirmish, and is wanting in life, vigor, and reality. In truth, the battle ends before the reader is aware that it has begun. Mr. Bancroft was not always so tame and nerveless as now.

A short chapter carries us through the Wyoming campaign and chronicles the privations of the British army of the north, and presents an interesting account of the adoption of the Constitution of South Carolina. This written code declared that only the Christian Protestant Church—not the Anglican or Episcopal—was the established religion of the State, and none but Protestants were eligible to high executive or any legislative offices. The right of suffrage was conferred exclusively on every free white man “who acknowledged God and a future state of rewards and punishments.” Of slaves and slavery no mention was made unless by implication.

Following out his natural proclivity, Mr. Bancroft hastens to recross the ocean,—and, this time, lands in Spain. The Spanish policy toward the United States is carefully examined and weighed by the despatches that passed between the courts of Spain and France. The former court well knew that the triumph of the Americans would be a fatal blow to her colonial system, and tried her utmost to prevent the event. What Mr. Bancroft has written on the subject is both valuable and just. We do not regret what is said, and are disposed to think that only half the truth has been told. But we also believe that the demands of his readers would have been better satisfied, or in other words, that the popular interest in his great work would have been more sustained and universally created, if fewer words had been expended on subjects which, at the farthest, have only a distant connection with our history.

We regard Chapter VII. as being in some respects the most important in the whole volume, and it ought to be read by every living American. In its treatment of the finances, and more particularly of the money difficulties which beset the early founders of the government, we find this great lesson, that history not only repeats itself, but enforces obedience to its wisest teachings.

We can do no more than merely to allude to the remaining chapters. We have an account of the treachery of Arnold, and the death of André. With reference to the latter, the historian lets in a sunbeam.

“It has been said that, as a return for clemency, André should have been spared. Here is an extract of an order of the subordinate of Clinton, which met his acquiescent approval, and which he forwarded by Lord George Germain: ‘I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man (*sic*) who has borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged.’ What was thought of the order by the British Government, appears from Lord George Germaine’s answer, of which an extract is as follows: ‘The most disaffected will now be convinced that we are not afraid to punish.’”

Of the surrender of Cornwallis—the grand climax of the struggle—Vergennes exclaimed :

"History offers few examples of a success so complete." "It brightens the glory that must accompany your name to the latest posterity," wrote Franklin to Washington. And in the forced confession of Lord North, the feeling of England was wafted across the water. "It is all over !"

The reader of the volume will derive much pleasure from the portraits of leading men. The heroes of the South especially fare well, and well-merited praise is accorded to Lincoln, Gates, Sumpter, Marion, and others. Even General Greene is now so wreathed in laurels that we scarcely believe that his descendants, who once wrote a pamphlet discoursing on sundry "contradictions" will have any further grounds for complaint. Witness this paragraph :

"While he saw clearly all the perils and evils against which he had to struggle, cheerful activity and fortitude never failed Greene. His care extended to every thing in the Southern department. It is the peculiar character of his campaign, that whatever was achieved was achieved by Americans alone, and by Americans of the South. In the opinion of his country, *he gained for himself as a general in the American army the place next to Washington.*"

The historian concludes his stupendous labors with these thrice admirable sentences.

"For all the want of a government, their solemn pledge to one another of mutual citizenship and perpetual union made them one people; and that people was superior to its institutions, possessing the vital force which goes before organization, and gives to it strength and force. Yet for success, the liberty of the individual must know how to set to itself bounds; and the States, displaying the highest quality of greatness, must learn to temper their rule of themselves by their own moderation."

We had thought, before drawing this paper to a close, to publicly note numerous inconsistencies, contradictions, and an over-abundance of high-flown, oddly-affected and singular expressions which do injury to the author's narrative. Mr. Bancroft's style is indefensible in very many places, and we fail to see wherein it has improved after a long series of years. But it would be useless to attempt to point out inaccuracies, which are too plainly evident to the reader.

The volume in hand shows a vast amount of labor, learning, and research. Hardly a stone has been left unturned by the historian, and he has had all manner of evidence at his command. Generally speaking, he has efficiently made use of this evidence, and has followed the good old fashion of making his characters speak for themselves. That he is always impartial, that his assertions are at all times accu-

rate, his opinions of men invariably just, and his judgments of events and contingencies are always above question and suspicion, can be affirmed neither of Mr. Bancroft nor of any other historian.

We have but one opinion of his *History of the United States*. Mr. Bancroft could not have written it better, even if his life were prolonged a century. He deserves all honor and gratitude, and a nation's respect. His work will live, despite its thousand faults and fallacies; but will never be read by the great mass of people for whom it was designed. He has, in truth, only opened the way for the *History of the United States yet to be written*.

THE RECENT ORIGIN OF MAN;

As Illustrated by Geology and the Modern Science of Pre-historic Archaeology. By James C. Southall. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. London: Trübner & Co.

THIS is a work of great learning and ability in opposition to the current theories in respect to the antiquity of man. Its appearance will probably mark an epoch in the history of the controversy. With the exception of a few works on the conservative side, the subject has been treated hitherto by just two classes of men, viz., learned specialists and *répétiteurs*.

Mr. Southall undertook the arduous work of studiously following each of the many lines of inquiry bearing on the subject, and considering their details separately, and also in their relations to all other classes of facts; a work which very few men are competent to perform successfully, and yet just the work needed at this stage of the controversy. Mr. Southall, although a Douglas arrived late on the field, has come full armed, and unless our judgment is greatly at fault, has delivered a decisive blow.

The gentlemen who have committed themselves with such joyous haste to revolutionary doctrines in respect to the measureless antiquity of man, will be puzzled as to how they may best deal with this dangerous adversary. They can not say he is a shallow sciolist, for his dialectic ability and encyclopedic knowledge are evinced in every chapter. They can not call him a partisan, for his spirit is scientific and judicial. If they try to ignore him, or dismiss his book with a sneer, they will set the world to laughing at them. The time has come when these gentlemen will be put to their metal, and must at length contend in view of *all the facts*.

These scientific *doctrinaires* have hitherto been allowed great liberty in converting man to anti-Biblical teachings. Believers in the Sacred Record have been compelled to wait patiently, as they have often waited before, for the full and complete evidence by which the radical theory would die *felo-de-se*, and a new luster be shed on the Eternal Book. The issue is clear and irreconcilable. At least we can see no way to reconcile the statements of geologists and archæologists, that man has existed on the earth two or three hundred thousand years, with any system of Biblical chronology; or to reconcile their representations of the origin and primitive condition of the human race with the theology of the Christian Church. The Bible represents the creation of man as having occurred some six—or, at the farthest, some ten—thousand years ago. It represents the creation of *one man*, who lived nine hundred and thirty years; it affirms a knowledge of the metals and the arts of life from the very first; and the whole scheme of Redemption pivots on our relations to this one federal head, and the expulsion from Eden. The geologists and archæologists insist that the human race (developed probably from the simian tribes) commenced their existence in the lowest and most degraded form—according to some of them, as *mutes*. It is simply impossible, we say, to reconcile the two representations.

The present volume, by means of the very facts presented by the anthropologists, in our opinion unanswerably establishes the correctness of the old Biblical view, and exposes the gross mistake into which our scientific men have fallen.

The work (some 600 pages) reviews in detail all of the evidences relied on by the geologists and archæologists, considering in order: 1. the Megalithic Monuments of Europe, Africa, and Asia; 2, the Lake Dwellings of Europe; 3, the Danish Shell Mounds, or Kjökken-møddings; 4, the Danish Peat-Bogs; 5, the Bone Caves; and 6, the River Gravel of Europe in which (as in the caves) the remains of human art are found associated with the bones of extinct animals. Special chapters are devoted to the antiquity of man in America—to the ruined cities of Central America, the Mound-Builders, the human remains found in the delta of the Mississippi and in association with the remains of the mastodon, etc.

The stone circles and dolmens of Western and Northern Europe—the older ones—belong, according to the archæologists, to the Second Stone Age, and have an antiquity of, at least, 5,000 to 7,000 years. Mr. Southall considers in detail the rude stone monuments of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Spain, Scandinavia, etc., and proves,

beyond doubt, that the bulk of them, at least, have been erected since the beginning of the Christian era, and some of them in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

He next takes up the Lake-Dwellings, and shows that they come down, in Switzerland, to the sixth century; in France, to the eighth or ninth century; and in Sweden, to the tenth or eleventh century.

He then reviews the Kjökken-möddings, referred by some archæologists to the Palæolithic age, and shows that they existed in England and in the Channel Islands in Roman times.

In the bone caves and in the river gravel, the remains of human workmanship are found in numberless instances in association with the remains of the mammoth, the rhinoceros tichorhinus, the hippopotamus major, the great Irish elk, the cave-bear, cave-lion, reindeer, etc. It is established that, in the so-called Palæolithic age, these animals all co-existed with man in France and England. The gravel on the bank of the Somme and the Thames, in which these remains occur, is often 100 feet above the present bed of the stream, showing that the rivers of that day ran at these higher levels, and the relics are found at the depth of twenty feet in the gravel deposits. In the Somme Valley, after palæolithic man and the palæolithic animals had disappeared, thirty feet of peat were deposited, in which we find the relics of the Neolithic and Bronze and Iron ages. According to Boucher de Perthes, it took 30,000 years for the formation of this peat. The antiquity of the river gravel, which rests under this, is to be farther measured by the time which was required for the Somme to *excavate* the broad valley through which it runs. So says Lyell.

In the caves it is observed that the relics often occur under solid floors of stalagmite—at Kent's Cavern from five to twelve feet thick—which, according to Lyell and other writers on the subject, must have required ages for its formation.

It is further shown that in many cases the *physical geography* of the country has entirely changed since the caves were inhabited by palæolithic man.

The time required for the excavation of the river valleys, and the deposit of the gravels at the higher and lower levels, is disposed of by the denial that the rivers have excavated these valleys since the gravels were deposited. The position of Mr. S. is that the Valley of the Somme (for example) has been modified by great physical changes, and, secondly, that the volume and the floods of the Somme River in the Palæolithic age, just on the close of the Glacial age, were vastly greater than at present. This is proved by the universal testimony

to the Palæolithic Flood, following upon the melting of the snow and ice, the perturbations of the seas and river valleys, and the greatly increased rain-fall of that period.

It will be perceived that the task which Mr. Southall has proposed to himself—namely, to demonstrate that all of this has happened within (say) the past 8,000 or 10,000 years—is no light one.

Mr. Southall shows beyond cavil that the reindeer existed in France and England down to the Christian era, or thereabouts; in Scotland down to the twelfth century. He shows that the great Irish elk lived in Germany and Ireland down to perhaps, the twelfth or the thirteenth century. He shows that the cave-bear and cave-lion are identical with the existing species of the same animals, and that the remains of both are found in what is called the Neolithic period. He shows that the mammoth in Europe is found sometimes in the peat deposits, admitted to correspond with the Neolithic age. He shows that the hippopotamus lived in the Troad in the twelfth or thirteenth century B. C., as evidenced by the delineations on the pottery obtained by Dr. Schliemann from the site of Troy. He shows that the tusks of the mammoth found in Scotland, England, and Siberia, were in so fresh a condition that they have been used in the arts. He shows that the carcasses of the mammoth and tichorine rhinoceros are found in Siberia, in the frozen mud, in such perfect preservation that the flesh is devoured by the wolves and dogs. He shows that the remains of the mastodon are found in every part of North America in the most superficial deposits, with the last meal still preserved in the stomach.

Farther, he shows in three notable instances that the mammoth or the mastodon has been *delineated* by races who have lived at no very remote date: 1, on the monuments of Central America; 2, by the Mound-Builders (whom he shows to have lived not more than 1,500 years ago); 3, by the ancient bronze-working race (supposed to be allied to the Etruscans) who inhabited Siberia.

As to the formation of stalagmite, the facts presented on this point show conclusively that all of it observed in the caves may have been formed in a few centuries; that it is *now* actually forming at this rate.

As to the changes in physical geography, a chapter devoted to this point demonstrates that the most extensive changes have taken place since the days of the Romans and the beginning of the Christian era, and that the elevations and subsidences of the land now in progress, are abundantly sufficient to account for any such changes as Lyell remarks on without calling in any vast periods of time.

Two chapters are devoted to the formation of peat, and it is

shown beyond controversy that the whole of the peat of Europe may have been, and in many cases probably has been, formed since the Christian era.

A chapter is devoted to "Stone, Bronze, and Iron," and by one or two hundred examples it is shown that the flints and stone implements were in use in Europe down to Saxon and Merovingian times.

Another chapter reviews the remarkable discoveries of Dr. Schliemann, at Troy, which of themselves constitute a complete subversion of the Three Ages of the archæologists.

Finally, there are two chapters on the Glacial age, the object of which is to show that it terminated in the north of Europe, at least, only a few thousand years ago. Palæolithic man never penetrated Ireland or Scotland or Scandinavia. The beginning of the human era in these countries synchronizes with the Neolithic age; *therefore*, argues Mr. Southall, if we can fix the date of the Neolithic age—that of the older Swiss lake dwellings—we have the date of the appearance of man in the north of Europe. This, according to Mr. Southall, was not more than 3,000 or 3,500 years ago; the archæologists do not claim more than 5,000 or 7,000 years.

But it is expressly stated by Lyell and Dr. Boyd Dawkins (and was no doubt the fact) that palæolithic man, who lived in France, Germany, and Southern England, did not penetrate farther north *on account of the ice-sheet*, which had not retired. It appears to us that this is a demonstration.

On entirely independent grounds—observations made on the ancient beaches of the North American Lakes, by Prof. Edmund Andrews of Chicago—the same conclusion is reached with regard to the recent date of the Glacial age.

Another chapter points out the remarkable fact that *there are no traces of palæolithic man in Egypt*—nothing corresponding to the relics found in the bone caves and river gravel of Western Europe. *The first traces of man in Egypt are the Pyramids*; or similar evidences of civilization. The primeval man of Egypt and Babylonia was *civilized*.

There is only one other chapter that we have space to notice; and that is the chapter on "Solutré." Solutré is a palæolithic station in the west of France, near Macon, where innumerable remains of the reindeer and the horse have been found a few feet beneath the soil, in association with the flint and bone implements, and with human sepulchres. Indeed, the graves are so numerous that M. de Mortillet pronounces the station a "palæolithic cemetery." The remains of

the *Elephas primigenius*, or mammoth, the cave-bear, and the cave-lion are also found at Solutr . Mr. Southall shows, from the accounts of MM. Arcelin and de Ferry, the Abb  Ducrot and others, who have explored this station, that it can not be 100,000 or 200,000 years old, as the arch ologists claim. In the first place the graves here contain (many of them) *cists* composed of closely-fitting slabs, and it is hardly credible that men were buried in this way 150,000 or 200,000 years ago. In the second place, the implements at Solutr  are beautiful flint implements, comparing with the finest from the Swiss lake-dwellings and the Danish peat, except only that they are not *polished*. Thirdly, the bones from Solutr  have preserved a considerable proportion of their gelatine; and the horn of the reindeer, when sawn through, "emits distinctly the odor of fresh horn." This, like the carcasses found in Siberia, is hardly consistent with an antiquity of one or two hundred thousand years. Fourthly, it appears to be made out from the evidence that the horse at Solutr  was *domesticated*. Now, as the horse is not found on the Egyptian monuments earlier than the eighteenth dynasty, and as it does not seem to have been found in Egypt in the days of Abraham, this fact of itself negatives the idea of a remote antiquity for Solutr . M. Pruner-Bey, who examined a number of the skulls from the graves, pronounced them to be *Mongoloid*; and the conclusion drawn from all the facts is, that the place was the hunting-station of a Mongoloid tribe in primeval times. This tallies precisely with the opinion of Mr. Southall, that the first population of Europe was Turanian — represented by the Iberian, Basque, and Finnish race.

Besides being able and scholarly, the book is very readable. It is illustrated by numerous cuts, is thoroughly indexed, and well gotten up in every way.

THE LITERARY REMAINS OF EMANUEL DEUTSCH:

With a Brief Memoir. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

THE brief biographical sketch by the editor of the "Literary Remains," is perhaps as much as the interest of the general reader, in the uneventful life of a secluded student, would warrant. Although in the merest outline, it is enough to bring us into near and sympathetic contact with the inner life of a nature of rare depth and power, during the various phases and processes of its growth into that early

maturity which has given to the world the ripe fruits of scholarship and thought, worthily preserved in the present volume.

The controlling influences of Mr. Deutsch's intellectual development—the sources, no doubt, of that intense and eccentric individualism which separates, by an unmistakable stamp of original force, every product of his pen from the common crowd of contemporary scholars—are clearly traceable in certain circumstances of his early history. Born in a household of the purest Jewish lineage, where all the proud traditions of his race lived in heart and memory; brought up at the feet of his uncle, an aged Rabbi, who was an enthusiastic student of the Talmud, and in practice a Pharisee of the most rigid and orthodox school; more than all, reproducing in his own native temperament and characteristics a type as unmistakably Oriental as though, in himself, the Talmudic doctrine of transmigration had been realized and his spirit had animated some fiery patriot of the Maccabean age—he was in the essential texture of his being a “Hebrew of the Hebrews.” The passionate ardor; the keen sensibility to slight or injury; the dogged tenacity of purpose; the instinct of revolt against every form of oppression, always smouldering, even where the iron pressure of external circumstance compelled the mask of patient submission; the ineradicable pride of lineage and love of race; the profound personal reserve and, when necessary, haughty exclusiveness; the secret superiority of self-righteousness; the natural power of control over the animal appetites and regard for personal purity; the strength of family affections; the intense love of children; the instinctive courtesy of the Orient—were all his, as unmistakably by right of inheritance as was the corresponding physical type, which his biographer characterizes by “eyes and hair of the darkest, with the flexible, ever-varying, expressive mouth of the Israelite—and a face the reverse of handsome, but one that lighted up under the glow of an enthusiastic nature with a brightness that won the sympathy of the coldest listener.” But a full course at the University of Berlin, amid German associations and influences, added to this Hebrew foundation a visible superstructure of German habits of study and modes of thought, and Mr. Deutsch's whole literary work bears the impress of the patient, plodding investigation—the careful elaboration of ideas—the deep-burrowing power amid the earth-incrusted and unsightly roots of principles and facts, in order, with comprehensive hand, to grasp the outer and beautiful forms—which is so characteristic of the Teutonic mind and so naturally foreign to the mental temperament of the Oriental races, shrinking from the hard world of facts and realities and delighting to float

at will among the vaporous and fantastic shapes of the Ideal. To this, we may add a third formative influence, no less essential to a right comprehension of the intellectual idiosyncrasies of the author of the article on "The Talmud" as the result of his subsequent associations with the learned and literary world of England, viz. the spirit of this age of free thought and speculative outlook, which, without leading to the formal abandonment of the faith of his fathers, gave his mind a tinge of modern rationalism, and placed him ostensibly among the disciples of unorthodox and liberal Judaism. A careful perusal of his articles, however, irresistibly leaves the impression that this was as near a scholarly affectation as a mind so thoroughly honest could attain—at least, that it was confined to the merest surface, and that the texture of his being, as a whole, was deeply pervaded by the religious faith and spirit of his race.

The gift of peculiar intellectual power seems to have a consciousness—though often mute and smothered—of its own; and its favored possessor is rarely left unstirred by ambitious dreams. We have at the hands of his biographer but a glimpse into Mr. Deutsch's early student life, but it is enough to show that this consciousness, and these dreams, were his.

The eventful step in his life, toward the goal of his honorable aspirations to become a thorough and profound Aramaic scholar, was his appointment as assistant librarian to the British Museum, while yet a youth at the Berlin University. Had Mr. Deutsch possessed a mere average mind, under the mechanical round of his official duties, and the vast accumulations of book-knowledge acquired during chance moments of leisure or the hours snatched from sleep, he would have doubtless subsided into a devouring book-worm, stuffed with useless and musty learning into utter intellectual nonentity. But the quality of his mind—ever at white heat with enthusiastic devotion to his favorite study of the Aramaic tongue and literature—was essentially creative and vitalizing. He possessed the rare power of giving life to the dead and buried learning of the past—of investing it with glowing, life-like charms of imagination and expression. The first periodicals of the day welcomed his contributions on subjects most barren of popular interest. We can form some conception of the amazing industry of the man, from the statement of his biographer that he furnished 190 essays to "Chambers's Miscellany" alone, and that the present formidable volume contains but a moiety of his published articles and lectures. In certain aspects, however, his position as librarian seems to have had sources of annoyance and

discomfort. His fiery spirit continually fretted under the petty regulations—the minute divisions of authority and responsibility—the stiff conventional usages—which are as sure to incrust any old British institution as barnacles a ship during a protracted voyage. On the other hand, it was some compensation for these small vexations that his literary and social associations were a source of perpetual sunshine to his care-worn spirit.

We shrink from more than a passing glance at the gloomy and pathetic close of the brief life of this gifted scholar. Just as he had taken the first triumphant step upon the threshold of what he considered his “magnum opus”—the interpretation to the world of the occult secrets of the Talmud—he was seized with a mysterious disease, the torments of which would have satisfied the utmost malice of the Inquisition. There is no more pathetic figure in the records of literature than that of this gentle and refined student, through the long lagging hours of his official labors, silently hiding his mortal agony, so that even his fellow-librarians only vaguely guessed that he was ill from his pallid countenance, and then dragging himself to his lonely lodging, to faint immediately away with sheer anguish into the welcome relief of oblivion. At last, when nature could support the awful load no longer, in the vague fancy that a draught of “Nile water” would do more for his restoration than the best medical advice of London, he set off for Egypt, and on his way back, died at the Greek Hospital of Alexandria. His correspondence with his friend, the Rev. Mr. Haweiss, during his solitary voyaging on the Nile, in the sudden fluctuations between the rest and rapture of opium, and the swift returning torments of his then unknown malady, has tones of despair and anguish, which more than De Quincey’s from the depths of his opium hell, seem like a “*suspira de profundis*.”

The name of Emanuel Deutsch, first became generally known to the reading world, through his article in the “British Quarterly” on the Talmud. Rarely—perhaps never—has an obscure scholar made so sudden a leap to such a pinnacle of fame. So little had he been known as an author outside of the narrow circle of his publishers and literary intimates, that while yet all the world was asking, “Who wrote ‘The Talmud?’” his name in reply was but a further mystification—and the question invariably followed, “Who is Emanuel Deutsch?” With singular unanimity the great Quarterlies, with all the train of minor periodicals, claimed for the unknown name a place of the “first magnitude” among the savans and writers of the age. Now that this first blaze of surprise and admiration has somewhat subsided, the publica-

tion in permanent form of this and kindred articles, affords the world the opportunity of determining how far the favorable verdict of the critic was unduly influenced by the infectious fervor of the author's own enthusiasm for a book, which, to his rich oriental imagination, was the grand type of all the loftiest capabilities, religious and intellectual, of his race; or by the subtle fascination of a style, which could invest even the dry bones of an old and decayed theology with a freshness and beauty attractive to every mind of intelligence and culture. For the permanent reputation of Mr. Deutsch as an expounder of the mystical legends and allegories of the Talmud, and the success of his avowed aim to lift it to its rightful place among the great religious systems of the world, must rest on no such factitious advantages as the personal qualities of an author, but on the solid, intrinsic value of his opinions and theories, after the most careful sifting by Aramaic scholars of an authority as acknowledged as his own—upon the genuine absolute *truth* of the claims which he has advanced with such dogmatic positiveness in behalf of the Talmud as the grandest thesaurus of divine and secular wisdom the world has ever seen. And there are significant signs that a tide of reaction from the earliest estimates of the enduring worth of his researches and conclusions has already begun to set in. The profound scholars, who require time for the adjustment of their heavy artillery, are making themselves heard above the retreating echoes of hasty and dashing criticism. A recent writer of great ability and learning in the "Edinburgh Review," traversing the same ground as Mr. Deutsch, step for step, has challenged many of his favorite positions as of very questionable authority, and asserted that his article, in many of its conclusions, is characterized by "superficiality."

For ourselves, we feel conscious that it would be sheer presumption, for one not thoroughly versed in Talmudic literature in the original tongue, to attempt a detailed review of Mr. Deutsch's conclusions, even if our limited space did not peremptorily forbid.

But there is one important point, at least, purely within the critical range of even a cursory "notice." No special form of Christian evidence has perhaps pressed with more weight upon the foremost minds of the age than that based upon the originality of Christ's moral teaching in relation to the period of Jewish history in which he lived. Now Mr. Deutsch, without giving the idea positive verbal shape, has ingeniously—and evidently with full consciousness of the result—contrived to give the whole mass of the article on the Talmud, a subtle drift against this formidable buttress of Christianity. This he

effects by showing that the moral precepts of Christ were already imbedded in the Talmud, and, through its instrumentality, widely diffused throughout the Jewish nation, the inference being left to insinuate itself into the reader's mind, that such *may* have been the source of all that we claim as original in the teaching of our Lord. But we are convinced, that thorough a misconception of the real sense of the term, as employed by the "apologists" of Christianity, this inference is robbed of its destructive force. For we must insist that when we speak of the originality of Christ's moral system, we do not intend to carry the impression that He proclaimed truth absolutely unknown before. No doubt but the Talmud, having its original source in the Mosaic Scriptures, and as a commentary running parallel with them through the ages, with all its monstrous and fantastic distortions of the truth, did, here and there, amid its barren wastes of legend and tradition, hide some of its golden grains. But the uniqueness and originality of Christ as a teacher of men, in all their clearness and beauty are manifest in this very relation to the Talmud, and to all other religious systems of earlier historic origin than Himself. The phenomenon that demands solution is this—that the Son of the Carpenter—this humble man of the common people—alone, of all his age and race, at a time when a thick veil of Rabbinical casuistry spun from the Talmud, hid the simple morality of the Mosaic law from the eyes of the nation, and its feet were entangled in a vast net-work of intricate ritualism which had its sole authority in vain tradition—should possess such an infallible eye for truth as to be able to perceive it, however deep-buried in all the decaying mass of error wherever it might lay bound or hidden in nature or in man—that with a breath he cleared it from all adhering obscurations and corruptions, until it shone with a divine luster—that by the magic of the simplest speech, he could transform it into *living seeds* for the soil of universal humanity, and plant them and bid them live and bear fruit, as they have done without respect to place or time or race. Mr. Deutsch, in his zeal for the Talmud, seemed to forget that what cost himself infinite toil and search to discover amid its vast jungle of fable and parable and legend, with all the modern appliances of exhaustive scholarship, Christ, with nothing in his humble history to account for it, seized with intuitive glance—drew it to himself as by the power of a spiritual magnet—summed it up—to drop all figurative speech—in a few plain and simple moral precepts, level to the comprehension of the merest child. Our sufficient answer, in a word, is to place the Sermon

on the Mount and the seventeen vast volumes of the Talmud side by side.

The twin essay to the Talmud, in these "Remains," is that on Mahomet. It bears all the characteristics of Mr. Deutsch's mind at its best. The correctness of received history, in ascribing the origin of the Koran to a knowledge of Judaism acquired from a Hebrew colony in the region of Medina, rather than to the teaching of a corrupt Christianity by the Greek monk Sergius, as commonly accepted, we have no difficulty in acknowledging—although we would feel more assured in our belief, if Mr. Deutsch had given us his authorities. Nor are we disposed to do more than indulge a faint scepticism in regard to his excessively flattering portrait of the Great Prophet himself. But his dogmatic assertion that the Koran not only does not inculcate the doctrine of fatalism, but proclaims in the boldest terms the freedom of the human will, from personal opportunities of knowing—still more from a learned authority, quite as high as was Mr. Deutsch himself—we unhesitatingly oppose. We have space only to name Mr. Palgrave, the distinguished Arabian traveler and scholar, and give his opinion as to the real spirit of the Koran, in his own words:

" 'There is no god but God' are words simply tantamount in English to the negation of any deity save one alone; and thus much they certainly mean in Arabic, but they imply much more also. Their full sense is not only to deny absolutely and unreservedly all plurality, whether of nature or of person, in the Supreme Being . . . but besides this the words, in Arabic and among Arabs, imply that this one Supreme Being is also the only Agent, the only Force, the only Act existing throughout the universe; and leave to all beings else, matter or spirit, instinct or intelligence, physical or moral, nothing but pure unconditional passiveness, alike in movement or in quiescence, in action or capacity. The sole power, the sole motor, movement, energy, and deed, is God; the rest is downright inertia and mere instrumentality, from the highest archangel down to the simplest atom of creation. Hence, in this one sentence, 'La Ilah illa Allah,' is summed up a system which, for want of a better name, I may be permitted to call the Pantheism of Force, or of Act, thus exclusively assigned to God, Who absorbs it all, exercises it all, and to Whom alone it can be ascribed, whether for preserving or for destroying, for relative evil or for equally relative good. I say relative, because it is clear that in such a theology no place is left for absolute good or evil, reason or extravagance; all is abridged in the autocratical will of the one great Agent.

"One might at first think that this tremendous Autocrat, this uncontrolled and unsympathizing Power, would be far above any thing like passion, desires, or inclinations. Yet such is not the case, for He has with respect to His creatures one main feeling and source of action, namely jealousy of them, lest they should per chance attribute to themselves something of what is His alone, and thus encroach on His all-engrossing kingdom. Hence He is ever more prone to punish than to reward, to

inflict pain than to bestow pleasure, to ruin than to build. It is His singular satisfaction to let created beings continually feel that they are nothing else than His slaves, His tools, and contemptible tools, also, that thus they may the better acknowledge His superiority, and know His power to be above their power, His cunning above their cunning, His will above their will, His pride above their pride; or rather that there is no power, cunning, will, or pride save His own.

"That the notion here given of the Deity, monstrous and blasphemous as it may appear, is literally that which the Koran conveys or intends to convey, I at present take for granted. But that indeed it is so, no one who has attentively perused and thought over the Arabic text (for mere cursory reading, especially in a translation, will not suffice) can hesitate to allow. In fact, every phrase of the preceding sentences, every touch in this odious portrait, has been taken, to the best of my ability, word for word, or at least meaning for meaning, from the Book, the truest mirror of the mind and scope of its writer" (Vol. i. pp. 364-7).

We must leave the other contributions of Mr. Deutsch, in this volume, without notice—only trusting that our readers may glean as much satisfaction from their perusal, as we have done.

THE BUILDING OF A BRAIN.

By E. H. Clarke, M.D. Boston.

IT is quite time that a little robust, scientific sense should be applied to the theory of coëducation of the sexes; and Dr. Clarke, in this as well as in his former essay, has done good service. We thoroughly accept every rational plan for enlarging the culture of women, nor do we doubt it to be one of the special wants of our time. But a word of kindly, sober counsel, fair enthusiasts! It would not ask much logic to convince a gardener that to graft a rare plum on a sapless stalk would be useless; yet our human gardeners have been trying the same folly. Dr. Clarke shows two things: that the healthy growth of a brain must depend on the condition of the group of organs with which it is connected, the spinal cord and cerebellum; and therefore, while boy and girl till about the age of twelve may study in the same fashion, there must be from that time to twenty a due regard to the difference of physical development in the character and degree of mental work. This he proves by the plainest facts of his science. It is enforced by a host of witnesses, who tell their long and painful experience of the neglect of such laws. Yet we have had the strangest attempts at forcing the system of high pressure on our schools; and even brilliant sophists—like Mr. Kingsley, in an article some years ago—have talked as if we were brains without

bodies, and about to achieve this theory of the annihilation of sex in modern culture. We shall be glad to see a larger number of Hypatias and Mary Somervilles ; but if, instead of it, we only get a race of broken, pale-faced, intellectual invalids, it will not be the best possible of worlds for our grandchildren.

THORWALDSEN :

His Life and Works. By Eugène Plon. Translated from the French by J. M. Luyster. Beautifully Illustrated. Boston : Roberts Bros.

THIS volume has been before the public nearly two years ; and it certainly speaks well for American taste that a new edition should be demanded so soon. The new edition of the work is much to be preferred to the old, on account of the correction of numerous typographical errors, the insertion of new matter, and the improved shape which the publishers have wisely given to the book. This edition of the " Life " is not only one of the finest art-works ever issued in this country, but it is much more desirable than the translation which has recently appeared in England, in a large and cumbersome quarto volume. Those who have read the biography of the sculptor, written by Herr Thiele, have doubtless found therein a justification of the assertion of an Italian poetess, that Thorwaldsen was a " son of God." The narrative of M. Plon, on the contrary, more prudent and less credulous than the Danes, gives us by far a better and clearer idea of the man ; and though the estimate here given of his genius as an artist will seem heretical to readers trained in the Roman traditions of forty years ago, we must regard it as being both wise and well-considered. We shall not attempt to sketch the life of the sculptor, at this late day.

In the French edition of M. Plon's work, there are several appendices of some value to the cultured student of art, which the American translator has discarded, for some unaccountable reason. We can not commend an omission of this sort ; and venture to express the hope that, at an early date, the whole of the original matter will have been transferred to this otherwise careful and complete edition.

SINGERS AND SONGS OF THE LIBERAL FAITH.

By Alfred P. Putnam. Boston : Roberts Brothers.

IT is a curious fact, that the hymnology of different communions almost always reflects the theological character of each. We can determine as readily from the songs as the sermons the peculiar tone of the religion, and not only its harmony but its defects. Thus the Latin hymns of the age after Ambrose Noest, had, with all their richness, the superstitions that had overlaid the simple faith. We read the piety of the emotions in Charles Wesley, and the sacramental system in the saintly verse of Keble. If we should take such a collection as the late hymnal of the Episcopal Church; perhaps as free from narrowness as can be found, we might without trouble make a *catalogue raisonné*, showing under various heads so many hymns of ecclesiastical type, so many of Calvinist metaphysics, so many of Methodist pietism, and so many of the modern monkish persuasion—a singular concrete without much cohesion of idea. We have in this book another example. We thank the author for gathering so rich a store of Sacred poetry; but we can hardly understand why he should baptize the volume as of “the liberal faith.” It does not add to our love of Bryant’s “Waterfowl,” or Longfellow’s “Footsteps of Angels,” to know that their authors are Unitarian. The church of literature knows no sect. It is more catholic than such “liberal” Christians, and welcomes all who have the same devout inspiration of song. But after this not unfriendly criticism, we will not quarrel any further with the compiler; and only assure him that, with a faith quite as liberal as his own, albeit not called such in his dialect, we commend the book to the lovers of all that is reverent and beautiful. Many of these songs are among the cherished treasures of our American literature. He has given such gems as Holmes’s “Nautilus;” Brooks’s “St. John’s Vision;” Louis Very’s “Light Within,” and his best mystic sonnets; the choicest of Longfellow, and others less known, yet worthy of high place among Christian singers. There is, naturally a certain number of hymns with small poetic merit, the necessary padding of all hymn-books. But the amount is small compared with the genuine wealth of Christian faith and devotion. We have the heartiest sympathy with the saying quoted by our compiler, that “there is little heresy in hymns.” It is indeed here, in these utterances of our hope in God, a spiritual life, an insight truer than our surface opinions, that we find a real communion of Christian believers

not shut within our dividing lines ; nay, we accept it as by no means a proof that the religion of the New Testament has no positive doctrine, but that rather its deepest and holiest truths speak half consciously, even with some who refuse them as creed, out of the "one human heart." To us it is a source of unfeigned comfort, when we can turn to that noble sonnet of Theodore Parker, "The Way, the Truth, and the Life," and feel that one who wrote such words as these :

"Yes, thou art still the life ; thou art the way
The holiest know ; light, life and way of heaven ;
And they who dearest hope and deepest pray,
Toil by the truth, life, way that thou hast given,"

was wiser than he knew in his distinctive criticism, and had at heart a faith in the Son of God, which his theories could not give and could not take away. In this "liberal" feeling we thank the compiler for his choice volume.

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No. IV.

FREEMAN'S NORMAN CONQUEST, AND OTHER HISTORICAL WORKS.*

IT would be impossible, in a single paper, to do even the shadow of justice to all the works in this list. We shall therefore confine ourselves principally to the first, which claims to be a finished historical production, and really embodies much of the philosophy set forth more abstractly in the other volumes. *They* mark the growth of the author's mind, and the character of his studies. The "Norman Conquest" displays his developed powers, and its reception by an enlightened public will fix his rank among the English historians.

Within this century, two men have undertaken the difficult task of an original and elaborate history of the conquest of England by the Normans—Augustin Thierry and Edward A. Freeman: the one a Frenchman of liberal ideas; the other a sturdy Saxon, politically self-educated, and conscientiously advancing from the most vehement Toryism to constitutional liberalism. Each has endeavored to look at the great event with impartial eyes, and yet Thierry's history is in

* I. THE HISTORY OF THE NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND. Vols. I.-IV. Revised American edition. Macmillan & Co.

II. THE GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES. Second edition. Macmillan & Co.

III. HISTORICAL ESSAYS. Second series. Macmillan & Co.

IV. COMPARATIVE POLITICS. Six Lectures read before the Royal Institution, 1873, and THE UNITY OF HISTORY—The Rede Lecture, before the University of Cambridge, 1872. Macmillan & Co.

V. THE HISTORY AND CONQUESTS OF THE SARACENS. Six Lectures before the Edinburgh Philosophical Association.

VI. DISESTABLISHMENT AND DISENDOWMENT. Reprinted with Additions from the Pall Mall Gazette.

handling and in color Norman French, while that of Freeman is essentially Saxon English.

A glance at the personality of the authors will give an insight into the character of their works. No scholar has read, without sympathetic interest, the sketch of the French historian, blind and helpless, borne into his parlor on the back of a servant, and yet declaring, that when all else had failed him, study was sufficient to his happiness. "Blind and suffering, without hope, and almost without intermission, I may give this testimony, which from me will not appear suspicious; there is something in the world better than sensual enjoyments, better than fortune, better than health itself; it is devotion to science!" Great in research, indefatigable in finding widely separated materials, in winter he had sat "in the icy galleries of the Rue de Richelieu;" in summer "he had passed his days in running from St. Geneviève to the Arsenal, from the Arsenal to the Institute," "devouring the long folio pages to extract one phrase, and sometimes one word, out of a thousand." In the use of the materials so laboriously collected, he was more of an artist than a philosopher. His work is essentially descriptive. With the fair colors which he found he painted pictures, in which indeed history gives forms to art, and in which art is true to history. His imagination is fired as he reads and writes. He shares the eager hope of the Celtic bard who chants "the eternal expectation of the return of Arthur." He marches with electrified step to the overpowering song of Pharamond, and the forty thousand barbarians. He sees the moving pictures, the shock of arms, the Berserker fury, the flowing blood, and he makes his reader see them too. Picture maker and enthusiast as he is, he does not fail to search for philosophy. As he ranges over the later history of England, and seeks for a clew to many of its paradoxes, he at last settles on one initial point, the grand clew to all its mysteries. "All this," he says, "dates from a conquest; there is a conquest underneath."

In the articles which he then began to write on the later revolutions in England, we find this idea never lost sight of: he fondles it until it grows too absorbing, and gives tone to every thing he writes. He finds, with too clear a definition, that the Saxon element procured the execution of Charles I., while the Normans stood around him on the scaffold.

In 1820 he undertook the History of the Conquest, and after five years the great work appeared a monument to his honest research and his genius; his most extensive work, but not his best. His "*Récits des Temps Mérovingiens*," which appeared between 1831 and 1835, through

the assistance of his wife and his secretary, of its kind has neither rival nor equal. But his history of the Conquest did not fully occupy the interesting field, or solve the historic problem. Indeed it could not from the nature of things. A French plebeian, as he boasts himself to be, could not enter into the spirit of the great Saxon problem. It could only be written by an Englishman, for it most concerned the English who had felt the force of the conquest, and whose greatest glory to-day is that they achieved a moral conquest over their conquerors; that when the conquest was complete, the men and institutions of the island were English to the core.

With this brief allusion to the only real competitor of our author, we come to consider his own personality, as affording some insight into the history he has produced.

The writer of this paper happened to be in Oxford, during the commemoration week of 1870, when Freeman, who had already published some volumes of his history, received, among many uncommonly distinguished men,* the honorary degree of D. C. L., amid the tumultuous applause of the gathered gods of the mimic Olympus. They had the bad taste to hiss the heir-apparent, but they applauded the liberal and learned historian, who stood amid the grateful storm, the very picture of a man who could deal with that conquest—a Saxon Freeman, burly, rosy, strong-visaged, of a dogmatic cast of countenance,—a sturdy Englishman, who would wield the pen, as his ancestors wielded mace and lance, and in the same good cause. And to this judgment the story of his uneventful life accords. We are glad to be able to present to the reader the principal points of his career from an authentic source.

He was born at Harborne, in Staffordshire, on the 2d of August, 1823; and was elected scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1841. Taking in due course his degree of B. A., in 1845, he also obtained a fellowship in his college in the same year. In 1857, and again in 1863, he was appointed one of the university examiners in Modern History. He has ever since his graduation, kept up intimate relations with his university and college, and having neither profession nor public office, has devoted himself to History. Living in the country, and rarely visiting London, traveling in England and on the Continent, always in search of historic materials,—visiting and mapping

* Among them were the Dukes of Northumberland, Argyll, and Richmond; the Bishops of Peterborough and Oxford, Sir Edwin Landseer, Henry Parry Lyddon, Matthew Arnold, and the Hon. Robert Lowe, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Darwin was to have received the degree, but was kept away by the state of his health.

the localities of great events, he has been able thus to accomplish far more than he could have done had he been trammelled by a place in Parliament, for which he once stood unsuccessfully,* or even by an Oxford Professorship, for which he was once a defeated candidate.† He has been very naturally interested in archæology, and, as his history fully displays, is a careful student of architecture, which he properly considers an important subsidiary branch of history.

Thus fitted by modes of life and habits of study for his great task, he brought to it a developing mind, which has always dared to think for itself. In youth an ardent tory, he has adopted the liberal creed, little by little, and we have been told that in 1858, at the foot of the famous Rock of Cashel, he became, as if by inspiration, convinced that the Protestant church in Ireland ought to be disestablished. In 1854-6, his pen was busy in denouncing the participation of England in the Crimean war, and he has always taken a deep interest in the oppressed Christian nations of the East. Such, in brief, were his moral, scholastic, and political qualifications for writing the history of the Norman Conquest.

Of his literary and constructive powers, as displayed in the manner in which he has accomplished his task, we shall endeavor to present some idea, by retracing portions of the history by the use of his narrative.

For convenience of criticism, historians may be divided into statisticians and philosophers. Characteristic faults are found in both classes. The former seek for facts and details, and do not put them to proper use: the latter are impatient of mere research, and are often, for want of important facts, led to unjust inductions. We may premise by saying that Mr. Freeman errs in neither direction. His mind is eminently philosophical, but we can recall no historian who has been more ardent and faithful, and we may add, more successful, in his search for statistics. And his labor is worthily bestowed on an event which he calls "the great turning point in the history of the English nation," and "which stands without a parallel in any Teutonic land."

"There is no later year to compare to the year in which the crown of England was worn by the last king (Edward the Confessor) of the old sacred and immemorial stock, by the first and last king (Harold) who reigned purely because he was the best and bravest among his people, and by the first and last king (William) who

* He was a candidate for Mid-Somerset, in 1868.

† The Chichele Professorship of Modern History at Oxford, which was given to Commander Burrows of the Royal Navy.

could boast that he held his kingdom purely of God and his own sword. There is no one day in later times to compare to that memorable morning, when Northern and Southern Europe, when England and Normandy, when Harold and William, met face to face in the great wager of battle on the day of St. Calixtus" (iii. 2).

Every great event in history is at once an effect and a cause. It is manifest that if we would study the Norman conquest, we can not begin with William and Harold, and the story of the Bayeux Tapestry; nor can we end with the establishment of William's power, the final subjugation of the Fen-land, or the death of William himself. To understand the conquest, we must understand the condition of Saxon England, and to know these, we must go back to the coming of the Saxons into Britain; we must study their purpose and their growing polity; their efforts toward confederation; their conversion to Latin Christianity, the supremacy of Wessex, which led to consolidation, the growth of their constitution and laws, and the logical development, from free principles, of the Saxon monarchy and aristocracy—titles of simple government or command becoming infallibly titles of hereditary nobility. This is a large field upon which we do not design to enter; it is admirably reaped by Mr. Freeman; he is learned, clear, and comprehensive, and leaves nothing for the student to desire. As he accosts the Saxon monarchs he sketches them with a master hand, dealing just praise and blame, without favor or affection. But when he reaches Alfred, his enthusiasm bursts forth, not in reverence for the crown, but in honest admiration for the man. He calls him, with doubtful propriety, "the most perfect character in history" (i. 35). He compares him with Marcus Aurelius, with Charlemagne, with St. Louis, with William the Taciturn. They all "pale their ineffectual fires" before the blaze of the Saxon hero. He tells us that our Washington, "soldier, statesman, and patriot, like Alfred, has no claim to Alfred's two other characters of saint and scholar" (i. 34). We are not disposed to cavil at an Englishman's elevation of the great Saxon king, but rather to join him in a hearty admiration; but there is, whether the author intends it or not, an implied depreciation of our great revolutionary hero, to which he will pardon us for calling attention. When we say a man is "no saint," in ordinary language we make a positive statement in negative form. Such at least, to the sensitive ear, is the assertion that Washington "has no claim to saintliness." To the saintship of the middle age truly none; but, if a perfectly virtuous life, a constantly felt, and often expressed, dependence on the Almighty, a reverence for sacred things, a bold rebuke of vice—as of gaming and profanity—in general

orders, a serious dignity of demeanor, an immaculate patriotism, a loathing of corruption in every form, a chivalry like that of Sydney, a valor like that of Bayard, and a resignation in death unsurpassed in palace or hermit's cell : if these do not constitute some slight claim to be a saint in the best sense of the word, we prefer to leave the title to men who achieved it, not by probity and piety—even when like Alfred they possessed these—but to the credulity of a superstitious age, when men worshiped fortune under the guise of false relics and were canonized because they ignorantly submitted to an encroaching ecclesiasticism.

With regard to scholarship, this only is to be said : It is hardly too much to assert that there were few scholars as a class, in America at that period ; they were as little wanted as " gentlemen " in a border colony. Washington, who began his military career at a very early age, was a man of thought and action. The scholarship of Alfred, although exalted in his day, was extremely limited ; as a king he could control and command it. But Washington had no such power and no such need. He was sent to give independence to America, and he did it. He was the foremost man of what has been called the *Sæculum Mirabile*, who had all the scholarship needed to play his illustrious part, and all the true saintliness of a patriot, a Christian, and a gentleman. This, however, in passing. We will not adopt the exact words of the author as applied to Alfred, and declare that, in our judgment, Washington " is the most perfect character in history ; " but our limited observation has not yet found his equal.

After a careful and logical summary of Saxon progress in England, the author turns to Normandy. He presents the antecedents of its conquerors ; the reign of that Rolf the Ganger, of whom Mr. Carlyle quaintly but truly says Rognwald produced Rolf, who was the " author of the Norman Conquest of England."* He shows us the gradual but constant encroachments of the conquerors of Neustria upon French territory ; the steady growth of those institutions, in which we find the fierce spirit of the Northmen instructed and moulded by Roman law, and by which Norman dukes, although nominal vassals, became more powerful than French kings ; the developing relations between Normandy and England. He has then given us a clear comparison of Normandy, France, and England, in the time of Richard le Bon, the uncle of Edward the Confessor, and the grandfather of William the Bastard.

Thus the two great parties, Normandy and England, in the *cause*

* History of the Early Kings of Norway, Frazer's Magazine, for January, 1875.

célèbre, are brought into the court of history, a little more than half a century before the event, and the germs of the conquest are clearly to be discerned. France is a looker-on in the great drama, at the moment taking no part, but in later times to be a gainer, when after England was conquered, a French king should regain Normandy, and it should become and remain a part of France. The success of the Norman duke in England before very long weakened his power across the channel, and at last the pride and power of the Northmen became absorbed, in England, and in France.

Still another ingredient is found in the historic crucible to form the amalgam of the conquest. The race which had landed in Neustria under Rollo as Northmen, had also been ravaging the coasts of Britain as Danes. Mr. Freeman's Danish chapter in the history of England is intelligently and justly written. The Danish element, until recently, has been kept in the background by the writers of compendiums, because it seems, when fully presented, to derogate from "Anglo-Saxon" honors. But it really plays both directly and indirectly a most important part. Mr. Freeman has shown us how piratical ships became national squadrons; how the adventurous vikings were followed by swarms of settlers; how at first one half of England became Danish, and a king of each race held partial rule at the same time; how at last, for twenty-six years, the crown of all England rested upon Danish brows. In these statements we see the direct progress of the Danish element.

Its indirect influence was more powerful still. We shall see as we proceed, that the Danish occupancy, in weakening the Saxon power, prepared the way for the Norman invasion. The success of Cnut and his sons set an example of successful invasion, and removed the aspirations of William from the category of "no-precedent" fallacies. When the Normans came they found thousands of their own blood, readier than the Saxons to accept the conquest. There is an important philosophy to be found, too, in the sad necessity which compelled Harold to march northward to repel a Scandinavian invasion, while William was sailing to Pevensey. The rude but ambitious Northmen were undesignedly aiding their more polished and skillful Norman brethren.

Mr. Freeman's first volume ends with the death of Harthacnut, and the accession of Edward the Confessor. This accession was an apparent return to Saxon rule; but in reality it was a rapid stride toward the Norman rule. With the election of Edward came the banishment of Godwine the father of Harold, and the father-in-law of

Edward,—because Godwine was indignant at the Norman proclivities of the king. In truth Edward was a Norman in taste and sentiment : his mother was a Norman ; his youth and early manhood were spent in Normandy. “ His heart was French ; his delight was to surround himself with companions who came from the beloved land, and who spoke the beloved tongue, to enrich them with English estates, to invest them with the highest offices of the English kingdom ” (ii. 18). The history now becomes, as it should be, more detailed. The great earls, Godwine and Leofric, divided the southern portion of the kingdom : the wife of the latter, Godgifu, is noted in the annals for her liberality to the ecclesiastical foundations ; and she appears in the legend as Godiva the heroine of Coventry, who removed an oppressive tax, by riding naked through the long street, “ clothed on with chastity.”

We have in the second volume a full-length picture of the Confessor, with his weak saintliness, and the splendid personality of Harold, just as he is ready, like a gladiator, to enter the arena for the deadly struggle—a hero worthy of his foeman's steel. And that foeman is vividly portrayed.

We pass with the author through the earlier years of William ; we see the growth of his manhood, and the firm grasp of his power ; we admire his purity in an impure age. “ Alone of all his race, William set an example to all the princes of his time, of a domestic life of unsullied purity. . . . No mistress, no Danish wife, appeared in William's days in the palace of Rouen, and this virtue, so unusual in one surrounded by all the temptations of youth and power, seems to have become the subject of brutal jests among the profligate scoffers of his court ” (iii. 53). Perhaps this, among other notable qualities, commended him to the saintly Saxon king, who, when William made a visit to England, promised him the reversion of the English throne, a throne without an absolutely legal claimant, but to which Harold, who had ruled without a title for the latter years of Edward's life, and who was the foremost man in England, might well aspire.

The history is too well-known to need repetition here. We shall only touch the main points, to give connectedness to our review.

In the year 1058, Harold found himself in Normandy. He may have been taking a pleasure jaunt in the Channel ; he may have gone to recover hostages said to have been given by Godwine to Edward, and sent for safe-keeping to William. But whatever the motive of his voyage, he found himself driven on the coast of Ponthieu, by stress of weather, captured and maltreated by Count Guy, who held that

territory, and then rescued by William with great show of humanity and hospitality. Never had kindly visit a more fatal issue. He was in the power of his hospitable entertainer. Then, not knowing how to dissemble, he took the oath, under circumstances fully detailed in the Norman stories, and not contradicted by the English accounts, which bound him to give up his own pretensions to the English crown, and to give William his aid in securing it upon the death of Edward.

"It is not an English apologist of Harold, but a Norman admirer of William, who tells how the duke filled a chest with all the holiest relics of the saints of Normandy; how Harold swore on the chest, not knowing on what he swore; how William then drew away the covering with which the holy things had been hidden, and bade Harold see how fearful was the oath which he had taken, and how awful was the vengeance which would light on him who failed to keep it" (iii. 162).

He returned to England a sworn—and in purpose we may say—a forsworn man.

At last the crisis came. The saintly Eadward, seeing in his last hours a fearful vision of English ruin (iii. 6), completed the tale of the house of Cerdic, and slept with his fathers. Repenting of his former promise to William, he had, just before his death, stretched forth his hand toward the Earl of the West Saxons, and said,—
"To thee, Harold, my brother, I commit my kingdom" (iii. 9). And with this declaration he had given Harold instructions as to the manner of conducting the government.

Whatever the weight of the king's words in favor of any claimant, the real and only power to appoint a successor lay in the Witan, who were perfectly free in their choice. "Things were not as they had been when Swegen and Cnut were in the land, claiming the votes of the Witan at the point of the sword" (iii. 3). We pass over the consideration of the claims of Eadgar the Ætheling, which the reader will find fairly discussed, and pronounced null, in Mr. Freeman's pages. The Witan elected Harold, if not unanimously, at least by a large majority. There may have been voices raised in the assembly for the Ætheling, and even for William, whose aspirations were well known; but the choice was clear and unmistakable. The only remaining ordeal of the king-elect was the coronation, without which he was not "full king."

In this there was no delay. As he stood before the high altar once more the voice of Ealdred demanded of the English people in ancient form, whether they would that Earl Harold should be their Lord and King. A loud shout of assent rang through the minster.

Chosen thus by prelates and people, the king-elect swore with a loud voice his threefold oath to God and to all his folk (iii. 29).

As far as the English people were concerned, Harold was a lawful king. With his oath, and with William's stratagem, they had nothing whatever to do. To his own criminality we shall recur; it was what William may have expected and perhaps desired, for it gave him the only claim he could possibly have upon the English throne. As skillful in diplomacy as he was valiant in war, William began at once his preparations: he negotiated with the other European powers, principally that they should not abet Harold, or interfere in the struggle. He won the Pope to his cause. He gained the ear of Henry of Germany, Swegen of Denmark, and Baldwin of Flanders. He sent an embassy to Harold, calling upon him to make good his promise, which he probably hoped he would not do; for the perfidy of Harold, and his blasphemy in breaking an oath taken upon the relics of the Norman saints, had elevated the expedition of William into a holy war. Men were ready to flock to his standard from all parts, as they did to the crusade of Peter the Hermit.

William did not dissemble his anger when Harold's answer containing a complete refusal was received; or rather, we may say, he simulated a greater rage than he really felt, that he might influence his own people, for without their hearty co-operation he would be helpless.

He at once convened his parliament, which was in reality only a council of barons, and laid the subject fully before them; but the enterprise seemed so hazardous that many opinions and doubts were expressed. They asked for time to consider. But for this he would not wait. He worked with individual lords to better purpose, and they soon vied with each other in their offers of ships and men. The church was already won over, and soon, without any official consent of parliament, the great expedition was set on foot. His enthusiasm had fired the Norman people. We have, in the third volume, the full details of his preparations. The fleet is built and fitted out in the little estuary of the Dive, and is then concentrated at St. Valery, where for many weary days, it remains wind-bound, until the hearts of his men begin to fail them, and to shrink from the hazardous undertaking. But William is equal to this emergency. At his request "the Abbot and monks of St. Valery came forth from their church in solemn procession, bearing the shrine which contained the wonder-working body of their glorified patron." All join in prayer, and their bounty is equal to their faith. "The shrine of St. Valery is hidden by the pieces of

money showered down as offerings by his worshipers." The south wind begins to blow on the twenty-seventh of September, two days after Harold's victory at Stamford bridge.

Without further hindrance the Norman fleet reaches the English coast at Pevensey, a spot already memorable in English annals as the landing-place of Aelle and Cissa with the second Teutonic invasion. When William steps from the ship, he falls upon the shore, but he dispels the evil omen, by loudly crying out as he rises :

"'By the splendor of God, I have taken seizin of my kingdom ; the earth of England is in my two hands.' It is added that a soldier of kindred spirit with his leader, ran forward, and plucking a handful of thatch from a cottage, placed it in the duke's hand as a seizin, not only of England, but of all that England held within it. 'I accept it,' answered the duke, 'and may God be with us?'" (iii. 271).

From Pevensey, where the landing was entirely unimpeded, the Norman army marched to Hastings, an important place, whence the principal roads converge, and which has erroneously given its name to the battle. As William made it the head-quarters of his armament, our author justly calls the great expedition the *campaign of Hastings*. From Hastings the Norman force marched to find the English army, which by this time had reached Senlac. The *battle* is properly called that of *Senlac*.

We turn aside for a brief space to see what Harold had been doing. With the fear of a Norman invasion from the south, and the rumor of a portentous descent upon the eastern coast by the King of Norway and his own brother Tosti, Harold had been obliged to disband his army for want of provision ; to let the men go home and gather their crops, returning as soon as might be to his standard. He had ordered the ships, which had been guarding the southern coasts, to sail to London. These were the reasons that William's landing was not resisted. At last the crisis came: the first danger was in the north-east. With the house-carls, and such men as he could call back from his disbanded forces, he marched rapidly northward, to meet Tosti and Harold Hardrada.

There is great power in the Norwegian Saga, which tells the story of this short and decisive campaign. If its details may be questioned, its pictures are wondrously vivid. Great strain as this campaign was upon English endurance, its issue was the first good omen that had presented itself to the unfortunate English king. That victory accomplished, he turned without a moment's delay to the greater struggle which awaited him on the southern coast. His fears were realized. When he reached York, he learned that, three days after the fight at

Stamford Bridge, Duke William had landed. So rapid were the movements of Harold, and so vigorous the concurrence of the English theyns and people, that when William reached Senlac, he found the English army in an entrenched and palisaded camp, occupying a strong position and challenging his attack.

There should be no doubt in the mind of the military student as to the wisdom, or rather the want of wisdom, in Harold's choice of a place for battle. If the conflict was of necessity to take place in that immediate territory, Senlac was indeed well chosen. It was "strong by nature, and stood directly in the face of the enemy."

But the Normans were in comparatively small force; they could expect no re-enforcements until they should be successful. Their numbers are variously computed between fourteen thousand and sixty thousand, and were probably nearer the former than the latter estimate. Harold should have listened to his advisers, and especially to his brother Gyrth, and adopting the later Russian policy of luring them on, should have devastated the country between the coast and London. It is even questionable whether he should have led his army in person, and exposed upon the field the only man to whom England could look for her salvation, and whose death would complete her ruin. Harold's conduct was "magnificent, but not war."

Thus we reach the great battle—the most memorable, the most picturesque, the most Homeric battle in English history—one of the "decisive battles" in the world's history. As a battle picture we know nothing finer than Mr. Freeman's description of Senlac. Without giving undue flight to his imagination, he has made the scene so vivid, so real, that the reader marches with magnificent William to the attack, under the fluttering standard borne by Toustain le Blanc; or stands with Harold where the Dragon of Wessex flaunts defiance to the invader.

With commendable judgment, William had divided his troops according to the locality of their residence. On the left were the Bretons; on the right the French contingent; while he and his Normans occupied the post of honor and danger in the center. Sheathed in complete armor, and mounted on a "noble Spanish steed, the gift of his ally, King Alfonso," he wore round his neck the "choicest of the relics on which the king of the English was said to have sworn his fatal oath." "There in the midst of all floated the consecrated banner, the gift of Rome and of Hildebrand, the ensign by whose presence wrong was to be hallowed into right." Its fluttering symbol sent a pang to Harold's heart.

The night upon which this eventful morn had risen, was devoted by the Norman force to religious rites, that however savoring to us of superstition and incantation, infused into the ignorant soldiers a crusading ardor. On the other hand, too much has been made of the fact, by no means exceptional in war, that the Saxon army spent a part of the night in feasting and merriment: this was but another way of keeping up the spirits to the battle pitch.

The work for the Normans was to charge up the slope of Senlac; to break down the shield wall and the triple barricade, and to beard the Saxon lion in his den. To effect this, the archers and slingers were to march in front to annoy the English by their discharges; the heavy infantry were to follow to make an opening, and draw the English out; the cavalry were then to charge upon them, and effect an entrance into their lines.

There is no story with which the general reader of history is more familiar; and yet in the present narrative there are new and brilliant details, for which the reader must be referred to the work itself.

Taillefer, the "iron cutter," a jongleur of that time, devotes himself, like Curtius or Decius, riding leisurely up to the Saxon barricade, throwing up his sword, and dexterously catching it as he advances. He chants, in a sonorous voice, the "*Chanson de Roland*," linking his own heroism to the splendid days of Charlemagne, and to the "dolorous rout" of Roncesvalles, where not a man was left to tell the story of defeat.

Harold dismounts beside the standard, to fight on foot with his men. William presses forward in the van, beside the banner of St. Peter. The attack is fierce; it is as fiercely repelled. William has his horse killed under him; and falls to the ground; until at last the cry is that the duke is killed; the left wing is driven into what seems inextricable confusion.

"But the strong heart of William failed him not, and by his single prowess and presence of mind he recalled the flying troops. Like Brithnoth at Malden, like Eadmund at Sherstone, he was himself deemed to have fallen or fled. He tore his helmet from his head, and with his look and voice, he called back his men to the attack. 'Madmen,' he cried, 'behold me. Why flee ye? Death is behind you, victory is before you. I live, and by God's grace, I will conquer.'"

Incited by his valor, the fleeing Bretons turn upon the Saxons, who have been led into unguarded pursuit, and aided by the Normans in the center, cut them to pieces.

We have called this a Homeric battle: it is particularly so in the

desperate fighting at the barricade, where William is a second time unhorsed by the spear of Gyrth the king's brother, and is hardly on his feet before he crushes the earl with his mace. But while Harold lives, the day is not lost to the English. "Horse and rider still fell beneath his axe; the heart of England failed not; the hope of England had not wholly passed away" (iii. 332).

The author repeats what, in spite of evidence,* we have always been inclined to doubt:

"The Duke ordered his archers to shoot up in the air, that their arrows might, as it were, fall straight from heaven. The effect was immediate and fearful. Helmets were pierced; eyes were put out; men strove to guard their heads with their shields, and in so doing, they were of course less able to wield their axes" (iii. 333).

But be this as it may, the fate of Harold is "wondrous strange" and "wondrous pitiful." He falls, pierced by an arrow in the right eye, and nothing is left to save the day. His standard of "the Fighting Man" goes down; the "Golden Dragon" is borne off by the victorious Normans. The fallen body of the king is literally cut to pieces, by men calling themselves Norman knights. The conquest is achieved; it needs only completion. There are, as there were sure to be, legends to the effect that the king had not fallen; that he had escaped, and devoted the rest of his life to penance; that, desperately wounded, he had been "nursed by a Saracen woman skilled in surgery." The oppressed people expected his return, but he came not. "*Hæu ipsemet cecidit crepusculo tempore*," says Florence of Worcester, and to this as a text our author adds with effective rhetoric:

"In that Twilight of the Gods, when right and wrong went forth to battle, and when wrong for a moment had the victory, the brightest light of Teutonic England sank, and sank forever. The son of Godwine died, as such king and hero should die, helm on head and battle-axe in hand, striking the last blow for his crown and people, with the Holy Rood of Waltham the last cry rising from his lips and ringing in his ears. Disabled by the Norman arrow, cut down by the Norman sword, he died beneath the Standard of England, side by side with his brothers in blood and valor. His lifeless and mangled relics were all that was left, either for the scoffs of enemies or the reverence of friends" (iii. 346).

The pious William refuses to give mother or friend or monks of his minster the mutilated body of his victim, too difficult alas to

* The evidence is the "Roman de Rou," which would alone be by no means sufficient; but it is corroborated by Henry of Huntington, and is "vividly shown in the Bayeux Tapestry." Other writers say that Harold was killed by an arrow; but this fanciful and most uncertain way of aiming has always seemed one of the fabulous marvels of the victory. Napoleon had a surer target when he dropped his cannon balls on the frozen ponds at Austerlitz.

discover for a long time, until the eye of misguided affection distinguishes the gory head and body. It should receive no august or royal obsequies, but should lie, almost unburied, under a heap of stones on the shore, in Sussex. One is forcibly reminded of the lament of Mopsa over the neglected corpse of Pompey. The analogy serves, if the details are not quite exact :

“Dux, Pharia quamvis jaceas inhumatus arena ;
Non ideo fati sævior ira tui.
Indignum fuerat tellus tibi victo sepulcrum ;
Non decuit cœlo te nisi, magne, tegi.

But we must leave the seducing narrative with one word. William, with the true instincts of a general, did not march upon London but, as the French say, *envisaged* it from every point, and received his recompense in the submission and invitation of London, without an attack. He marched from Hastings to Dover, without resistance ; to Canterbury, to Rochester, devastating and slaughtering as he went. “He kept on the right bank of the Thames, harrying as he went through Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire, till at Wallingford, a ford and a bridge supplied safe and convenient means of crossing for his army” (iii. 363).

His plan was evidently to surround the city with a wide circle of conquered and desolated country, till sheer isolation should compel its defenders to submit” (*Ib.*). He had reached Berkhamstead at the north, when the wisdom of his course was fully vindicated by the appearance of an embassy bearing the submission of London, and then he marched to the capital. The only hope of the nation was to accept what they could not resist, “and by the mystic rite of consecration to change him from a foreign invader into an English king.” They had the precedent of Cnut and the Danes, and they might hope that William would be a better king than Cnut.

Thus William the Norman became king of England. The same hand that had received the coronation oath of Harold, within the year received that of William. But, severe as had been the battle by which he won his crown, he was destined to severer labors, sleepless vigilance, and constant ingenuity to keep and systematize what he had so valiantly won. The third volume ends with the military conquest. The fourth shows the consolidation of his power in the west and north. In 1066, and at one blow, he had conquered the original Saxon seats in the south-east, including East Anglia. By the summer of 1068, he had extended his dominion over Cornwall on the south

and beyond York on the north. But it was not until 1081, that he could claim the nominal supremacy over the whole island to the Frith of Forth, and the Frith of Clyde.

With Lanfranc, who had become Archbishop of Canterbury, after several refusals, the organization of the church began, with Norman prelates and abbots, and with a great advance in ecclesiastical architecture and establishments.

The revolt of the Fen country, and the almost fabulous exploits of Hereward, form the subject of a minor epic of great interest, and "the last of the Englishmen" really contests the glory of heroic valor, skill, and endurance, with the conqueror himself.

But we have been led farther in following this historic narrative than we had intended; in Mr. Freeman's pages it is as absorbing as a romance. We pass to the consideration of some philosophic questions curiously mingled with the picturesque. The first is a question of casuistry. We can not ask which was clearly in the right—Harold or William—for the record of neither is clear. But we may examine their claims in order to see with whom resided the greater wrong. Absolute right there was none on either side, but we hold to Harold in the issue. Mr. Freeman has dwelt exhaustively upon this topic, and his condemnation of William is both logical and severe.

By lineage Harold had no claim, and as clearly William had none. The blood of Cerdic was in the veins of Eadgar the Ætheling, but the crown was elective; the will of the people had again and again overruled hereditary claims; and the Witan, who represented that will, had a right to elect, and did elect Harold to the throne.

But Eadward the Confessor had promised it to William. He had no right whatever to promise it. And beside, if he had,

"Up to the moment of his death, a man might revoke any earlier disposition of his goods, which could not take effect till the breath was out of his body. Eadward had indeed once made a promise of the succession in favor of William, but that promise had become void and of none effect, by his later and dying nomination of the reigning king" (iii. 289).

Harold had been sworn to aid William in securing the crown, and he broke his oath; but, in the first place, it was a forced oath; taken when in William's power, and when, had he refused to swear, he would have lost his liberty and perhaps his life. And when he took the oath, was it not based upon Eadward's promise to William, which Eadward afterwards revoked?

More than that, the peculiar sanctity of his oath was due to a trick of the Norman duke. In that dark day to swear upon the

Gospels and break the oath was a venial sin ; and Harold, being ignorant of the relics which lay in the draped chest beneath, really took only that oath,* on the Missal, and not on the relics. We can not be denied the conclusion that not only was William's duplicity worse than Harold's perjury, but that it partook of it: it was worse than misprision, it was procurement. We are not quite ready to agree with Mr. Freeman, that "if William required such an oath, he could have required it only because he knew it would not be kept" (iii. 165). But Harold's perjury was at least one alternative in his mind, and we heartily concur with the conclusion that "a more enlightened morality will pronounce that, if William did thus purposely entrap Harold into the crime of perjury, the guilt of William was far blacker than the guilt of Harold."

The claim of William was far more popular in Europe than that of Harold. He was already a reigning prince, and had a flavor of the *jus divinum*, by which, in that day—and long after—princes were supposed to rule, and monarchs to decree justice. Edward's promise to him had been thoroughly published, and Harold's perfidy and perjury, although greatly palliated by the circumstances, had been so skillfully used with the Holy Father, that the crusade had been sanctioned with alacrity and unction. In blessing an obedient son the Pope could at the same time punish one who was refractory. In allowing William to conquer England, and to receive it at his hands as a *beneficium*, the Pope could strengthen the assumption, that kings could only rule by his august permission ; and while doing so he could chastise England for her crimes.

"Her crime, in the eyes of Rome, the crime to punish which the crusade of William was approved and blessed, was the independence still retained by the island church and nation. A land where the church and nation were but different names for the same community ; a land where priests and prelates were subject to the law, like other men, a land where the king and his witan gave and took away the staff of the bishop, was a land which, in the eyes of Rome, was more dangerous than a land of Jews and Saracens."

Thus it appears that right and truth had hardly as much to do with this matter as did the wrath, the ambition, and the avarice of men. But the benefits of the issue none can doubt. English autonomy was at an end. Every thing was in disorder, and there had been a

* In such a pious society, we wonder the denunciation of Christ was not remembered, of those who say "Whosoever shall swear by the altar, it is nothing, but whosoever sweareth by the gift that is upon it, he is guilty." S. Matt. xxiii. 18.

steady decadence since the days of Alfred : laws were unadministered ; literature was dead ; the government was unstable and impotent, and liberty existed only in name. The evils had been bred in-and-in, within her sea-girt borders. The great earls combined against the king, or fought against each other. Ties of blood were unheeded ; brother attacked brother ; the north was arrayed against the south ; the Danelagh against Saxon England. England had a lower civilization, ruder arts, greater popular ignorance, little international *savoir*.

On the other hand, the Normans were strong, united, aggressive, and cultivated in the arts. They held the balance of power in western Europe. Their superior skill in arms is manifest. They had landed fearlessly upon a hostile shore, with no hope of retreat, and marched inland with small numbers to attack a fortified camp. So far do we place the Norman power over the Saxon, as to think that the result was inevitable ; that had William been defeated at Senlac, the conquest might have been postponed, but would have been achieved. But with his *point d'appui* at Hastings, he was in little danger of defeat.

The historic mission of the Norman was to supply in England firmer government, wider knowledge, better arts, more systematic laws, more permanent institutions ; and to bring the island empire into continental relations. Thus the conquest was a great benefit to England. There was oppression ; there was rapacity ; the old order was violently thrust away to make place for the new ; but the Saxon man was not destroyed ; and he found at last that all this had been done for his advantage ; and when Norman institutions ceased to gall, and were fitted to English needs, he gloried, as much as his Norman compatriot, in the England of the Edwards, of Creçy and Poitiers, of a supremacy which the island kingdom having rapidly attained, has never lost. We speak, and we speak accurately, of the spread of the *Anglo-Saxon* race and principles over the world.

The aristocracy of England is in a peculiar manner the growth of the conquest, although to-day it contains many Saxon names. Truly of them we may say with Thierry, they "date from a conquest." There were few of the nobles who fought at Senlac to leave the fatal field, and those who remained in England were degraded by the Conqueror. "The nobility, the war-like flower of southern and eastern England, were utterly cut off."

William brought with him his own aristocracy, and Feudalism was the enchanter which transformed the Norman warrior into an English earl or baron. The Saxon chiefs who had invaded England in small bands, had won their rank with the sword, and held it as their own.

When the conqueror came, he gave his warriors estates held by feudal tenure : they were the king's men, the creatures of his bounty. The lands they received were confiscated English possessions, but these were in the end to return in some form of benefit to the descendants of those who had lost them. In speaking of the Norman array at Senlac, the author says, with excellent point :

"Thick around Toustain and the chiefs beside whom he rode, were gathered the chivalry of Normandy, the future nobility of England, the men who made their way into our land by wrong and robbery, but whose children our land won to her own heart, and changed the descendants of the foemen of Pevensey and Senlac, into the men who won the Great Charter, and dictated the Provisions of Oxford" (iii. 311).

And the monarchy of William was a new thing ; it was the rule of a conqueror who found good reason to make it almost absolute. The Saxon Witenagemot was a law-making body, and the Witen elected the king. William was king, by the forced election indeed of the Witan, but in reality by his own sword. His parliament consisted only of barons ; but one order.

"The old Teutonic constitution had wholly died away from the memories of the descendants of the men who followed Rolf and Harold Blaaland. The immemorial democracy had passed away, and the later constitution of the mediæval states had not yet arisen. There was no Third Estate, because the personal right of every free-man to attend had altogether vanished. And if the third order was wanting, the first order was at least less prominent than it was in other lands" (iii. 194).

Such was the parliament which William transplanted to England. But the power of the soil moulded both the king and parliament into earlier forms, and the Witenagemot lent many of its elements to that representative parliament, which appeared, much as it is to-day, in the reign of Edward III.

We have already referred to the part played by the Pope in this quarrel, as a condemnation of the English ecclesiastical policy, and an alliance for mutual benefit with the Norman cause. The course taken by William was but a repetition of that pursued by Pepin and Charlemagne, and the papal sanction of the expedition had in view results similar to those which followed the crowning of the latter at Rome in the year of 800. The interests of the papacy were in strong and valiant hands.

"The reigning Pontiff was Anselm of Lucca, who, under the title of Alexander the Second (1061-1073), had succeeded Nicolas." "But the ruling genius of the Papacy was already the Archdeacon Hildebrand. He it was who discerned how much the Roman Church might gain by identifying itself with the cause of William."

But, here also, the Saxon independence was only in abeyance, or

rather under a rigorous discipline, for with the progress of amalgamation, we shall soon find the first of the Plantagenets issuing the constitutions of Clarendon, and not long after Edward III., screening Wiclif from the anger of the Pope.

We have not space to pursue the interesting inquiry; nor indeed has the author yet furnished us the entire argument. A concluding volume is yet to come, which will bring down the great subject to its termination with the reign of Edward I. We shall find in it, as throughout the history, that in all respects the Norman conquest was but the instrument of English prosperity, a schooling and moulding of Saxon elements into finer and more enduring forms,—a regeneration of nationality.

The Roman conquest of Britain had been a military occupancy: there was little or no amalgamation. The Saxon conquest was a conquest, and the only one, of race—Teutons overcoming Celts and Cymry—an enduring possession. This was not destroyed, but only modified by the incursions of the Danes. The Norman supremacy oppressed, but could not destroy the Saxons; it instructed and refined them, and when circumstances lifted little by little the heavy hand from the Saxon neck, they sprang up with wonderful elasticity, and resumed their birthright. In some respects Norman oppression has been exaggerated; one instance is curious, and not generally known.

“In the year after King Henry's (of France) death (1061), in a synod held at Caen, by the duke's authority, and attended by bishops, abbots, and barons, it was ordered that a bell should be rung every evening, at hearing of which prayer should be offered, and all people should get within their houses, and shut their doors. This odd mixture of piety and police seems to be the origin of the famous and misrepresented *curfew*. Whatever was its object, it was at least not ordained as any special hardship on William's English subjects” (iii. 124).

It was an existing institution rigorously applied, as a precaution against rebellion.

Of the manner in which the author has accomplished his task, and of the value of the work as a contribution to English history, we can not say too much in praise. Of his materials, so numerous and varied, we can only speak in a general way. The main texts are open to English and American scholars; but there is very much that is entirely new, the result of busy inquiry and careful examination of records, buildings, and localities. Light is thus thrown upon doubtful questions. One illustration may be found in his interesting note (iii. 377) on the authority of the Bayeux Tapestry; and another in his inquiry into the marriage of William and Matilda.

The maps are many, and clearly elucidate the text ; without them the general reader would be greatly at a loss to understand the large and wonderful transformations in the narrative. The author is outspoken on every topic ; bold but not captious in speaking of other authors ; learned but not pedantic in his illustrations and allusions.

His style is by no means artificial. The interest of the narrative compels the expression. He says plain things sometimes in *brusque* language ; and in his effort to enforce his views, he is led into some redundancy of words. There is much repetition, which he has acknowledged beforehand, and defends on principle, but which we can not always approve. We recognize in it, however, the enthusiasm of a *raconteur*, who is possessed by his story, and who emphasizes its most striking points by repetition.

As we have already hinted, his eulogium is sometimes too unqualified, but it is the error of a generous nature. He has written a great history which worthily fills a space vacant until now, and has placed his name in honorable equality among the great English historians—with Macaulay and Carlyle, with our Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley. If he has not the elegant precision and the rhetorical harmony of Macaulay, he equals him in research, and is free from his splendid pedantry and dogmatism. He does not overpower his reader with his own personality. If he can not write German in English characters as fluently as Carlyle, he is in the main honest in his championships, and strikes fair judicial balances. He is a true worshiper of heroism, but not of every hero who comes under his observation and treatment.

Hereafter men will read the story of the Norman conquest in this book as of final authority. Its perusal will prepare the world to receive his work on Federal Government, the preparation of which he has wisely delayed until his history should be completed, and which he promises as his next effort.

Within a few years distinguished Englishmen have visited America, to receive our cordial greetings, and to learn something about us ;—novelists, politicians, bishops, engineers, iron-masters, physicists, astronomers, journalists, and sportsmen. There is no man in England more competent to form correct views of our country, and to do fuller justice to our merits than Mr. Freeman, and we hope he will come. He has prepared for himself a cordial welcome.

INDIA IN SOME OF ITS SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ASPECTS.

WE purpose in the present article to discuss the position of India in its connection with England, and to dwell upon what appears to us to be its prospects, as well as to point out the action of that connection upon English affairs and European politics generally. In order to do this, it will be necessary to glance at the place India has held in the world before the English rule; to show what are the controlling principles of Indian social and political life, and how far these have been affected by the English ideas or by the English rule; to show how far India has been brought within the circle of European politics; and, from a consideration of these questions, to endeavor to explain what are the prospects of India in the future. In dealing with this problem, we shall not weary our readers with elaborate details, but shall endeavor to exhibit the principles of which these details would be only the development.

India has been for more than a century attractive to the world, and especially to the English race. Before the English had begun to settle there and to enter upon their career of conquest, India was, in a fluctuating way, an object of interest, but it was rather the interest of romance, of a strange and gorgeous country, overflowing with gold and natural wealth, and inhabited by races of varied character under shifting forms of government, and constantly changing rulers—races and governments which, however differing in other respects, were fascinating as combining the simplicity of patriarchal ideas with the elaborate machinery of a high state of civilization. The interest thus excited was that which the marvelous tales of travelers in unknown countries creates. The accounts of Akbar's court, of his splendor and wisdom, were received with eager curiosity, and inflamed the minds of those who heard them with visions of wealth. These again no doubt led to those romantic adventures which spread still more widely the

dazzling wonders of the land, and thus led ultimately to more solid developments in the settlements of English merchants in various parts of the country. Then the interest began to change in character; and, while still cherishing for a long time the old delusions of fabulous wealth, the admiration which had been excited gradually subsided. The belief in primitive simplicity and advanced civilization changed into a different feeling—that of distrust of the native character, of its falsehood and treachery; and a mixture of fear, combined with contempt for the people as warriors. The belief in the marvelous resources of the country was not so quickly uprooted; the enormous wealth of the native princes, and the sums extracted by the English, long hid from the world, and even from the English settlers themselves, the true state of India. Although the English saw that in those parts with which they were better acquainted, the people were poor in money, notwithstanding that, as in Bengal, the soil might be in some places rich and productive, yet the reports of the splendor of native courts, of the wealth of every one in authority, from the zemindar to the Mogul emperor at Delhi, sustained the belief that somewhere were untold resources, of which the diamonds of Golconda were only a type, and blinded the early settlers to the fact, that while the state was rich the people were poor. Thus the interest in India gradually tended to become a feverish dream of wealth easily to be acquired, of pagoda trees bearing money, of inexhaustible mines of diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones, which helped to turn the heads of sober English merchants, and to make them wild, and sometimes lawless and unscrupulous adventurers. This, however, was a phase of Indian influence which did not long continue supreme, although present as a powerful undercurrent up to very late times. The greed of riches early began to give place to an increasing feeling of responsibility for the government and well-being of the country; and although more than once the English reverted to an attitude of indifferent neutrality with regard to the wars and quarrels of the native states among themselves, they never attempted to get rid of the growing seeds of responsibility for the well-being of their own dominions, and gradually realized their true position in India, and that they must secure the peace and good government of the country at large. This policy it was that changed a commercial adventure into an imperial undertaking; and it was this feeling, much more than a grasping desire for riches, which impelled the English as a nation, often in spite of the most determined efforts to avoid extension of

territory and increase of responsibility, to annex or mediatize one native state after another, until all India was practically brought under their rule. Thus the interest felt in Indian affairs has gradually and almost insensibly deepened and widened until, from a romantic curiosity or a greed of gain, it has become a deep feeling of responsibility on the part of the English, and of the world at large—the interest felt in watching the most extraordinary experiment in the art of governing and developing that has been attempted in modern times.

With this slight sketch of the state of feeling with regard to India, we proceed to consider what part India has played in the affairs of the world. This consideration will lead us to the conclusion that what we have described as the feeling of the world at large with respect to India, the feeling of curiosity in watching a remarkable experiment, and the absence of any more direct interest except that of its English rulers, is the natural and necessary result of the part India has taken, and the place it now occupies in the world. Up to the period at which the English first become connected with the country, India had exercised no influence in European affairs, at least within historical times. Its part in Asiatic affairs seems to have been mainly passive. This we consider to be the characteristic of its influence. It was not India that conquered other states, it was foreign adventurers who conquered India. Whether Hindoo or Mussulman, whether Mah-ratta, Sikh, Afghan, or Mogul, all have looked upon the country as a prize to be gained, as a vast treasury to be plundered, not as a state to be governed. They have lived in the land, not as its nursing fathers, but more like a horde of robbers. It has not even been the lust of ambition which has inflamed them, but the greed of wealth. The country has been an apple of discord thrown among the surrounding nations: a glittering bait which has lured to destruction in many cases. That this should have been so is not unnatural. India was a rich country surrounded by poor and barren tracts; its people were a civilized and comparatively effete race surrounded by vigorous barbarians: this sufficiently accounts for the attacks of its neighbors. The success of those attacks seems to us in great part due to another cause: its peculiar social system. As regards its relations with the governing power, the country consisted primarily of a number of small communities, each complete in itself and almost self-governing. The community consisted chiefly of cultivators called ryots; there was the village head,

or earlier still, a village Council of Five, the village Brahmin, blacksmith, harness-maker, shoemaker, accountant, and even the village dancing girl; and most of these offices were hereditary. The ryots or cultivators paid their rent to the zemindar, who represented the state as collector of the land-tax, and who paid the proceeds of his collections to the government. Thus the zemindar became practically the link between the ruling power and the people; and these village communities formed compact societies, which were not brought into direct contact with the government, and were only interested in being allowed to enjoy their lands at the prescriptive rent. So that if, as usually happened, the conquerors did not displace the zemindar, or demand increased revenue from him—which he would of course exact from the ryots—the village community would probably be entirely unaffected by a change of government. Thus these communities were elements of both strength and weakness. They were elements of strength inasmuch as they prevented foreign and intestine troubles affecting the body of the people; they were like rocks which the waves of conquest or of war might sweep over at will, but which remained steadfast after all shocks. Mohammedan fury or proselytism scarcely affected these enduring structures, some of which remain almost untouched to the present day. These communities, however, were practically sources of weakness, precisely because they were so detached from the governing power that they were little interested in resisting any change which did not threaten to affect them in their religious or social relations. The conquerors too would ordinarily, as we have pointed out, be careful to avoid arousing resistance by any such interference. Thus the result was, that while the social characteristics of the country were unaffected, the tide of conquest was almost unimpeded; and it is probable that the very disturbance of the political atmosphere led to increased coherence among the village communities, and greater pertinacity in preserving their main features untouched. Therefore, notwithstanding all the turmoil of conflict, India never exercised any active influence in Asiatic affairs. When its rulers were in harmony with the people, the government was too profoundly conservative for external action; and when its rulers were alien to the people, the country was necessarily paralyzed, and unable to exercise any abiding influence. It follows from what we have said that it is the social conservatism of the people of India which has prevented their exercising any abiding external influence. This conservatism still continues in almost its ancient strength.

Again, under English rule, India as a separate power has been

necessarily deprived of any direct influence upon either Asiatic or European affairs. At one time the politics of France and England were partially affected by their rivalry in India, but with this exception, and putting aside a very slight connection with Portuguese politics, India has never directly affected European affairs. But indirectly the possession of India by England has been an important element in the politics of Europe. Other nations, and especially Russia, are supposed to envy England her Indian empire, and to be anxious to imitate the old Asiatic system of conquest; and so far, India has been and will be a source of weakness to England, a sort of vast Ireland by means of which England is exceptionally open to attack. There can be no doubt that India drains England of soldiers; but on the other hand the frontiers of the country afford the army a training, since it seldom happens that there is not some frontier war going on in India. A career, too, is afforded to many in India; but on the whole it is doubtful if India adds any thing to the strength of England, though she undoubtedly adds much to her importance in the eyes of the world, and affords a vast market for her merchandise. The influence of India is thus, as it has always been, indirect and passive; and we think we have now shown that the relation of India to foreign nations is, as we have remarked before, one of interest and curiosity with regard to the experiences through which it is passing, and on the part of India itself an attitude of indifference.

If we turn to the social aspects of India, we find some of the same characteristics. The marked features of the social system of India, as regards the Hindoo population, are the same as they were centuries ago. The waves of change pass over it without any visible result. The social state of India is a state of arrested growth—of growth which practically stopped between 2,000 and 3,000 years ago. There are signs that before that time there had been life and progress; but social life since then has been marked by intense conservatism, and English rule has very much contributed to crystallize what before was in a more plastic condition. We have already pointed out the persistence and vitality of the village community through all the upheavings of Indian society. That is not a singular instance. It is indeed strange to observe the vitality which the Hindoo system still possesses, both in its social and religious branches. We have an exclusiveness more complete than that of China, without the aid of any of the external and artificial barriers which China has so carefully preserved. It is not an artificial exclusion of foreign influence that we witness, but an insensibility and

imperviousness to it. In illustration of this it is necessary to inquire, What were the main features of Hindoo social life, between twenty and thirty centuries ago, when Manu wrote? It was then that the Hindoo religion and law, and consequently social life, seem to have become fixed, and since which they have not developed. It is the subsequent period which forms part of what is called the Kali, or present age, for which the law was then laid down; and in this Kali age many parts of the old Hindoo system are no longer in force. The main characteristics of Hindoo society were then as now their system of religion, the joint family, and the institution of caste. These three prominent features are intimately connected; and indeed these and the whole code of Hindoo law and social duty are involved in the Hindoo religion. That religion—at any rate the forms of it—now, as ages ago, interpenetrates the whole of the Hindoo's life, and controls every act; and for him there is no distinction between religious and secular acts. He begins his day with prayer, and an offering of flowers and sweetmeats and a libation of water to his family deity, of which an image is kept in every house, and in houses of any size there is a special temple provided for the worship of the idol. He does no act without reference to the omens, and regards lucky and unlucky days and seasons. He begins every letter and every important document with an invocation to his tutelary deity. He pays worship to the waters of the Ganges, and is taken to its banks to die; that with those waters in his mouth his soul may ascend upward to the regions of bliss, and not descend to the hell called Put. It is said he would not save a drowning man from death, lest the Kali, the goddess of destruction, should be cheated of a victim: and it is not long since Thuggism ceased, if indeed it has ceased, to exist. His birth, marriage, death, every stage of his life, is marked by its peculiar religious ceremonies. He offers funeral cakes to three generations of ancestors; and it is his duty to beget sons, that they may perform the same office for him, and so redeem his soul from misery. Then again the joint family is directly based upon his religion. It is the capacity to offer the funeral cakes to the souls of ancestors that mainly determines the right to inheritance; and it is upon this capacity that the status of the members of the joint family depends. The family is thus, as in ancient Rome, the social unit; and, until the members have separated, they have no individuality according to the strict system of the Hindoo law. Partition is however allowed; and, when the members of a Hindoo family have separated, in food, worship, and estate, they become recognizable, legally and socially,

as individuals. A farther development of individuality, and almost the only one that has been caused by the English rule, is the power to dispose of property by will. Then, with regard to caste, that too flows from the Hindoo's religion; although it has assumed a more rigid shape since the days of Manu. At present it constitutes almost the only bond which binds him to his fellows who are not of his family. His idea of duty is almost confined to duty to the deity he worships, to his family and to his caste brethren. With those of a lower caste, as is well known, he will not eat. At present, in the famine districts, brahmins are employed to prepare the food to be distributed, because the brahmin being the highest caste, all may eat what he has touched; and even the starving will not eat what has been polluted by the touch of an inferior in caste. It is obvious that we have in the institutions of religion, in the joint family life, and in caste, formidable barriers against change, stronger than the great wall of China; and these retain very much of their ancient strength. For the rest, the moral defects of the Hindoos are proverbial: truthfulness is a rare virtue, honesty and straightforwardness are of course equally rare; they have no word for gratitude in their language, although instances of great fidelity relieved the gloomy incidents of the mutiny. Their intellectual powers have been grossly exaggerated. Many indeed, even of the lowest classes, can read, write, and cipher; but the subtlety and intellectual acumen, of which so much is sometimes said, are as rare as great abilities among other races. In their social, as in their political life, the Hindoos are singularly passive: they are learners not originators; they excel in a few kinds of ornamental and delicate work, and have a certain readiness in turning to various kinds of handicraft and business; but beyond this they do not go; and as their system of caste makes employments hereditary there is little scope for varied attainments. We have spoken, in this slight sketch, of the Hindoos alone, because they are the bulk of the people. Many of the Mohammedans in Bengal are Hindoos to a great extent in habit and feeling, and especially in clinging to caste; but, as we have already suggested, the Mohammedan is the foreign element; the nation can not advance without the Hindoo.

We therefore naturally inquire how far English rule has affected the people, and what may be expected to be its ultimate results. A glance at the two systems of English and Hindoo political and social life will show that no speedy progress can be expected. English rule, by modifying the system of land tenure, has indeed almost destroyed the primitive village; and English ideas have tended to sap the foun-

dations of Hindoo life. English rule has, moreover, given peace and prosperity, and the possibility of progress, to the country. But the Hindoo and Mohammedan law, have been to some extent preserved to the natives; and administered by English courts, guiding themselves by written texts, are practically unable to ascertain and embody their modification by custom.

Whatever capacity of development those laws possessed has been destroyed by the action of English rules of construction and procedure. The Hindoo law has become crystallized. We have abolished infanticide, which probably, to the native mind, was as rational as, and more humane than natural selection; and suttee, by which the wife, who is reckoned part of the body of a Hindoo husband and through whom after his death he experiences glory or shame, could join him in death, instead of prolonging a gloomy existence under the painful conditions of Hindoo widowhood. But we have not taught the natives our ideas of government. A native understands the rights of might, but he does not understand our constitutional language, by which he is told all the Queen's subjects are equal, and are to be governed only by law, and that law mainly foreign, as far as he is concerned. His conception of law is different from ours; he understands government by religion and custom much better than government by formal laws. His social system is a system of rigid, and in many cases helpless, dependence and subservience; he can not comprehend our doctrines of equality and freedom, nor does he understand government by universal, household, or any other suffrage. The privileges given him by our liberal ideas he uses, if at all, to embarrass us. He frequently uses the freedom of the courts for the purpose of gratifying his revenge: nothing being more common than for a native, out of revenge, to bring a false suit, or lay a false charge, supported by hired witnesses. He does not understand, much less admire, our horror of bribery—at any rate, if he is rich enough to bribe. Our political economy is an enigma to him: freedom of trade is opposed to all his notions, which are to have hereditary trades, to which all the principles and practices of trades-unions are familiar. He does not understand a system of society mainly based upon contract, while his is based upon duty. There is therefore no point of contact for the English and native mind; and the result is, that although a certain proportion of the people, especially in Bengal, have learned to speak and write a choice dialect called Baboo's English, and although a few arts and manufactures have made some progress among them, on the whole it may be doubted

whether there is any element of permanence in the result of our influence: whether, if the English left the country to-morrow, there would be much trace of their influence in the minds or habits of the people.

What, then, is to be the future of India? It seems difficult to see how English influence can be made more effectual within any limited period. Where there is so little sympathy in ideas and habits as we have pointed out, it must be long before any real assimilation can take place. Since the Hindoo can not eat with the Englishman, much less intermarry with him, the barrier can not be broken down until this is changed. It is only by amalgamation in daily life and habits, and especially by intermarriage, that races can be welded together. There is no want of kindly feeling on the part of the English, but rather an excess; and a philanthropy not always wise is eager in offering to our Indian fellow subjects the unappreciated advantages of English laws: and the English constitution insists upon perfect equality between the races, and that every career should be open to the subject race. This is not always a wise philanthropy, but it at any rate shows rather an excess of kindly feeling. Of sympathy, however, or assimilation of habits, ideas, and aims, what we have already pointed out as to Hindoo life and habits shows that there can be but little. It is true that some natives have received, not only an English education, but an education in England; and there are instances of complete adoption of English external life and manners; and with such success that, beyond an almost imperceptible twang, it is impossible to detect any difference of speech, and almost equally difficult to point out any difference of manners. The ideas of English life are not, it is true, so completely assimilated, but still there is a wonderful approach to complete identity, even in that respect, in the rare instances referred to. And no doubt this will be an increasing means of approximation. But while the native educated in England acquires English manners and habits, the native receiving an English education in India, either preserves native manners, adding an insuperable conceit in himself, on account of his education, to the natural self-sufficiency of his race, or adopts English vices by way of becoming truly English. Moreover, it is obvious every native, or every wealthy native, could not go to England for education; and there is this bar to any great increase of the class of such natives, that the Hindoo religion must first be got rid of; since by that the orthodox Hindoo is forbidden to cross the sea (*khala pani*, or black water). Thus we meet again the same difficulty as before, the intimate connection of the

Hindoo religion with every phase of Hindoo life. We have already said there can not be in ordinary cases any fusion of races without intermarriage; and the instances of effective intermixture of races have been few (and perhaps there has never been an instance), where races very different in habits have at all intermixed in this way. However, that may be, such fusion can not be desired in the present case, as far as the prospects of the two races are concerned. The results of such mixture, as at present witnessed, seem to be rather a combination of the vices of both races, and the destruction of all controlling influences; while the effects intellectually are of the most unsatisfactory kind. And here again, as we have remarked, the Hindoo religion, with its polygamy, must be first got rid of, so that at every step it is the same difficulty that meets us.

Then it may be said that, as this is the difficulty which fronts us in every direction, it is Christianity which must be the welding force; and in this we agree. It requires something more powerful and intense than the action of ordinary forces, to break down a barrier such as Hindooism presents; and it is of little use to rely upon the spread of education or commerce, or the action of government, to fuse together races of different religions, and whose religion has so much vitality. The prospects of Christianizing the Hindoos are however still very dim; and seem as far as ever from realization. It follows from the native system of religion, with its caste and joint family, that it is a fearful wrench for a Hindoo to become a Christian. It is not only separating in religion from his fellows; but it involves being put out of caste, shunned and abhorred, so that not even the lowest would eat with him, or give him food or water to save him from death. Conversion necessarily means to a Hindoo an utter isolation from his own people. Besides, Christianity seems to have little attraction for the native mind; and, with the spread of scepticism throughout the world, the interest which educated Hindoos might otherwise feel in Christianity is apt to be checked; and any attempt at a higher religious life, to result in the colorless eclecticism of the Brahmo Somaj sect, which is a greater obstacle to the spread of Christianity, even than ordinary Hindooism; for it looks upon itself as having reached a higher level than Christianity, and to be a teacher instead of a learner. The prospect, therefore, of any great change being wrought by the influence of Christianity, must be considered very remote.

Any immediate change in the present relations of the dominant and subject race; is therefore not to be expected; and it would be unreasonable to feel surprise that habits and a social system, which

were substantially fixed as long ago as the Christian era, should not give way in a day. Nor does it seem desirable that so great a change as would be necessary to make any marked difference in the position of India, should be suddenly or even rapidly effected by any force but one which, like Christianity, would supply checks and restraints in place of those it removed. It is true, progress can not be attained without the destruction of caste, and the practical destruction of Hindooism; and without such a convulsion of society as would be sufficient to destroy these, the Hindoo race can not escape from the narrow circle of passive influence which we have indicated as its lot for ages past, and can not advance beyond its stationary civilization. Let us, however, consider what India has to gain or lose by such a change. It would be an almost unmixed evil to have such a change brought about by means of commerce, government, or education—by any thing, in short, which does not, like the passionate desire for truth of which Christianity affords the highest embodiment, build up while it destroys—by any thing which should operate by crumbling away the checks and restraints at present supplied by the social and religious system of the native races, without substituting others. At present there is a melancholy tendency to imitate our civilization in its vices alone, and

“The reeling faun, the sensual feast,”

are not unknown as the outcome of what should be an advance in civilization. We may well, therefore, desire to see caution used in touching even the Hindoo temple; although stained by ancient crime and modern impurity and tottering from decay, and partly sustained only by the incrustations of corruption, its sudden fall would yet bring moral destruction upon many. And the present state of society in Christian nations is not such that it is an unmixed benefit to become like them. Let us consider for a little the Indian system in its better aspects. In the first place we have a nation of agriculturists; each owning a little holding of land—practically owning it, since the law insures, to some perpetual tenancy at a fixed rent, to others a like tenancy after twelve years' occupation, and to still more definite and equitable terms of holding. The customs of the country also temper what is more rigorous in the law; and though the ryot is liable, no doubt, to great oppression, it may be doubted whether there is so large a diffusion of moderate competence in European societies. However poor a man may be, he usually has his little holding, his cow, and sometimes a tope of mango trees, and a hut which, poor and wretched as it is, suffices for the climate. The

comparatively easy circumstances of the bulk of the people are no doubt greatly due to the fact that the peasant can live on so little. Four rupees, or eight shillings, or two dollars, will, in times of ordinary plenty, feed his family for a month, and although his almost exclusive dependence on rice and grain, and refusal to touch many kinds of food, is an element of weakness when the question is of competition as a nation with other nations, still it is the basis of content, and even of wealth for him as an individual. There is extremely little beggary in ordinary times; very little of the running sore of pauperism, and of the sights that make the heart sick in European cities. However poor a man may seem, he has usually some means, not only of livelihood, but something upon which he can depend in distress; and the indifference of the poorest of those who serve the English, to keeping their places, causes astonishment even to those who are accustomed to witness it. Again, scarcely any native is so poor as not somewhere or other to find means to carry on any litigation in which he may be interested. The litigious spirit of the Hindoos has been much remarked upon, but with little perception of its cause. In the first place, the contemptibly small sums for which suits are sometimes brought, frequently represent larger interests; and in the second place, there are few countries where classes so low in the scale of wealth can so readily find means to litigate, either in their own resources or in the help of those who are bound to them, as in India. The greater diffusion of litigation is a sign, therefore, not merely of greater litigiousness, but of larger resources and interests also. It is true such litigants often do not rely entirely, or perhaps chiefly, on their own resources; but it is one of the features we wish to make prominent, that mutual help exists to so large an extent. Now what would the native get from modern civilization in exchange for his modest competence, as compared with his needs? He would get complete nominal independence, and complete practical isolation: he would have no right to look to anybody for any thing, except under a contract; he would find himself often left to fight singly, and be overwhelmed by overpowering wealth; he would be only just beginning to learn new methods of mutual help, and in learning would have to suffer bitterly. It is true that in many things the spirit of mutual help is conspicuously absent from native ideas. One is often astonished, after considerable experience, at the indifference shown to the sickness or death even of those who are bound to them by ties of caste or blood. In fact they have little humanity, less gratitude, and no imagination: they are like overgrown children, with no higher intelli-

gence or morality, but with greater physical powers; and their mutual self-help is very much on selfish principles. Still it is a practical force; and although it does not make them progress, preserves them from destruction.

If we look at their social arrangements generally, they are fitted to preserve, in however imperfect a manner, the harmony and continuity of family life, and mutual dependence and help, upon which happiness so much depends. In fact nowhere is the domestic principle stronger. "Many sons are to be desired," says the Hindoo sage; and the devout Hindoo sees in his son, not merely the future upholder of his name, or even perchance the squanderer of his wealth, but the redeemer of his soul and the crown of his life here and hereafter. Nor are women in so utterly hopeless a position as might be imagined: here again we may infer that the happiness of the woman, as well of the man, was the original motive of that system of seclusion which, in the placid silence of Hindoo life, limits the chances of misery, although it cramps the faculties. But as we have said, happiness rather than progress is the aim of the Hindoo institutions. Again, the system of hereditary trades, by excluding the principle of competition, excludes no doubt almost all hope of progress, but helps to secure a subsistence to all. Prices, too, are as much ruled by custom as other matters. The native is governed by custom (*dustoor*): he is its slave, no doubt; but what would such a creature gain by being exposed to the rude though it may be wholesome blasts of competition? So that here again it may be doubted whether he would gain in happiness by a sudden change of civilization, even if it could be effected without irreparable damage; and in many respects it may be doubted whether he would not be a great loser.

Then if we glance at their systems of law, there are some remarkable features, giving it the same complexion which, as we have seen, belongs to the whole system—namely, the preponderance of stationary happiness over progress as its aim. For instance, each son of the joint family succeeds equally to the father's wealth; a more equitable, though it may be less progressive system than primogeniture; more conducive to family harmony, and to a modest prosperity. Every unmarried female member of the family is moreover entitled to maintenance by her male relatives, and to a home in the family dwelling house. Since the English entered the country, one progressive element has, as we have before mentioned, been introduced into this branch of the law—the power to make a will. The Mohammedans again have a singularly elaborate system of law, which allows much

more freedom to women than is commonly believed ; and, like the Hindoo law, secures their maintenance and their possession of separate property, and has also an equitable scheme of inheritance. Both systems too, admit of legal adoption, and such adoption is extremely common among Hindoos. Such a custom might supply a want in our more civilized society, where huge-wealth is sometimes without an heir ; while the needy relative, who is not in the relation of a son, is frequently not an attractive object of bounty. With regard to marriage, among Hindoos it is more usual for the husband than the wife to be bought ; and with Mohammedans, although the wife receives a dowry, she receives and disposes of it herself, and is legally free in her choice of a husband. A Hindoo wife also receives presents, usually of comparatively large amounts, of which she has the disposal. So that, as regards the law of marriage, there is not much to choose between the native laws and those of European nations. As to the early marriages so much deplored by philanthropists as obstacles to progress, we there again see the same controlling idea which we have seen throughout. Early marriages are essentially bound up with the Hindoo religion, and prevail with both sexes. The father who allows his daughter to pass the age of maturity without marrying her is threatened with endless and horrible torment. And although, to our ideas, it is a terrible thing to have one's lot in life fixed for us before we are able to choose, still, in the scheme of native life, it is absolutely necessary that the wife should be received into the family which is to be her exclusive home at an age when the will is plastic, and the passions undeveloped. And, although there is probably little practical opportunity of dissent, the consent of the Hindoo girl is theoretically as necessary as is that of a Mayfair damsel. The Mohammedan maiden also has an absolute right of choice elaborately secured to her. Thus looking to the general scheme of Hindoo law and life, we see some features similar to our own, and something of which even our civilization feels the want ; and on the whole little that would justify a revolutionary change.

Tenant-right, and the abolition of primogeniture, about which England has been so much agitated of late, are here embodied in ancient laws. Pauperism is unknown, and co-operation is the principle of social and commercial life. Some few progressive elements, moreover, have been adopted from English law ; for instance, the law of contract, which in Hindoo law, as we might expect, was in a rudimentary state, has been largely supplemented by English law, and so far an element of progress introduced.

Upon the whole, then, much progress is not to be expected in Indian civilization within any very limited period. There has been some infusion of new life, which at present has not produced any very vital change, but which still offers possibilities of future advance. We have endeavored to point out that, while a ready adoption of European ideas can not be expected, it is in some respects doubtful whether it is to be desired; that in the present state of transition of European civilization, and in the absence of clearly settled and indisputable principles of social life, which is so noticeable in Europe, where much is in a fluid state and has yet to settle and solidify, it might be a doubtful advantage to adopt, as a whole, European ideas: that, consequently, it is well that time should insensibly do its work; and that what is controlling and preservative in Indian life should not be violently disturbed. At the same time we can not doubt that the presence of the more vigorous elements derived from European ideas will in time leaven this comparatively effete civilization, which is undoubtedly ill-fitted to resist the tide of modern change, and which, with all its tenacity of life, will be unable to escape from the disintegration caused by the new and fermenting elements introduced into it: the new wine has been put into old bottles, and the result is only a question of time. A system of religion which, in its common acceptance, is at war with physical science and with the social and political ideas which are now brought into contact with it, and which derives its strength from what is also its weakness—its antiquity, must gradually succumb; but its decay will be brought about by time, and will not be complete until some substitute has grown up in its place.

When, therefore, we desire to forecast the future, we can only safely do so to any extent by bearing well in mind what now exists, and upon what its existence will depend. This we have shown to be, as far as the social life of the people of India is concerned, the presence of a strong conservative instinct on the part of the Hindoo race; and the absence of any such florid enthusiasm in the propagation of new ideas, on the part of its rulers, as would suffice to overturn the old and simultaneously implant the new in the native mind: from which we conclude that change will not be immediate but gradual. And if we look back at the century during which we have practically ruled in India, we are confirmed in this opinion; because the force of new ideas in leavening old habits is in great measure due to their newness, and might have been expected to produce its most decided effects at an earlier period. Those effects, as we have seen, have hitherto been slight; and in fact the new ideas are themselves growing old to the

minds of the people ; and are therefore more in danger of falling into the category of shelved and rejected ideas, than likely to develop suddenly into new life.

With regard to the political future of India, it has two aspects, as we have indicated : it may be looked at as regards her relation to England and the world, or as regards herself. Although she may be brought into a prominent place by English energy, her real position in the political world must depend upon herself ; and, if she is found incapable of readily assimilating European civilization, she can not take a conspicuous place, on her own merits, in the politics of the world, but must always be liable to relapse into political nonentity. As regards England, India will continue, for the reason we have suggested, to be a source of weakness as well as of strength. She may be a source of wealth, a field of training ; but while the feelings of the rulers and the ruled are so imperfectly harmonized, she must be a weight dragging back her rulers in times of crisis. There is no reason to think it would be otherwise under Russian or any other European rule. It is true Englishmen are undemonstrative ; but the French are otherwise : and yet they were not popular in India, and got no solid footing there. In fact, in spite of all that is said, no other race has shown capabilities for colonization and government of alien races at all to be compared with those of the English race. The truth is that respect is a better basis of government than mere fleeting sympathy ; and the natives of India, at bottom, respect the English, and believe in their honesty of purpose, although vaguely, and without great admiration or hearty sympathy. There appears therefore, little reason to anticipate any great danger from the superior attraction of any Western race as rulers ; and less, perhaps, to anticipate the rise of what would be a formidable competitor—a popular native dynasty. India, of course, and England in her connection with India, are liable to the chances which time and fortune may have in store for them ; but, as far as a choice on the part of India is concerned, there is no ground for thinking that the connection will be severed. It certainly would be a poor exchange that India would make in severing such a connection even for Russian rule, which, although in some respect suited to the native mind in its clear and defined despotism, would be likely to show much less forbearance to the ideas and habits of the people. And to revert to native rule would be to plunge once more into anarchy. The best hopes of India are bound up with English rule ; and on the whole the people are faithful to that rule : it has given them peace and security, and has offered them a full share of its own

advantages. It has been a tolerant and even an indulgent rule, honestly exercised in the main ; and the kindliness which is almost universally felt toward the natives, and which too often degenerates into a weak sentimentality, while not unlikely to injure the people by over-indulgence, is a security against any repetition of oppressions like those of its native sovereigns. The conclusion, then, to which we are led, is, that the part played at present by India in its relations with the world at large through its connection with England is not likely to be disturbed, as far as the choice of India is concerned : she will still remain a part of the empire, but a vulnerable part. In the event of complications in Europe, no doubt Russia might endeavor to wrest India from the grasp of England ; or at any rate to strike a blow at England through India ; and probably India would herself neither be able nor disposed to offer much resistance beyond a steady indifference. England must therefore be prepared to hold her own in India as in Europe. The consideration of this subject, however, is beyond our present object, since it rather concerns England as a European power. So long as England retains her position in Europe there is little fear she will lose India.

DEAF-MUTISM.

TEACHERS of the deaf and dumb are often amused by unthinking questions and suppositions, coming from persons unfamiliar with deaf-mutes.

Such remarks as the following are not uncommon :

“Your pupils have especial facility in music, have they not?”

“Do the mutes learn to read and write? I suppose they can only be taught to use signs.”

“Is it not true that deaf-mutes are very passionate and suspicious?”

“Have not the deaf and dumb much more natural intelligence than hearing people?”

“I believe you make use of books with raised letters.”

The confusion of ideas indicated by the first and last of the foregoing specimens has arisen, doubtless, in great part from the wide publicity given to the case of Laura Bridgman, a blind deaf-mute, the story of whose education has led many to conclude, hastily, that all deaf-mutes, or at least many of them, are blind.

This combination of afflictions, far from being common, is so rare, that out of twenty thousand deaf-mutes now living in the United States, not more than six are known to be blind.

The egregious blunders of the other remarks we have quoted must be attributed in large measure to innocent ignorance on the part of those who seldom or never meet deaf-mutes, and to the lack of reflection on the part of those who meeting them are not able to study their peculiarities.

The term *deaf-mute* often bears a meaning quite different from the more strict signification of the word.

As recognized in most of the legislation relative to his education the deaf-mute is a person too deaf to be able to receive oral instruction in ordinary schools. Under this denomination are included, as a matter of course, many who can speak well, and many even who can hear conversation directed especially to them.

Such persons are plainly not deaf-mutes in the strict sense of the

word, and are classed as such on educational grounds alone, for the reason that there are, as yet, no schools other than those sustained for the deaf and dumb, in which their education is practicable.

Strictly speaking, a deaf-mute is a person whose organs of hearing are completely disabled, or at least to such a degree that the powers of speech are consequently wholly undeveloped. Such alone can be said to be true subjects of deaf-mutism, and the peculiarities of such, only, will be considered in this paper. And it should be understood that a large majority of deaf-mutes, so called, are such in the more strict sense as above defined; the *surds*, or semi-mutes, as they have often been erroneously termed, comprising but a small minority.

The phenomena of deaf-mutism arrange themselves in two distinct divisions, namely, the physical and the psychical. Physical deaf-mutism will be readily understood as consisting in mere organic deafness and consequent dumbness, while psychical deaf-mutism includes the mental and moral conditions induced by and growing out of the physical disability.

It may be said of deaf-mutes as a class that their physical deaf-mutism can not be removed. Their deafness has hitherto baffled the relieving hands of the surgeon and the physician. Their dumbness has only partially yielded before the persistent efforts of teachers of articulation, to whose patience and skill all praise is due. The record of more than a century's labor in Christendom shows clearly that speech can be *acquired* by no more than a small proportion of actual deaf-mutes.

It is, therefore, upon psychical deaf-mutism that the attention of the teacher should be chiefly fixed, to the complete removal of which, in a vast majority of cases, no inherent or insurmountable obstacles present themselves.

And it is not the teacher alone who has a duty in this regard. All who come in contact with deaf-mutes may render them important service in ways that will be made to appear later in this article.

That there is a deaf-mutism more deplorable than that which is merely physical, will be well understood by all who have met with uneducated deaf-mutes of mature age. Our compassion for these is not more called forth by the consideration that their ears are closed to all the sweet harmonies of sound, their tongues useless for the expression of thought, feeling, and desire, than by the reflection that their minds are dwarfed, their sensibilities undeveloped, their social natures warped and soured, their moral perceptions nebulous, and their religious feelings unawakened.

The following picture, drawn by one who has been totally deaf since his tenth year, may be recognized in whole or in part by such as have come in contact with similar characters:

"In Bennington, Vermont, fifteen years ago, lived a character known in all the region round about as 'Dumb Gray.' He was an uneducated deaf-mute—tall, well-formed, with bearded and not unhandsome features. Most of his time was spent in moody isolation. Occasionally he would enter the town, and always became the center of an eager and curious group. When thus surrounded, he would come to a full stop, throw back his fine head, and look from face to face in the throng, half angry, half abashed, and altogether perplexed, as if sensible of the presence of strange *confrères*, whose affinity with himself he perceived, whose superiority he dimly recognized, but was too proud to acknowledge without the explanation for which, perhaps, he hungered. Unemulous, unambitious, utterly regardless of his personal advancement; startled by a touch, soothed by a glance; not easily provoked, but terrible when aroused; appropriating any unguarded article that tempted him, but always without effort at concealment; occasionally evincing a disposition to make an acquaintance in the town, the next hour flying in bitter revulsion to his mountain home, he was clearly a strange being, pitifully but mysteriously and impressively afflicted—a being not only bereft of all the highest human enjoyments, but tortured by his inability to comprehend them; a being to challenge at once the sympathy of the generous, the interest of the philosophical, and the solicitude of the religious."

Psychical deaf-mutism may be considered under three subdivisions, viz., (1) Mental, (2) Moral, and (3) Social.

In the mental development of the deaf-mute, the great and peculiar obstacle is his lack of language. That marvelous process by means of which the hearing child, between his first and fourth year, possesses himself, without conscious effort, of his mother tongue, and sometimes even gains two or three languages, has no counterpart in the experience of the deaf-mute; and as a consequence he lacks not only the language, but all that mental discipline and growth which are incident even to the vernacular acquirement of language.

That the untaught deaf-mute has methods of thought is undoubtedly true. But the necessary crudeness of them will appear from the reflection that as he works them out, he can only imperfectly call to his aid the imitative faculty. He must originate almost every thing, and arrive at just conclusions only after blunders infinitely more numerous than those of the hearing child.

Even in the imperfect development possible to the uneducated deaf-mute, the necessity of *some* language becomes apparent. Failing to learn that of his fellows, he will invent one of his own, and impose its use on all who will accept it. And when the indifference or hard-

heartedness of his family or associates denies him the use of this, he lapses into a condition but slightly elevated above idiocy.

In proof of this, an instance may be cited, which fell under the writer's notice some years since, of a girl who had been held as a household drudge or slave by her family, till in her sixteenth year she was brought, at the instance of her humane neighbors, to a school where she might be taught. On entering she presented evidences of idiocy that were thought to be unmistakable. Premature decrepitude of form, with crooked, claw-shaped fingers, and a face utterly expressionless, were taken as plain tokens of mental feebleness.

A few months, however, of the ordinary treatment of a deaf-mute institution, wrought what seemed almost a miracle. Rest from exhausting labor allowed the fingers to relax and the form to straighten; kindness lighted smiles in a face that had lost, if it had ever possessed, the power of changing its expression; patient instruction reached at length the awakened intellect, and at the end of a year, eager happy intelligence was in process of healthy development where there seemed before to have been no germ of mental life.

The language of pantomime suffices for the ordinary development of the intellectual faculties. A deaf-mute who never learns a language of words, may still be taught much as to the operations of the natural world: something of history and geography, not a little of science and mathematics, the laws and usages of society, and the principles and precepts of religion.

But this will not relieve him from his mental deaf-mutism.

Having no language in common with his fellow-men; shut out from the stores of information and food for thought conserved in books; unable to acquaint himself with even the news of the day as chronicled in the journals; often excited and perhaps tormented with thoughts and queries for which he has no means of exact expression, his mind may be likened to an eagle caged or a lion chained. He will either lapse into the contentedness of ignoble bondage, or drag out an unhappy existence, beating at bars or chafing in fetters from the thralldom of which he is powerless to free himself.

The question naturally rises in the mind of a philanthropic person: "Is there no way of escape from so sad a condition?"

Happily an affirmative answer may be found in the history of every well-ordered school for deaf-mutes. Among those taught, some will appear who, while remaining physically deaf and dumb, are no longer suffering from mental deaf-mutism. Their processes of thought, their methods of reasoning, their modes of expression, are the same

as those of hearing persons, with the single exception that verbal language is to them *only* visible, and not visible or audible according to circumstances, as it is to hearing people. That this can be predicated of a majority of so-called educated deaf-mutes, or even of a large minority, we think no candid teacher of mutes will claim. That the mental enfranchisement of deaf-mutes ought to be more complete and more general than it is, we are equally confident will be admitted by all fair-minded teachers.

And we will venture now to offer a few suggestions looking to the attainment of this most desirable result.

The language of signs must not be ignored in the education of the deaf and dumb. We are aware that not a few claim the contrary, and urge the entire exclusion of this language, natural not only to the deaf-mute, but constituting "one of the two universally intelligible innate forms of expression granted by God to mankind—a form which is in reality more or less employed by every human being."

Against such exclusion we have the advice of prominent and successful teachers of all systems, among whom none stand higher than the late Moritz Hill of Weissenfels, Germany, a life-long teacher of mutes on the methods of Amman and Heinicke,* who adds to the pertinent and forcible sentence just quoted, the following :

"I acknowledge in this language of natural signs—

"The element in which the mental life of the deaf-mute begins to germinate and grow; the only means whereby he, on his admission to the school, may express his thoughts, feelings, and wishes.

"A valuable mirror for the teacher, in which the intellectual stand-point of his pupil is exhibited to him.

"At first the only, and consequently indispensable, means of comprehension between teacher and pupil.

"An instrument of mental development and substantial instruction, made use of in the intercourse of the pupils with each other; for example, the well-known beneficial influences which result from the association of the new pupils with the more advanced.

"A most efficacious means of assisting even pupils in the higher degrees of school training, giving light, warmth, animation to spoken language, which, for some time after its introduction, continues dull and insipid.

"But it is particularly in the teaching of religion that the language of pantomime plays an important part, especially when it is not only necessary to instruct but to operate on sentiment and will, either because here this language is indispensable to express the moral state of man, his thoughts, and his actions, or that the word alone *makes too little impression on the eye of the mute* to produce, without the aid of pantomime, the desired effect in a manner sure and sufficient."

* These teachers had as their great aims the teaching of mutes to speak, and to understand the speech of others by observing the motion of their lips.

Recognizing, as we do, the importance of the sign language in the education of the deaf and dumb, we would hold it rigidly to a subordinate position *from the very beginning*; with the purpose constantly in the teacher's mind, that it must not become, or at least must not remain, the vehicle of thought and reflection to the deaf-mute.

Even in the first stages of instruction it is important that the written, spelled, or printed word should be associated in the pupil's mind directly with the object it names, or the idea it expresses, not always, or even often, suggesting the sign which may have been used by way of explanation. With this end in view we would indorse the proposal made recently at the Belleville convention,* that signs should be used as little as possible in the school-room, during the first two years of instruction, recourse being had to the appliances and methods of object-teaching, now growing in favor among schools for the hearing.

The result of this would be that verbal language would become natural to the deaf child, and not a language invariably to be translated.

And here we have the suggestion of the *pons asinorum* of deaf-mute instruction.

The disposition to think in signs is as natural and strong to the deaf-mute as that of the hearing American to think in English. Germinating in the mind of the untaught child and attaining to an irregular development, this tendency is intensified and confirmed as a mental habitude by that system of instruction which in its earlier years makes free and unrestrained use of the language of signs. A large vocabulary of words may be mastered, a limited ability of imperfect expression may be secured, in certain cases even, and with a peculiar class of minds, there may be an approximation to a correct use and full understanding of verbal language. But where the habit of thinking in signs is once well-established, we question whether mental deaf-mutism is likely ever to be completely removed by the available processes of school training.

The mute thus educated, must remain a foreigner to his native tongue: laboring with almost every line he attempts to read; translating every thing into signs before he can understand or enjoy, often losing thus the point of an argument or the cream of a joke.

We who possess one verbal language fully can scarcely appreciate

* This convention was a meeting of instructors of the deaf and dumb, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, representing the institutions generally in the United States and Canada; held at the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, near the town of Belleville, Canada, during the third week in July, 1874. The proposal referred to was favorably received by the convention.

the mental position of such a deaf-mute as we are considering; though we may perhaps attain to a partial comprehension of it when we attempt to acquire a foreign tongue. Not until we can understand and speak the new language without translation, does its use cease to be a labor to us, and we certainly do not feel at home in it, until we can use it as a vehicle of thought.

The writer well remembers with what keen pleasure he was conscious of understanding, for the first time without any effort of translation, a sermon in the French language: and with what satisfaction, after a residence of some months in a French family, he found himself able to enjoy and sustain conversation in French, without having to translate what he heard, or to reflect upon the words he must use in speaking.

The deaf-mute who never acquires the power of thinking in verbal language has few incentives to read. He may pick up simple items of news from the daily papers. He may now and then, with dictionary by his side, take in the full import of some book. He will be more apt to skim what he pretends to read, comprehending enough to afford some pleasure and perhaps a little profit, but remaining mentally oblivious of much that the hearing and speaking reader would understand and enjoy.

Many instances have fallen under the personal notice of the writer, where deaf-mutes of unusual intelligence were debarred from all real enjoyment of reading, simply because they had been allowed in early life to confirm the natural tendency to think in signs, and had not been compelled to acquire the power of thinking in verbal language.

And if reading be so difficult and profitless to one who continues in the condition of mental deaf-mutism, what must be said of his power of verbal expression? How can he be expected to write correctly, who can not read understandingly? And so we have ample reason for the curious, and often amusing blunders made by deaf-mutes, in their attempts to express themselves in connected words.

The writer once entering his parlor, found pinned to the sofa a placard bearing the following words:

Sofa break no sit I make glue. To his mind, familiar from childhood with deaf-mutes and their peculiarities of expression, the meaning was instantly apparent. Not every one, however, would have understood that a deaf and dumb carpenter wished to notify applicants for seats as follows:—

This sofa has been broken; don't sit upon it; I have just mended it with glue.

But it is not alone in matters of reading and writing that the deaf-mute suffers when his mental deaf-mutism is allowed to remain. His lack of precise language leads to the formation of undesirable habits of thought; he often reasons ineffectively; draws hasty and mistaken conclusions—seldom perceiving the nicer distinctions that are drawn in the printed page, and never uniting them with those that occur in spoken language, he does not learn to make such himself: rarely reasoned with incisively by hearing and speaking people, he becomes, if strong-minded, opinionated, self-satisfied, and dogmatic, and if otherwise, he forms no opinions of his own, but is led by any stronger will that may assert its power over his.

It is not the purpose of the writer to discuss methods or compare systems, but to bring to view, if possible, the essential thing to be aimed at in the education of the deaf and dumb: to note the peculiar difficulties that stand in the way of reaching this end, and to suggest a general line of effort that may lead to the conquest of these difficulties.

Baron Degérando, a prominent and able French writer on deaf-mute instruction, opens a chapter in his treatise as follows:

“An instructor, that he may fully comprehend the work before him, should determine with exactness at the outset, the character and capacity of his pupils, and the actual conditions in which he finds them.”

This injunction, binding on all teachers, is of especial weight to those who attempt the education of the deaf and dumb. In judging of the mental character and capacity, and actual mental condition of this class of persons, we can not fail to perceive that in nothing are they so pointedly and prominently peculiar as in their lack of verbal language. With this lack completely supplied, the peculiarity ceases to exist, and they are no longer subjects of mental deaf-mutism.

To supply this lack *fully* is, then, the proper aim of deaf-mute instruction considered as a specialty. The *particular* difficulty in the way is, as we have seen, the strong natural tendency of the deaf-mute to the use of the sign language in preference to verbal language as his vehicle of thought and expression.

The general course to be pursued in endeavoring to overcome this difficulty, is to encourage and compel, by all available means, especially during the earlier years of instruction, the formation of the habit of verbal thought and verbal expression. And by the earlier years of instruction we would not be understood as referring to school instruction alone. Parents and home friends of deaf-mute children

can do much toward ridding them of their mental deaf-mutism by early efforts to teach them the significance of words. And this is by no means so difficult a task as may be imagined.

The question "How can you ever *begin* to teach the deaf and dumb?" asked perhaps by one half of those who visit a deaf-mute school for the first time, may be classed with those quoted at the beginning of this article.

The great difficulty is not at the outset; and any parent, with a little attention to the methods of using object and picture lessons, may give a deaf-mute child, before his seventh year, a familiarity with words, as connected directly with objects, or acts, or feelings, that will be of incalculable value in the ultimate development of his faculty of language.

We pass now to the consideration of another feature of psychical deaf-mutism, namely, that which pertains to the development of the moral nature. And the peculiarity that meets us is the same as before.

The untaught deaf-mute is either wholly devoid of language or possesses it in a very imperfect degree.

In the first case his moral development is as absolute an impossibility as that of his mental; and in the latter case the readiness with which his moral perceptions may be awakened and his moral powers trained, increases with the growth of his faculty of language.

Conceiving of a person remaining under the disabilities implied by physical deaf-mutism, we have a creature scarcely above the level of an intelligent brute.

That an uneducated mute should be morbid, suspicious, jealous, selfish, unreliable, and dependent, will seem most natural when one considers at how terrible a disadvantage he remains, as compared with his hearing fellows; and to how small an extent his mind has been affected by those influences, which naturally eliminate these undesirable moral qualities from the human character.

It must be observed, however, that we have not claimed the possession of verbal language as necessary to the moral development of the deaf-mute. His natural language of signs, properly developed, will suffice for this. That is to say, the essentials of a moral character may be imparted.

The writer is, however, of the opinion that, other things being equal, the deaf-mute who is perfect in verbal language, has a decided advantage even in points of moral development, over one whose habit is to think in signs.

The difference here suggested has been noticed by the writer in teaching Moral Philosophy to deaf-mutes whose mental powers were equally vigorous, but who possessed verbal language in varying degrees of perfection.

When we come to examine the third division of psychical deaf-mutism, namely, that which concerns deaf-mutes as social beings, we find the lack of language to be again the main difficulty in their way. And the removal of this is in some respects a harder task than when it relates to the mental or moral nature. For language is certainly not less important when considered as a means of social development, than when regarded as necessary to mental and moral growth. Social intercourse, even among the brutes, demands a certain language, and we should hardly count that a sociable gathering of crows or sheep, where there was never a caw nor a bleat to be heard.

And if we may accept the authority of the poet, the brutes have a language that may even be learned and used by human beings; for we are told that Hiawatha

" Learned of every bird its language,
Learned their names and all their secrets,
How they built their nests in summer,
Where they hid themselves in winter,
Talked with them where'er he met them."

When denied all language the deaf-mute must remain a social cipher. Given only the sign language, his enjoyment of social privileges is of course limited to the narrow circle composed of those who can use that language. If we add verbal language, even without speech or the power of lip-reading, we widen the social range very greatly.

And those deaf-mutes who are so fortunate as to possess the power, and are granted the opportunity of acquiring these last-named accomplishments to a degree reasonably approaching perfection, may without doubt aspire to complete enfranchisement from social deaf-mutism.

To these the problem we are considering is not difficult of solution. But to the large majority, who can only expect to communicate freely and understandingly with hearing and speaking persons, through some medium other than that of speech, the task is not so easy.

The natural tendencies incident to their physical disability are strong in the direction of social isolation, and their conquest demands discreet and persistent endeavor on the part of teachers, and determined effort on the part of the deaf-mute himself.

Upon those who manage and conduct schools established specially for the deaf and dumb, rests the greater share of responsibility in this regard: for their influence is exerted during that period of the life of the deaf-mute when he is most affected by formative influences.

Next in order should be placed those who happen to be thrown in contact with deaf-mutes outside of their school relations; and last, but bearing still no mean portion of responsibility, the deaf-mutes themselves.

Those who are charged with the management of institutions should consider how important it is to avoid all unnecessary reminders to the deaf and dumb that they constitute a *class*, and especially that they are to be looked upon and treated as objects of charity. It is an outrage upon a class of persons quite as ready to be self-supporting and wealth-producing as any other, to call the institutions established for their education "Asylums;" and it is to be hoped that the few still retaining this opprobrious title, including the venerable and much to be honored mother of all such schools in this country, will soon rid their corporate names of this offensive term; though they can not expect by this tardy act of justice to atone for the injury they have done through a half-century's misappropriation of a word.

We are disposed to go even further in our criticism of the corporate titles of schools for the deaf and dumb, urging that the words "deaf and dumb," or "deaf-mute" be omitted altogether.

In place of these might be substituted the name of some person who had been most prominent and laborious in the establishment of the institution; or, if this could not appropriately be done in any given case, the name of the town or city where the institution might be located, could be adopted.

As, for instance, with the school to be opened by the State of New Jersey, it would not seem inappropriate that it should be called "The Deshler Seminary," in honor of the gentleman to whose earnest and judicious efforts the establishment of the school will be in great part owing. And the older institutions could easily discover, in the annals of their respective histories, some name deserving of similar honor.

Our objection to the term Asylum is mainly because of the mistaken idea it conveys to the world at large as to the nature of the institutions to which it may be applied; the use of the words deaf and dumb is to be deprecated on account of the effect exerted on those who are to be the inmates of the schools so termed. Is it not trial enough to *be* deaf and dumb without being obliged to remind

one's self and one's home friends of the fact in the heading of every letter written from school? Would not many a deaf-mute be spared unnecessary pain, if he were not compelled to read the suggestive terms whenever he took up a catalogue or report of the school where he was educated?

But it is not in this regard alone that harm is done by every unnecessary use of the words deaf and dumb. This is to be deprecated, not merely out of tenderness to the feelings of the mute, but because every needless reminder of the fact of his peculiarity tends to confirm his social deaf-mutism: to fix him in that social isolation, to withdraw him from which should be the aim of all his friends.

We would direct the attention of teachers especially to the importance of a thoughtful discretion in this regard.

A custom is widely prevalent in schools for the deaf and dumb, of referring, in the presence of scholars, to the *deaf and dumb* as a class. Most frequently is this done when pupils are assembled for religious worship or instruction. In prayer, particular mention is made of the deaf and dumb, and schools for their benefit.

We fail to discover what spiritual advantage can be secured to a deaf-mute by habituating him to pray for those similarly afflicted with himself. On the contrary it seems rather to narrow his charity, to strengthen whatever disposition he may have to clannishness, and to confirm his natural tendency to look upon himself as forming no part of general society. And in many other ways do teachers unwittingly work injury to their pupils in this direction.

The natural sympathy felt for deaf-mutes leads often to undue consideration on the part of those who care for them. And so a spirit of dependence is engendered.

Deaf-mutes are allowed to think they may claim immunities and favors all their lives, because of their disability; and since railroads have carried them to and from school at half fare or free, many come to believe that they may plead their deaf-muteness ever after, as a ground for reduced prices, not only on railroads, but in hotels, and even in trade. And for this unwarrantable assumption on their part, their teachers are mainly responsible. Teachers too often encourage their pupils to form, on leaving school, associations ostensibly for the improvement and benefit of their own class. Excepting the single object of securing opportunities for religious worship and instruction, it is believed that such associations ought to be discouraged, and deaf-mutes advised to connect themselves with societies of hearing people; but on this point we shall speak more at length hereafter.

It is believed that teachers, generally, fall very far short of their duty in urging upon their pupils the desirableness of entering into social relations with hearing and speaking people, and in pointing out to them the various means that may be employed to attain this end. In a lecture recently given to an assemblage of intelligent deaf-mutes, the suggestion was made that much of the difficulty they experienced in making their way socially with hearing persons was owing to the embarrassment felt by the latter in attempting to communicate with the former. This was an entirely novel idea to most of the deaf-mutes, they having supposed that the feeling of embarrassment must be all on their side, and that any holding back, on the part of hearing people, from social intercourse with them was to be attributed to indifference, coldness, or a selfish indisposition to take the trouble of writing.

We believe that teachers could do their pupils a most valuable service by pointing out to them the several ways in which they might overcome the obstacles standing in the way of easy social intercourse between deaf-mutes and hearing people, and thus form social relations that would grow to be pleasant and profitable to both parties.

Some months ago, the writer chanced to spend a Sunday in a pleasant inland town in one of the Middle States.

Not aware that he had any acquaintances in the town, he attended church with his traveling companion, for whose benefit (he being deaf) the writer translated the sermon and prayers by means of the manual alphabet. After the service an elderly man followed the two who had communicated in the alphabet of the deaf and dumb. The writer turning to ask some question as to localities in the town, the stranger replied in signs that he was deaf and dumb. Conversation in signs immediately sprang up between the three, the deaf-mute expressing the greatest delight at meeting with those who could use his peculiar language. He begged us to go home with him and see his wife, who was also a deaf-mute, and after we had spent some time under his roof, he invited us to go with him and call on two or three other deaf-mutes who lived in the town.

Having done this we seemed to have exhausted his social resources, and no suggestion came from him that he would introduce us to any hearing and speaking friends.

This man had lived more than twenty years where we found him; had reared a family of hearing and speaking children; and yet seemed to have no social relations except with the three or four deaf-mutes who happened to be living in his vicinity. This seemed to the writer

an instance of cruel social isolation, suggesting many similar cases, the occurrence of which might have been avoided by a little judicious counsel from teachers.

But it is not upon teachers alone that responsibility rests for the social isolation of the educated deaf and dumb.

We wish to make a strong appeal to all who may meet deaf-mutes in society, or who may have them as neighbors, to consider their claims to social consideration. All real social intercourse involves the exercise of unselfishness, which is the very essence of true politeness.

And what if conversation with deaf-mutes be embarrassing, involving some awkward blunders at first, and consuming much time in the communication of ideas; it is worth all the pains taken, as an act of pure courtesy that is sure to be better appreciated than the greater part of your efforts to please those with whom you can communicate by the ordinary methods. We do not ask an attempt to learn the language of signs, for the use of this with deaf-mutes tends to confirm their mental deaf-mutism. But you may with little pains learn the manual alphabet, and by its aid speak to your mute friends with more than double the ease and rapidity of writing.

Some years ago the Deaf-Mute College at Washington was visited by a distinguished senator from one of the New England States. He was invited to address the students, and the president of the college placed himself in readiness to translate his address into the language of the deaf and dumb, when, to the surprise of all, the facile fingers of the senator began to move, and the young men of the college had the rare pleasure of being spoken to by a senator without the need of an interpretation. Inquiry being made as to the occasion which led the senator to acquire the finger language, it appeared that in his boyhood he had a playmate who was deaf and dumb, for whose sake he had learned the manual alphabet. He added that he had often found this acquisition a source of great pleasure to him, since it had enabled him to meet deaf-mutes socially and give *them* pleasure.

But to some who would gladly extend social consideration to deaf-mutes, it may be inconvenient to learn the manual alphabet. For such there remains writing as a means of communication, which should not be ignored because its use involves a little patience and *apparent* waste of time.

And those who are moved to meet deaf-mutes in this manner must not be ashamed to commit to writing the ordinary expressions of spoken conversation. The writer has often been told by those who had undertaken for the first time to converse with deaf-mutes, that

they felt they *must* say something very interesting or important when what they said was to be expressed in writing. This ought not to deter one from writing trifles, if he can think of nothing better; and if it should have the effect to raise the standard of conversation, might not the deaf-mute be credited with having done, or at least with having led another to do, a service to society?

In this connection we would be careful not to ask social alms for the deaf and dumb. They are usually quick to perceive the difference between this and social consideration; and what can only be given grudgingly or patronizingly had better not be offered at all.

It is a prevalent idea that deaf-mutes can not expect to enjoy social intercourse with the hearing and speaking, and even that they do not desire it. If the latter be true to any extent, it is only because of the coldness or indifference with which they have been treated by those with whom they have come in contact. But social deaf-mutism can not be removed by the teachers and friends of its subject if he remains a passive recipient of their kindness.

We have placed the responsibility of the deaf-mute, in this regard, last in order, but it is not to be looked upon as least in importance.

The suggestions and counsel of teachers must be accepted and followed; the advances of friends must be responded to.

The deaf-mute who desires and seeks for social recognition among the hearing and speaking, must see that he is worthy of it—must take pains to deserve it—and he must appreciate the value of social intercourse with those who are his superiors in many things. Little progress can be made when one limits himself to the society of his equals or inferiors. We would not be understood as implying, in this remark, that all hearing and speaking people are to be looked upon as the superiors of all deaf-mutes: far from this. It is, however, true as a mere matter of statistics, that a deaf-mute seeking society that may be likely to benefit and elevate him, will be more apt to find it with hearing and speaking people than with his fellow defectives.

The deaf-mute must not understand from the term society, the gathering of people together in parties, so called. He need not be shut out from a reasonable enjoyment of these in the company of hearing and speaking people but he must consider society in a much wider sense.

Emerson, in his *Essay on Society and Solitude*, says:

“It by no means follows that we are unfit for society because soirées are tedious. A backwoodsman who had been sent to the University told me that when he heard the best-bred young men at the law school talk together, he reckoned him-

self a boor ; but whenever he caught them apart then they were the boors, and he the better man. And if we recall the rare hours when we encountered the best persons, we then found ourselves, and then first society seemed to exist."

It is individual society the deaf-mute should seek to cultivate, rather than society in crowds; and if he is discreet and considerate in his selections and approaches, it will not be out of his power, wherever his lot may be cast, to establish relations, even of intimate friendship, with those who are neither deaf nor dumb, but with whom he will find he has many common interests, and whose influence will in time emancipate him altogether, from that feature of his disability we are considering.

But it would carry us far beyond the proper scope of this article, should we undertake to say all that might be said to deaf-mutes by way of suggestion or advice in this connection. We are addressing ourselves to those who have hearing and speech, in the interest of those who are denied these priceless boons.

Fifty years ago the question of moment as concerning deaf-mutes was that of their education. They form no longer an uneducated or dependent class in the community. More than forty schools in the States of our Union are affording instruction to upward of four thousand deaf-mute children and youth.

If in certain sections of our country, most notably in Pennsylvania, public provision for the education of the deaf and dumb is inadequate, it is true that in general, ample opportunities are offered for the instruction of this class of persons in the United States. It remains only to see that the facilities so generously furnished are applied in ways best calculated to remove the mental and moral deaf-mutism of those under instruction.

But the duties of society to educated adult deaf-mutes are not so clearly understood.

Appeals are made in behalf of "Deaf-mute Associations" of various sorts, which have for their ostensible object the benefit of educated deaf-mutes. There is great danger that these societies will work harm rather than good. They foster the idea in the mind of the deaf-mute that he may properly plead his infirmity, so long as he shall live, as a ground for special consideration and help from his hearing and speaking fellow-men.

This is nothing better than respectable mendicancy.

Deaf-mute associations undeniably exert a potent influence in maintaining a clannish spirit among their members, intensifying their social deaf-mutism ; and for this reason are to be discouraged.

Other objections might be raised against these societies, but as they would be addressed mainly to deaf-mutes themselves, they need not occupy space in this article.

The duty that society in general owes to educated deaf-mutes, is to recognize them as individuals, and not as a class; and in this, society may offer the deaf-mute what he may not demand of society.

We can not say to our neighbor, "Why do you not invite us to your home?" But we may accept his invitation voluntarily given, and enjoy his hospitality with thankful souls.

And so may society offer to the individual deaf-mute social recognition and many testimonials of thoughtful consideration which he has no right to demand. In any neighborhood where an educated deaf-mute may have taken up his residence, the work of relieving him of his social deaf-mutism should go on. A little patience and painstaking to establish easy communication; a little exercise of self-denial; the acceptance of the deaf-mute neighbor as a *fellow-man*, and not always as a deaf-mute, will in process of time perfect the work begun by his teachers in school, emancipating him so fully from the trammels of mental and social deaf-mutism, as to make him often forget the burden of the heavy trial which must still rest upon him, when all shall have been done that the good-will of his fellow-man can devise and suggest.

We have said that the education of deaf-mutes should not be regarded as a work of charity. And we say, with still greater emphasis, that the educated deaf-mute requires no charity in the sense of alms-giving. He is not, however, above the need of that charity, so sweet to us all, that "vaunteth not itself," "seeketh not her own," and "is kind." It is for the gentle ministrations of courtesy and neighborly kindness that we plead in behalf of our deaf-mute brother and sister. That they may be made welcome at our firesides and in the social circle; that they be admitted to our associations and asked to participate in our efforts for the good of others; in short, that they be made to feel that they are actual members of general society, and not educated pariahs.

Thus, and thus only, shall we do our full measure in imitating Him who gave eyes to the blind and ears to the deaf, and who says to us all, "Follow me."

THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

IT will not be considered premature to speak of a work, as yet unfinished, whose importance to the world causes its progress at every stage to be watched with an ever-increasing interest. The Scientific Survey of the Holy Land, of which more than one half has now been successfully accomplished, belongs by a kind of privilege and right to the English-speaking races. The first Association for the Exploration of Palestine was established in London about the year 1808, dying, so far as I have been able to learn, after the publication of one thin volume, with a map of melancholy inaccuracy, and containing the record of a single journey. The attempt proves, however, that the need of systematic research was felt early in this century. The real credit of actually commencing the work of exploration on a sound basis is due to Dr. Robinson, and the year from which the period of the bloodless crusades must date is that of his celebrated journey of 1838.

This was undertaken after a fifteen years' course of preparation. How great was the preliminary labor bestowed upon it can only be understood by those who have endeavored, *longo intervallo*, to follow the learned doctor among the books which he must have carefully read and collated. For, though we might fairly expect the literature connected with the geography and topography of the Holy Land to be voluminous, it is difficult to convey any adequate idea of its vast extent. It may be divided into sections and subsections, each of which would form a respectable library. It contains travels and criticisms on travels, works of controversy and of tradition, books on climate, treatises on architecture, such as the Count de Vogüé's "Churches of Syria;" on natural history, such as those by Dr. Tristram; on geology, as the book of M. Lurtet. There are books devoted to one branch of the people, as Mr. Mill's book on the Samaritans; books on Jerusalem

1. QUARTERLY STATEMENTS OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

2. MAJOR WILSON ON THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE. A Paper read before the Royal Geographical Society, London.

without end ; * and if the study of Palestine be considered, as it undoubtedly should be, a sort of porch to that of theology, it is one of those richly decorated, carved and ornamented porches, set with statues and dark with carven recesses, a Gate Beautiful, such as the faithful and precious art of mediæval masons erected as a fitting portal to a great cathedral. Out of so great a mass of literature, ancient and modern, there are a few old books which are not even yet superseded, nor ever will be, whatever researches and discoveries are made by the Biblical student. Two or three great names stand erect still: the "Onomasticon" of Eusebius and Jerome; the "Palestina Illustrata" of Reland; the "Terræ Sanctæ Elucidatio" of Quaresmius. It seems, too, as if a few of the many modern books will hold their own, even when a scientific survey shall have swept away many of their conclusions. Among these are the works of Burckhardt, Sepp, Tobler, Lynch, Thomson, Dr. Sauley, Williams, Lewin, Fergusson, and the productions of the Exploration Fund, not to speak of Dr. Robinson's Biblical Researches, the first and in some respects the best of all. These will remain when fuller researches shall have decided the points on which they differ, and when some laborious explorer, more fortunate than Captain Warren, shall have been enabled to place his finger on the exact spot where stood the altar; shall have traced the first and second walls without dispute, and shall have conclusively proved on what spot near the city stood that mound from which Constantine cleared away the Temple of Venus and laid bare the Holy Sepulchre.

The volumes of Dr. Robinson came upon the world almost like a revelation; there had been nothing like them before, and certainly there will never again be published a work so full of new identifications, so startling in the fresh light which it threw upon the Bible narrative. It must be remembered that Robinson and Eli Smith were the first to recognize the extraordinary vitality of the Biblical names, and to make the name, lingering still in an unchanged form among the fellaheen, the means of supplying an identification perhaps never before suspected.

But the work of Robinson, while it filled up hundreds of vacant gaps, and, by giving a background to many an episode in the Bible

* These are a few of the more recent of them: Barclay's "City of the Great King"; Williams's "Holy City"; Fergusson's "Jerusalem"; Lewin's "Siege of Jerusalem"; Thrupp's "Ancient Jerusalem"; "Bartlett's "Walks about Jerusalem"; Warren's "Recovery of Jerusalem"; Wilson's "Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem." All of these are indispensable to the student of Jerusalem topography.

narrative, left very many still unfilled: it did more: like a painting partially restored, the geography of the country looked all the worse for the work done upon it; the dimness and uncertainty of age were gone, it is true, but the general effect was patchy. So that the desire grew to complete what had been so well begun, and the labors of the last thirty years in Western Palestine may all be regarded as a continuation of Dr. Robinson's splendid beginning. He and his collaborateur and fellow-voyager, Dr. Eli Smith, are the Eusebius and Jerome of the nineteenth century; they have furnished an onomasicon fuller than any which preceded them, and failing a completeness only because it was impossible for two travelers to multiply themselves, and do in a couple of journeys the work of a complete and scientific surveying expedition.

It was in the year 1865, nearly twenty-five years after the publication of Robinson's first volumes, eighteen years after the appearance of Fergusson's startling book on the sites of the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre, and two years after the publication of the work which summed up all previous knowledge on Palestine and helped to disclose the weak places in Biblical geography—Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible." Next Lady Burdett Coutts placed a sum of £500 in the hands of a committee of gentlemen interested in Jerusalem, with the object of obtaining an accurate plan of the modern city. This work was intrusted to Major Wilson of the Royal Engineers, having under his command a party of five non-commissioned officers of the same corps. The plan of the work was under the direction of General Sir Henry James, chief of the Ordnance Survey of England. On the return of the expedition, the new plans and maps were published. They consisted, besides photographs and sketches, of a $\frac{1}{28800}$ plan of Jerusalem and its vicinity, with 10 foot contours, a $\frac{1}{100000}$ plan of the city, with the hill features, a $\frac{1}{8000}$ plan of the Haram area, together with $\frac{1}{2500}$ and $\frac{1}{8000}$ plan of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other buildings. These accurate surveys formed a new basis for all subsequent investigation. Moreover, the success which, contrary to all expectation, attended Major Wilson's dealings with the natives, encouraged the promoters of the newly established Palestine Exploration Fund to anticipate with some degree of confidence a similar success in their endeavors to effect a thorough examination into the topography, the archæology, the geology, the natural history, and the traditions, and the manners and customs of the whole country. Major Wilson, the first officer sent out by the committee of the fund, returned to Palestine in November, 1865. He was accompanied by Captain Anderson and a sergeant of

Royal Engineers, his instructions being to ride through the country, making such observations, sketches, and plans, as came within his power, and to produce such a general survey as would enable the supporters of the fund to fix on particular spots for future examination or excavations, and in general terms to collect all such special information as was compatible with the purposes of the expedition.

On his return, laden with valuable spoils, he submitted to the committee a scheme for the regular survey of the country, which was postponed, in view of the very great interest taken about Jerusalem itself and the controversies on the sacred sites, to excavations in that city. With this object, Captain Warren, R. E., went out in 1867, and remained till 1870, at work during the whole time in those researches which have connected his name forever with that of ancient Jerusalem. These results do not belong this paper; they have been fully set forth, and doubtless read by most readers of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW*, in the "Recovery of Jerusalem" (London and New York); and though the time has not yet come when conclusions can be fully drawn from Captain Warren's discoveries, his work forms the most important contribution yet made toward the reconstruction of the Holy City. Besides the excavations, however, Captain Warren found time to effect a reconnoissance survey of 650 square miles in the Plain of Philistia, about 300 square miles on the west bank of the Jordan, and about 1050 square miles on the east of the Jordan. The results of these reconnoissances have already been published in Murray's new map of Palestine.

In 1871, Professor Palmer and Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake undertook, the former for the fund, their well-known and adventurous journey on foot from Sinai backward and forward across the Desert of the Wanderings, an account of which was published (London and New York) in the "Desert of the Exodus," and also in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*—January, 1871. In 1868, the survey of Sinai had been performed by Major Wilson, who then became the chief of a third expedition to Holy Lands. The expenses of this survey were defrayed by a special fund raised for the purpose, and not out of the much-tried resources of the Palestine Fund.

To sum up, therefore, the topographical work of the Fund, before the commencement of the present survey, Major Wilson, after completing the ordnance survey of Jerusalem and its vicinity, had made a reconnoissance of the whole backbone of the country from Banias to Hebron, with a considerable portion of the Maritime Plains: he had made special

surveys of the Sea of Galilee and its vicinity, Samaria, Beisan, and Mount Ebal and Gerizim; had drawn a large number of plans of synagogues, churches, temples, and tombs; had taken observations for time and latitude at 49 different stations: and carried a line of azimuths from Banias to Jerusalem. He has also written several valuable papers for the Palestine Exploration Fund. Captain Warren made reconnoissance surveys of about 2,000 square miles; gave geographical descriptions of Mount Hermon, and the Coele Syria; discovered the ruined town of Nebbeh; and drew plans of the temples about Lebanon. Professor Palmer visited a number of places either previously unvisited and set down only from hearsay, or else never before described; he discovered four towns at least, never before known, including the ancient Eboda, and a most curious and interesting rock-hewn city, near Petra and similar to it; he discovered proofs and traces of ancient cultivation in a region now treeless, desolate, and barren; and he collected a large quantity of native names and traditions.

In addition to the work of English explorers, it ought not to be omitted that Captains Miculet and Derrien, in 1870, commenced for the French government a scientific survey of the Holy Land, intended to be complete. After surveying 1,000 square miles, the breaking out of the war recalled them to France. Their map, so far as it went, will shortly be published by the French Geographical Society.

It was, then, with such preliminary work before them, that the Committee of the Palestine Fund resolved, in 1871, on beginning at once the triangulation and survey of the Holy Land. The officer appointed to take the command was Captain Stewart, R. E., with two experienced non-commissioned officers. Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, who had been employing himself since his journey with Prof. Palmer in various expeditions with Captain R. F. Burton, then British consul at Damascus,* offered his services as interpreter and naturalist. It may be mentioned at once that he continued to assist the survey with ever-increasing energy and self-devotion until his lamentable death, in June 1874, deprived the committee and the world of his services.

The instructions of Captain Stewart were:

I. To obtain an accurate map of the county, on which, in addition to the topographical features, should be laid down the sites of all towns, villages, roads, ruins, etc.

* The results of their travels are given in Burton and Drake's "Unexplored Syria."

2. To collect, as far as possible, the native names and traditions connected with the various places.
3. To make tentative excavations, when necessary.
4. To carry on a series of meteorological observations.
5. To make such notes as might be possible on the geology of the country, its botany, zoology, etc.
6. To take any opportunity which might offer of making excavations at Jerusalem which might lead to decisive results.
7. To examine and make plans and drawings of interesting archaeological remains in the country.
8. To carry out generally the scheme which had been proposed in the several prospectuses issued by the committee.

The scale adopted by the committee was that of one inch to the mile; the projection selected was Sir Henry James's rectangular tangential projection; a series of sheets were prepared by Captain Bailey, R. N., each containing 20' of latitude and 20' of longitude.* and the coast line was laid down on the sheets from the Admiralty survey. The party arrived in November, 1871, and immediately began work by measuring a base line at Ramleh. At this point, most unfortunately, Captain Stewart, seized with a violent illness, was compelled to abandon the survey and to return to England, where he found himself obliged to resign all hopes of being able to resume the command of the expedition. During six months the survey was carried on by Sergeant Black and Corporal Armstrong, under the care of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. The command was assumed by Lieutenant Conder in the summer, and the triangulation continued. In September of the same year, a second base was measured on the Plain of Esdraelon, 23,810 feet or $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long.

The survey has now therefore been in progress for exactly three years. Its cost, to which must be added the very heavy expenses of printing and illustrating the reports of the officers, is about £2,500 a year; exceptional circumstances connected with the recent high prices in Syria and the distress caused by disastrous floods, have pressed heavily upon the little party. Illness has struck them down; one of them has perished in the midst of his labors, one has been invalided home, another is, as I write, on his way to England. There have been obstacles and difficulties far above and beyond those

* The same projection and arrangement of sheets have been adopted by the chief of the American expedition, so that there will be no difficulty in combining the results of the two surveys. See Major Wilson on "Recent Surveys in Sinai and Palestine," a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society of London.

which the most experienced travelers predicted. The cairns have been pulled down; the horses stolen, the men shot at by the jealous fellaheen, who persist in seeing in the triangulation and field work the beginning of the end—a preparation for the accomplishment of the prediction, universally believed, that the Christians will once more occupy the country; and besides these things, the means of the officer commanding the expedition have been straightened and his work sometimes hindered by the necessary care he has had to exercise over the finances. These difficulties, however, are not mentioned in an apologetic spirit: there is nothing whatever to excuse or to defend; the committee have no shortcomings to explain away, and the work has been forced along in spite of all hindrances. But it is only fair to the young and energetic officer in charge of the party, to let it be known that his path has not been always among the lilies of Sharon and the roses of Jericho. The programme accepted by Captain Stewart has been followed with a far greater degree of fullness than was at all expected by the committee: notes of geology and natural history have been made; every ruin, however insignificant, has been described, mapped, and sketched. The old Roman roads, as given in the "Tabulæ Pentingerianæ," are traced out and laid down on the map: the names which the natives give to every spot are all most carefully collected and noted—an illustration of the importance of these lists will be presently given; native traditions are taken down; inscriptions are sought for and copied; and the Bible narrative in connection with every part of the country is studied on the spot for purposes of illustration and identification. One thing has necessarily been omitted: there has as yet been no excavation.

This then is the history, so far, of the Palestine Survey, and these are the methods employed in accomplishing the work. Let us now turn to some of the points which have engaged the attention of the officers while occupied in the triangulation. The first, obviously, would be the ruins which lie thickly scattered over every acre of this country. Other countries have their ruins, but they are few and far between. It is noteworthy of Palestine above all other lands, that it is a place all ruins. At every successive period of its history, these ruins have been added to or destroyed: each war of conquest has set up new buildings chiefly constructed out of the *débris* of the old. *Ælia Capitolina* was built of the stones of Herod's Jerusalem. These in turn give way to new comers, as the course of events adds another change of masters to the Holy Land. The casual traveler passes by, as unworthy his regard, the mosques, khans, and forts of Saracen and Moslem work;

he is wrong: these are mostly built out of old materials, the stones of which they are built formerly served for older edifices; some of them have the mediæval dressing; * the columns will be found to have been originally of unequal lengths, sometimes upside down, as in the Dome of the Rock; the capitals are cut away or covered over. There are inscriptions on the stones † which belong to the earlier buildings; sometimes, perhaps, the mosque itself is a Christian building of the period of Justinian or even Constantine. There are old pavements in fragments, old carvings headless, old paintings defaced, sepulchral slabs cut in two, polished corner stones, and rough ashlar—all may be found together in a Saracenic building. Chiefly the Moslem work proper may be distinguished by the form of the arch, by the smallness of the masonry, and—where the large stones of earlier constructions have not been built in—by a peculiar cement which Lieutenant Conder describes as harder even than the stone.

The Mohammedan occupation of the country has now extended over a period of more than six hundred years, uninterrupted, save for the brief period after Frederick II., in the bitterest mockery of Rome, being himself an excommunicated man, had marched up the aisle of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and laid on his own head, unconsecrated by the blessing of the church, the crown which Godfrey thought himself unworthy to wear. A period of six centuries—twenty generations of busy men—leaves ample space for destruction. But it does not appear that much has been destroyed until recently. If the Moslem does not keep in repair, he at least seldom destroys. The ruins of Palestine have been comparatively safe, except in populous places, for the simple reason that there was nothing to get by destroying them. It has only been of late years that the influx of travelers, and perhaps also some improvement in their material condition, have roused the fellaheen in certain districts to greater activity. The first result of this stirring of the dry bones has been the conversion of a large quantity of the ruins into lime.‡ The *religio loci*, which might have expected to be so strong a preservative in a land of associations sacred even to the ignorant Moslem peasantry, appears to have but a slight deterrent effect. The unfortunate fellaheen, in whom

* “La taille mediævale,” a surface dressing discovered by M. Clermont Ganneau, consisting of lines cut in the stone at an uniform angle of 40 to 45.

† Example—the Samaritan inscription found on a stone at Gaza. So also the Moabite stone, which had been built into a wall.

‡ For instance, very little is left of the synagogue of Tell Hum, Capernaum, one of the most interesting of all the remains in Palestine. Fortunately it was sketched, photographed, and planned by Major Wilson, R. E., in 1866.

many travelers see the lineal descendants of the Canaanites, are described by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake—not a prejudiced observer—in terms pathetic in their naked truth. The fellah is “totally destitute of moral sense:” he changes his pledged word “as easily as he slips off his *abba* ;” he robs, murders, and thieves with no other scruple than the fear of detection ; he cringes where he fears, and bullies when he happens not to be afraid ; he has no sense whatever of truth ; he is eager above all things in the world to make money : and yet with all his faults he is intelligent and hardy ; and he is affectionate in his domestic relations. But he is not the man whom the monuments of a dim and legendary past are likely to impress with a religious terror, as the long avenues of Carnac, the round towers of Ireland, the “Druidic” circles of England, have impressed the peasantry, or the mounds of the Mississippi impressed the Indians. The ruins have only been safe through his ignorance and apathy, through the stupid conservatism of daily custom, and through his innocence of any use to which cut and dressed material might be put. Next in order, working backward, come the ruins of the Crusaders. The Latin kingdom of the Baldwins, during the short eighty years of its existence, was too busily engaged in fighting to think of much besides castles. Yet they have left remains at what were then great seaboard towns, from Antioch to Jaffa, of great strength and durability. Especially has their work been noticed by the surveyors at Athlit, the Castellum Peregrinorum, where the great masses of masonry, the strong bastioned walls, the great vaults with groined roofs and sculptured capitals show the splendor which it must have displayed in its palmy days. From Athlit a double chain of Crusaders’ forts has been traced to Nazareth on the north, and to Ramleh and Jerusalem on the south. Wherever a strong place is found among the hills, there a Crusaders’ fort is found perched upon it. No doubt many of these castles were built largely of old materials, and a closer examination of these mediæval forts will probably lead to the discovery of inscriptions and carvings of more ancient date. The great builder among the Saracens was Abd-el-Melek, who is stated by Arabic historians to have constructed, from a design of his own, that beautiful Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, which is claimed by Mr. Fergusson to be Constantine’s Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But during the four centuries of Mohammedan occupation between the conquest by Omar and the overthrow of the Saracens by Godfrey, probably few buildings of importance were erected. Here and there a wely, here and there the conversion of a church into a mosque—this probably sums up the

greater part of the early Saracenic work. The period extending from Constantine to Omar is richer in remains. It was during these three centuries that Palestine became from end to end a great nest of convents, lauras, and hermitages. From north to south the traveler heard nothing but litanies and hymns; the caves which had sheltered the Horites, and now shelter the most miserable of the fellaheen, became cells for solitaries; pilgrims in thousands flocked to join the monastic life, whose discipline was real and dreadful; and austerities were practiced equaling those of the Thebaid. As might be expected, the hermits and monks chose for themselves the most secluded and the wildest parts of the country. The precipices of Kuruntil for example, on the north-east of Jericho, are burrowed by hermits' caves and small chapels, described by Dr. Tristram. Of one of the monasteries, Deir el Mukellik, found by the survey, Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake says that it is situated in by far the wildest and most inaccessible spot they had yet found, wilder even than the Wady Kelt.

"The scene as we sat on the ruins was one of the wildest I have come across in Palestine. Above us towered the ledges and precipices of rust-colored limestone; the sky above was wild and covered with storm-scuds relieved by frequent gleams of sunlight. Beneath us a ruddy torrent formed by the late rains washed and foamed; griffon vultures sailed majestically down the valley on full-spread wings, flocks of rock-doves dashed by occasionally, and now and again the clear full note of the orange-winged grackle rose startlingly shrill above the murmur of the waters. But for these the silence was unbroken, and not another living creature appeared in the solitude. What an existence must have been that of those who devoted themselves to death in life, to wasting the energies and vital power bestowed on them in droning and sleeping away their time instead of courageously doing their duty in the battle of life, may be seen by those who look deeper than the surface in such convents as Mar Saba, Sta. Katarina in Sinai, and others similar."

The most favorite spot for the erection of the early convents was the neighborhood of Jericho, where the survey officers have found several ruins of convents never before visited. These are the splendid cistern of Kasr el Yahud, the grand aqueduct from Ain el Sultan; the "fair church of St. John the Baptist" visited by Sir John Maundeville in 1322; the convents of St. Pantelecmon and St. Gerasmius, the Kasr el Hajlah; and the Deir Wady Kelt. Of the last, Lieutenant Conder writes:

"Like every other monastery in the hills, it is hung on a precipice. It consists of a series of cells, and a hall supported on vaults, through which lies the entrance. The chapel, perched close to the rock, is not oriented, being in a line of 49 degs. M., but the east window, beside the apse, is so turned as to bear at an angle 90 degs. M. The evident reason of this is the direction of the rock scarp. The rest

of the building is not in the same line as the chapel. There are at least three dates discoverable, as two layers of frescoes cover the wall, whilst the inscriptions of the newest are covered in part by the piers supporting the ribs of the roof. The chapel is built of dressed stones, whilst the cells and vaults are of masonry roughly squared. This part bears every sign of twelfth century work. Perhaps the little side chapel, with rock-cut chamber, and the vault containing ancient bones, to which a corridor covered with frescoes representing the Last Judgment leads, is the oldest part of the building. Numerous caves, now inaccessible, are visible in the face of the cliff, which for a distance of eighty feet is covered with frescoes, now almost entirely defaced. One of these cells has at its entrance a heavy iron bar placed vertically, no doubt originally to support a rope or ladder. Like the upper chambers at Koruntil, this is probably a funeral vault."

Of pre-Byzantine and post-Herodian remains—traces of the period between Hadrian and Constantine, there are not many. Perhaps one of them, and the most interesting, is the Khirbet el Yahúd, the Ruin of the Jews, which Captain Warren found on the site of Bethir, the place first identified by the Rev. George Williams, where Barcocheba made his last and most desperate stand against the Romans.

By far the most important of the ruins in Palestine, not excepting the Crusading remains, are those which date from the Herodian and Roman period. They include considerably more than half of the existing large remains. They consist of temples, theatres, walls, aqueducts, and roads. Whatever else can be said of the time of the Herods, it was undoubtedly a time of great and splendid building. The surveyors of Palestine have had to sketch, plan, and measure ruins of this epoch, scattered over the whole face of the country. Most noticeable among these are the sites of Scythopolis (Bethshean), Cæsarea, and Sebaste, where the remains existing are still in sufficient preservation to illustrate the lavish expenditure of labor and money upon these fortifications and decorations. Herod the Great, who did not disdain to signalize his elevation to the throne by offerings to Jupiter Capitolinus, rebuilt the Temple of Samaria as well as that of Jerusalem, and showed his impartiality by providing for heathen worship in his new city of Cæsarea. It was Herod Antipas who founded Tiberias, and rebuilt Sepphoris and Bethharam. Herod Philip founded the city of Cæsarea Philippi (Baniyas); and Herod Agrippa beautified his city of Berytus.

As we proceed backward up the stream of time, the ruins become more uncertain in their character, fewer, and more difficult to identify with any degree of probability. To the ruins of Israelitish times the safest guide is the local and traditional names which seem in the majority of instances imperishable, and, in connection with this, the narrative in the Bible itself. It may be stated here, once for all, that every

step in scientific exploration, whether in Sinai or Palestine, has brought out in the clearest manner, in some cases most startling, the absolute geographical accuracy of the Bible. It will be at once seen that, this established, controversy is put upon a different footing, and the haze of groundless objections in great part cleared away. Perhaps this ought to be at present the main *raison d'être* of the Palestine Exploration Associations of America and England. It is hopeless to expect that a survey can do more, while the secondary objects of the societies, consisting chiefly of archæological research, must have for their Biblical justification the light they will throw upon arts, sciences, manners, and customs of Palestine inhabitants in all ages, and therefore the elucidation and explanation of all those many passages whose right understanding depends upon a knowledge of Jewish manners. We have thus the different strata, so to speak, of architectural remains. Every thing in Palestine that is not a ruin is ruinous, except perhaps the Dome of the Rock. Our buildings are Mohammedan, Crusading, Saracen, Byzantine, Roman and Herodian, and Jewish. Lastly there are ruins older even than these; mounds which were heaps above ruined cities when Joshua swept the country; cromlechs, stone aisles, and such early monuments as are found over all the world from the valley of the Mississippi westward, and England eastward to the Himalayan ranges. In all countries of great historical interest remains are found of various epochs, but there is the peculiarity of Palestine that historical interest in her monuments has never ceased in the country. Thus while Dr. Schliemann found at Hissarlik on the site of Troy, piled one above the other, the traces of five towns, including one older than Priam's city itself; he reported that these remains have been surmounted for nearly two thousand years by the shepherd's hut. The soil of Palestine has, however, known no such rest; in its days of desolation, as in its prosperity, the land has been a *terra spectata*, loved, honored, and visited, by all the world.

Before we pass on, let us quote Lieutenant Conder's remarks on the ruins noted on the first sheets of the map sent home from Palestine:

"The number of ruins is approximately 200, of which, however, twenty-one per cent. are evidently modern and of no interest, being merely inserted because they are marked as ruins on the map; these include the small towers of drystone walls with a roof of mud, which are placed in conspicuous positions above the fig, olive, and vine plantations, and from the top of which the watchman looks out to guard the fruit from thieves. By reason of their hasty construction they fall readily into ruins, but are easily distinguished from more ancient and interesting remains.

"No less a proportion than thirty-five per cent. of the ruins are, it will be observed, marked "Indistinguishable" or "No indication of date." The state of preservation

of the ruins seem to preclude the possibility of assigning a date. The "indistinguishable" ruins consist of heaps of broken stones, worn by the heavy winter rains, until all idea of their original form, finish, or purpose is lost; often the only indication is the gray color of the mound, to which the name of Khirbeh is attached, or a few scattered stones; rarely indeed is a shaft, base, or capital discovered lying without indication of its position in the original building, and none yet found can date before the Herodian period. In fact, the site of a true Jewish town may be expected generally to give no further indication than the dusty mounds described, except, indeed, such as is derived from the vicinity of rock-cut tombs and reservoirs or channels which, as at Anin (identified by Mr. Drake with a Jewish town), exist close to the accumulation of powdered masonry of some two thousand years ago.

"Turning from these, which form the majority of the remains tabulated, to others in a more perfect condition, the first in interest are perhaps the *tells*, of which eighteen principal examples are scattered over the great Plain of Esdraelon, and that of Akka. Their artificial nature is plainly shown by their position, though the name is also given to natural hillocks, such as the Túlul el Jah'ash, which are volcanic out-breaks. In the great plain they appear toward the foot of the hills, on the west and north, generally at the mouth of wadys. No doubt they were originally intended as military posts, perhaps thus guarding the principal inlets by which incursions from wild mountain tribes were to be feared. Their shape is roughly oval, or circular, with sides sloping at between thirty and forty degrees; in size they vary from that of Tell Mutasellim, large enough to be the site of a considerable town, to that of such small mounds as Tell el Súbát, which is merely a low mound; in height they must in some instances be over thirty feet. They are covered with coarse grass, and with thistles, which often attain a height of seven or eight feet, and during a part of the year present a formidable barrier. The ruins on these *tells* are in many instances far more modern, as at Tell Kaymun, mentioned later, but the original builders may have belonged to the Canaanitish period.

If the land is thus piled with ruins, each ruin representing many previous stages of change, it is also crowded with names. Lieutenant Conder reports that he has already more than four thousand names collected, over an area of less than half the country, and that he estimates the total number awaiting collection at seven thousand, being nearly ten times the number of names to be found in Murray's or Vandeveld's map. It is among these names that the archæological and the biblical scholar will have to labor. Here, if anywhere, are to be found the materials for the reconstruction of Palestine geography, in its five great phases, the periods of Joshua, Solomon, the Macabees, Justinian, and the Baldwins. As has been already observed, the vitality of the old names is the most remarkable thing in connection with the survey. Not only do these survive, but they override and destroy the newer names, which have from time to time been introduced. Bethshean, for instance, to the wall of which the Philistines fastened the corpses of Saul and his sons, became, after

the invasion of the Scythians recorded in Herodotus (B. C. 600), Scythopolis. Yet the latter name has perished, and it is now Beisan. So also the mound which marks in all probability the site of Dan preserves the old name in the modern one of Tell el Kady. So, too, the city of Ptolemais, in spite of the many events which crowd its history has long resumed its ancient name, under which it became part of the lot of Asher, of Accho, Akka, or Acre. The newer names have taken no root in the country; Greek, Roman, and Frank have come and gone, and the Jewish names remain unaffected by any wave of conquest. In certain districts, too, the number of the names is far greater than that reported as a whole by Lieutenant Conder. Dr. Rosen, formerly German consul in Jerusalem, for instance, informed Captain Warren that he had collected no fewer than sixty in a small area of about four acres near Hebron. Springing out of the Oriental conservatism which helps to retain the original name, even of the most obscure places, is the danger that apparently ancient names may be introduced for a time through the zeal of travelers anxious to make identifications. Thus, Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake mentions that Dr. Robinson obtained his Kana el Jelil—Cana of Galilee—through a Christian of Nazareth who doubtless knew the doctor's eagerness for discovery. The real name is Khirbet Kana, while Kana el Jelil is known among the natives as the Frank name, and is never used among themselves. So, also, a fellah informed Mr. Drake that the name of Wady Ajlun, the Valley of Ajalon, given by him to a valley beside Bethhoron, was only the Frank name, the real name being that of the Wady Selmán. Perhaps the name Jebel Usdum now to be found at the south of the Dead Sea, only dates from the time of the Crusades, and was given to the place by the knights who passed by this route to their great fortress of Kerak. Great caution, therefore, is necessary in accepting any new name, and as the tendency of the natives is invariably to give such answers as they think will please the questioner, no leading questions must be asked at all. It is needless to say that without a perfect knowledge of Arabic and the power of catching quickly the differences of patois, any research in this direction is impossible. Let us then see what success has up to the present attended the surveyors' attempts at identification. Foremost, because the most unexpected, among the new discoveries must be mentioned that of the "Altar of Ed." It is a site not only lost up to the present time, but regarded as so hopelessly lost that no traveler seems even to have looked for it. The Authorized version (Joshua xxii. 34) gives the name in a passage

which is literally rendered as follows: "And the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad named the Altar: because that is a witness (Ed) between us that Jehovah is God." They set up the altar on leaving Joshua at Shiloh, the work of conquest being then complete, as a witness that they shared with the tribes on the west of Jordan the inheritance and the worship of the chosen people. It was a memorial altar, not designed for sacrifices, such as that built by Moses called Jehovah-nissi. No further mention is made of it in the Bible. Josephus, copying the sacred narrative with his own amplifications as usual, evidently thought the altar was on the eastern bank of the river, and was entirely careless or ignorant of its real position. And yet it was, as Lieutenant Conder points out, no mere structure of a night, like the pile of stones set up by Jacob: it was an altar great to see, *altare infinitæ magnitudinis* (Vulgate) and visible from a great distance: a thing commemorating an important event, and therefore not likely to be forgotten even when the altar itself should have decayed. But it appears, as we see, to have slipped out of general recollection even so far back as the time of Josephus. There is, however, in the Jordan valley, and above the green plain lying at the mouth of the Wady Farah, an isolated block of hill culminating in a sharp cone, which is visible from the castle of Kaukab el Hawa near Gennesaret, thirty miles to the north, and from the shores of the Dead Sea on the south. This is known as the Kurn Surtabeh. From it the beacons lit at the time of the new moon flashed a telegraphic message to the people of the north, till the Samaritans vexed the Jews by lighting false fires. On its summit is an oblong area, 30 by 100 yards, is a great platform 18 feet high, consisting of masses of stones beautifully cut, averaging three or four feet in length, and with a broad marginal draft. The platform is long and narrow, and apparently solid. Traces of fire are found upon it, no doubt those of the beacons mentioned in the Talmud. With no other indications but those of site and the witness of the ruins, a fairly good case might be made out for Lieutenant Conder's identification. The hill stands above the ford, which undoubtedly is that by which the tribes would march on their way from Shiloh to their trans-Jordanic homes: the plain below affords a camping-ground: the place is most remarkable in itself: on its summit stands a great ruin of very ancient date, at the latest, Roman work, and perhaps very much earlier: at the foot of the mountain lies the broken rolling ground to which Lieutenant Conder refers the peculiar word Gelilloth (Joshua xviii. 17-19). Here, we might say, would be the place chosen by the children of

Reuben and the children of Gad. But the strong proof was to come. Among the names collected by the survey, there is one belonging to the natural ascent of the hill. This is called by the natives, Talat Abn Ayd, the "Ascent of the Father of Ayd," that is the ascent which leads up to or produces Ayd. Now between the Arabic Ayd, and the Hebrew Ed there is, as Lieutenant Conder claims, an absolute identity, and thus, though the original use for which a monument, perhaps the identical monument still to be seen, has long been forgotten, the name survives, and the memory of the Witness Altar lingers imperishably among an ignorant people who little know how their household words can be used to confirm and illustrate the only surviving narrative of events which happened three thousand years ago.

Let us select another very remarkable and, in some respects, more interesting identification, that of the Springs of CEnon. These sites have from time to time been proposed as the scene of John the Baptist's work. St. Jerome places CEnon eight miles south of Beisan, and not far from Succoth, where a place called Tell Salem was pointed out in confirmation. John baptized "in CEnon, near to Salem because there was much water there." But Lieutenant Conder remarks that it is not Tell Salim, but Tell Sarem. Next comes the site favored by Mr. Hepworth Dixon and the author of the "City of the Great King," the Rev. Dr. Barclay. This is at the springs of Wady Farah, about four miles from Jerusalem, where there is generally a good supply of water. The name Salim is referred to the Wady Salim, which Lieutenant Conder tells us is really the Wady Suleim. Dr. Robinson advanced the third theory, which Lieutenant Conder defends. Due east of Nablus is the village of Salim, and north of this are copious springs in a broad open valley, called also, like the other, but with a slight difference in the spelling, the Wady Farah. The name CEnon is preserved in the modern village of Aynún. There are thus three requisites satisfied: the two names and the "much water." So far was known before the survey. What that has done for the identification is to show that the character of the ground at the Nablus site is such as to make it easy for a multitude of people to gather together there; it lies on one of the main lines through the country: and assuming it to be the site, our Lord must have passed through Shechem in order to arrive at the springs of Wady Farah on His journey through Samaria to visit the Baptist. In other words, where scholars have suggested and argued, the survey enables us to decide by an appeal to the facts from which there is no escape.

Another remarkable identification, which may be put side by side

with the altar of Ed, is that of the Rock Oreb, where the men of Ephraim slew Oreb, and the wine-press of Zeeb, where they slew Zeeb. There is nothing in the Bible to prove that these places were east of Jordan, and—we are quoting Lieutenant Conder—it is quite possible that the kings, flying southward to Midian, sought to cross by the fords near Jericho which had already been seized by their enemies. The survey officers found a hill called the Ash el Ghorab—the Raven's Nest—with a sharp conical peak curiously resembling the cone of Kurn Surtabeh. Two miles north of this is a wady and mound, known as the Tuweil el Diab, the mound of the "Wolf." Here then are the very names of Oreb the Raven, and Zeeb the Wolf, one attached to a "rock," and the other to a mound. Surely it is not altogether enthusiasm which leads the explorers to connect those names with the long-lost sites of "the Rock Oreb and the wine-press of Zeeb."

Occasionally the party have, in the course of their work, been enabled to take up a single group of events, and pursue them over the entire *locale* by means of old and new identifications. When this is done, we obtain a graphic account of Bible story which supplies the background and setting, which to some of us double their interest. One of the most interesting spots in the whole of Palestine is the great Plain of Esdraelon, which has now been completely surveyed and examined for the first time. It has been called the "Battle-field of Palestine," but as Lieutenant Conder points out, the history of the past at least, does not confirm this name. "The great battles of Joshua," he says, "were far to the south. The victories of David were on or near the plain of Philistia. The invasions of the Syrians were directed against the country round Samaria, and the battle of Hattin, which decided the fate of Christian supremacy in Palestine, was fought out farther north."

It was however on this plain that Sisera was defeated, that Gideon overthrew the Midianites, Saul met with his defeat at Gilboa, and Josiah at Megiddo. We learn from the survey that the plain is not specially adapted for the deployment of large numbers of troops, or the successful use of cavalry. The scene of each battle was near the same site, and for the same reason that the tactics of the Jews led them to encamp always on a rising ground, the enemy being on an opposite hill with a valley between them. And in quite modern times Kleber fought the battle of Mount Tabor on very nearly the same ground as witnessed the defeat of Sisera. The plain, indeed, covered with a crumbling soil which offers difficulties even in summer

is impossible for cavalry in winter. The history of the plain of Esdraelon must be read in connection with its geological formation, on which Lieutenant Conder has bestowed considerable time and attention. A thick-bedded white limestone containing large discs of flint, gradually merging into the marl of Nablus above, and into a more compact and more thinly bedded soft limestone beneath, originally covered the country from Samaria to Nazareth. This stone is internally soft, though it hardens on exposure. Beneath it lies the truly hard dolomitic limestone. Three distinct outbursts of basalt have given the plain its present character. One formed the cone of Jebel ed Dahy, the so-called Little Hermon; one appears as an upheaval of the strata, from beneath which the basalt has flowed down the side of Jebel Abu Madawar; the third and most extensive is in the west, where in Jebel Sheikh Iskander, one of the highest hills in the neighborhood, eruptive basalt and stratified volcanic mud are found near the summit on the east, and two isolated cones of basalt on the west in continuation of the ridge. The character of the basalt differs considerably, being black and hard at Jebel ed Dahy, and of looser consistency in Mount Gilboa. The action of denudation was also concerned in this formation of the plain. "The strata being thus broken and rolled in every direction, the harder formations were raised on each side, and the softer being worn away gradually between them were overlaid with a soil consisting of the *débris* of the basalt. Hence we have at last the present surface, a broad plain with rich soil, and surrounded with limestone and basaltic hills, presenting sudden and precipitous cliffs, as above Zerin and below Nazareth, where on the tops of the hills only the original soft chalky limestone remains on the east and in the west alike."

We can not in these brief limits quote Lieutenant Conder's observations on the scenery, flora, and fauna of this remarkable plain.

It would seem, were it not the case, almost impossible that a ruined city of any importance should have escaped the attention of so many hundreds of travelers who have visited and described Palestine. That the fact is so shows of itself the necessity for a thorough and scientific survey. Ten miles west of Nablus is a hill occupying a commanding position, on which stand the ruins in question. They occupy a square mile in area, and were once surrounded by a wall. It will be observed that modern Jerusalem does not occupy a square mile in extent. At the north-west corner is a large building facing north and south; and another large building on the east. Portions of the wall of the first are still standing to a height of twenty-three

feet, and a fine solid semicircular arch is spoken of, marking the position of an entrance. The stones are large, some of them being five feet in length, and are all finished with a well-finished marginal draft. There is a street traceable, with foundations still existing of houses, cisterns, and small towers, ending in another building, the nature of which is not, from Lieutenant Conder's account, determined. The city is called by the natives Deir Esrur or Deir Serur. It is suggested that it may possibly be the ancient Sozuza, once the seat of a bishopric; but this is at present uncertain. It is to be hoped that the vandalism of the fellahen will spare these remains, at all events until they have been seen and examined with the minuteness and care which only an archæologist can give.

We must pass over the work of the surveyors at Mount Carmel and down the coast where the ruined cities of Athlit, Dor, and Cæsarea were planned and surveyed; we must also omit to mention the valuable information given of the Shephelah, or low country of the wadies and ravines, and of such places as Modin, where the tombs of the Maccabeans were erected, Gibeah, Ai, Antipatris, and a hundred other sites on which the officers of the survey have written with great freshness and fullness of information. Let us select, however, from the reports before us two or three of the results, theories, and conjectures of Lieutenant Conder and Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake which seem to present the most popular points of interest.

The picturesque life of Samson, which the survey party has been enabled to follow out in the country where it was chiefly spent, took place among wild and impassable wadies, steep and rocky hills, with wildernesses of mastic, clear springs, and frequent caves and precipices. A hiding place is in every valley; an ambush might be laid at every pass. Samson's father, Manoah, had possessions between Zorah and Eshtaol, the modern Sera and Eshua. Before Samson was surrendered by the elders of Judah, he retired to the rock Etam, probably Beit Atab. The place is described as a stony bare knoll, standing amidst winding and narrow valleys, without a blade of corn upon its sides, while long olive groves lie at its feet, round its then clear and abundant springs.* In the northern valley are one or two old tombs, while a cave, narrow but of considerable length, exists in the hill running from near the spring to the middle of the village, the whole two hundred and fifty feet being artificially mined. Close by lies Timnath, where Samson chose his first wife, the vineyards in which he slew the lion being now marked only by traces of ancient cultivation and well-

* See also Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. 339.

cut wine-presses. The valley of Sorek was no doubt the present Wady Surar running to the sea in a broad, flat valley between the lower hills. "It must have been," says Lieutenant Conder, "up this valley that the little cart with its lowing kine came jolting in 'the straight way' unbroken by a single hill from Ekron to Bethshemesh, when the peasants lifting their heads from the reaping, saw the ark, as we can picture to ourselves, coming up among the round white hillocks, dusky in the sloping light of the afternoon sun, which casts long shadows among the winding valleys, backed by the brown plain and yellow sand-hills of Philistia, which stretch far away to the gleaming horizon of the sea." It is by such descriptions that we are enabled to bring home to our minds the Biblical narrative in such vividness as is possible to one who has not visited the scene of the events recorded.

Samson was buried between Zorah and Eshtaol, according to the Bible; in Sarasat (Zorah) his own country, according to Josephus, speaking no doubt according to tradition. About a quarter of a mile north-east from Será are the remains of a rock-cut cemetery, the tombs broken and filled with rubbish; among them is a large tomb, now only a cave, being broken away from its original form. Are we to see in this cave the actual burying-place of the strong man?

Some of the results of the survey are, as might be expected, not only conjectural, but not even agreed upon by the officers themselves. Thus, Lieutenant Conder proposes to identify the cave of Adullam with a large cave discovered and examined by himself, called Magheret Umm el Tumaymiyeh, "the Cave of the Mother of Two Twins." He thus describes it:

"Descending rapidly, we found ourselves in a great round vestibule, partly choked by fallen *débris* from the roof, and measuring about 160 feet in diameter. The height is greatest at the sides, where a passage leads round to other compartments. On the extreme east is a small one, sinking suddenly, and supported on stalagmitic columns, one of which, supposed to resemble a man in a helmet, I have sketched. Several curious low excavations, like rough tombs, run in from its sides. North-east of this is a second basin, surrounded curiously by a natural raised gallery, supported on stalagmitic columns: seen in the lurid light, half of day and half of our candles, it seemed like one of the mystic halls which Southey describes in Thalaba, a weird and indefinitely extensive succession of caverns, pillars, and pendants, glistening like silver.

"As I have said before, the cavern suggests itself as a likely site to the imagination. The four hundred men in distress, in debt, or discontented, who stole up that stony ravine to join the outlawed chief, we can well fancy seated round their smoky fires; poor, ragged, sunburnt fellows, no doubt, stealing in and out of the gloomy, damp recesses of the cave, and startling the thousand pigeons which may

then as now have found refuge in the clefts of the rocks. For defense also the place was admirably suited, not only from its inaccessible position and inconspicuous entrance, but also by reason of the great mass of earth, fallen like a traverse, as the word is used in fortification, before the door, round which, in a narrow passage, the invaders must advance. That this *débris* is ancient is, I think, shown by the pillar which is formed by the junction of a stalactite from the roof with a stalagmite on the rock which has fallen.

"On the other hand, however, there are objections to the site, the principal of which is its entire unfitness for human habitation. Water there is, indeed, but in too great a quantity; every where the stalactitic pendants adorn the roof, the sound of dropping water is heard, and a damp and hot atmosphere, almost unbearable, exists throughout. Nor is this a modern alteration, for the character of the rock permitting the infiltration which no doubt first formed the cave is unchanged. The great columns require an action of an indefinite period for their formation, and bear witness to the same fact."

On the other hand Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, on the ground that the Magharet Umm el Tumaymiyeh is unfit for human habitation, advocated the caves in the Wady Khureitun, the traditional site, as the cave of Adullam.

"The entrance to the cave seems the only part which has been touched by the hand of man. Several short intersecting passages would place any invader who had succeeded in penetrating so far entirely at the mercy of the defenders.

"A few feet from the entrance we came into a large chamber some sixty feet long and perhaps thirty or forty feet high. A low burrow, which has to be traversed on hands and knees, leads from this to another chamber; mounting a few feet a narrow cleft leads to another large chamber, to reach which one has to descend a steep slide some fourteen feet high. From this chamber a main passage with intricate ramifications, which can only be understood by the plan, leads to the last chamber, beyond which nothing extends but a narrow winding passage which, in no place large, at last contracts to a mere crack. The greatest length of the cavern is 550 feet.

"The air of the cave was dry and pure, though earth washed down from above shows that the water penetrates it in the winter. The first chamber, however, would probably always continue dry. The whole cave seems formed by water action; the sides and roof are smooth, with frequent rounded hollows, and in more than one place passages run side by side, with merely a thin slab of rock separating them. The rock is hard and very white. We found bats in some of the chambers, but not in great numbers. In one of the side passages I picked up fragments of a brass or copper fibula much corroded; this and a piece of very ancient coarse pottery were the only relics we found."

And, as if to show the uncertainty of conjectural sites, Mr. Clermont Ganneau discovered, six miles south of Lieutenant Conder's cave of Umm el Tumaymiyeh, a cave and ruin called Ayd el Mia, which he proposes for Adullam.

The outlaw life of David, to students of quick and lively sym-

pathies, is the most deeply interesting of any Scripture narrative. The episodes are in themselves so dramatic, and related with such graphic spirit as to arrest the attention of the most careless reader. Lieutenant Conder, in the latest published Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, devotes a few pages to following the adventurous journey of the fugitive. Perhaps an abridgment of his paper may serve to finish this brief account of the results of the survey.

David's first flight was from Gibeah of Benjamin, probably the modern Jeba, which stands on a plateau on the south bank of the great Michmash valley in the center of the lot of Benjamin. The first resting place was at Nob, perhaps Nabi Samwil, from which place he descended to the Shephalah or Low Country, then in the hands of the Philistines, where he took shelter with Achish king of Gath, probably the Tell el Sabi, which commands the entrance to the valley of Elah, where David slew Goliath. Here David, some thirty miles from his pursuer Saul, considered himself comparatively safe. The whole extent of his wanderings, indeed, is compassed with a circle of twenty miles radius, with Bethlehem as a center. From Gath David fled to the cave of Adullam. After his visit to Moab, and a residence of some time in the desert, he went to the "Forest of Hareth." Where was the Forest of Hareth? First, Lieutenant Conder points out, from the nature of the soil, a soft chalky limestone so porous that every drop of water soaks through the strata to the hard dolomite below, that no forest or extensive collection of trees could ever have been here at all. A forest, he says, undoubtedly existed once over half the plain of Sharon; wild thickets abounded, as they still abound, on the slopes of Carmel, "but it is contrary to the character of Judæan scenery to suppose that in times as late as that of David, when the water supply and seasons were almost the same as they now are, and just before the time when Solomon was forced to bring all his building timber from Lebanon, any forest properly so called should have existed." But the Authorized version speaks of the "Forest" of Hareth. Now it is remarkable that both the Vatican and Alexandrine manuscripts of the Septuagint use the expression, *ἐν πόλει*, in which Josephus agrees with them. If therefore for "Forest," (in the Hebrew "grove") we read "city," we get over the difficulty arising from the nature of the ground. Next, Hareth was near the town of Keilah (now Kilah), whither David went to succor the inhabitants. Lastly, Hareth properly translated, should be *Khareth*. What are we to say, then, when we find the very name existing still,

in the small modern village of Kharás, which has all the usual indications of an ancient site. From Keilah, David escaped to the wilderness of Ziph, where Jonathan sought him, finding him "in a wood." Here is the same difficulty got over in the same manner, the Septuagint reading for "wood," *ἡ γῆ κρυψή*—the new ground—Josephus again agreeing with the Septuagint. Now the Hebrew word translated *wood* is *choresh*, and Lieutenant Conder discovers about a mile south, of Tell Zif (the site of Ziph), the name *Khirbet Khoreisa* applied to a ruin whose cisterns and extensive caves burrowed in the hill-side show it to have been an ancient locality. Here then, and not in a wood at all, was the place where Jonathan met David.

Thence the fugitive went farther south still, taking refuge in a "great rock," the Rock of Maon. The present Tell Maon stands at the head of the Wady el War, the Valley of Rocks, a place so rugged as to be particularized by a name applicable in some degree to many of the neighboring valleys. The next scene is at Engedi, where David spared the king. Nothing is, to this day, more usual in Palestine than the herding together of sheep, goats, and cows in the innumerable caverns found everywhere. The cave at Engedi, however, must have been unusually capacious, to find accommodation for David and his band of 600 men. After the Engedi scene, we come to the story of Nabal of Carmel. The country, we learn from Lieutenant Conder, still retains its original character; a little corn and maize is grown in the valleys and at the ruins are traces of wine-presses, showing the former cultivation of the grape, but the greater part is pasture land, rough rocks, with the dry vegetation on which goats and even sheep seem to thrive.

The last scene in which David and Saul meet, is by the hill of Hachilah. The topographical indications are definite and the character of the country is well marked. From Hebron southward to Maon, the country presents one uniform surface, rising eastward to a long cliff over the lower plateau of Engedi. It is plowed by shallow valleys, and presents no stronghold or remarkably high hill. We must therefore look on the north or north-east of Ziph, where the hills rise to a greater elevation. The hill must also face "the Jeshimon" (the desert). The ruin now called Yekin stands on a high hill bounded by deep valleys north and south. It is that of the ancient city Cain (Hakin). The difference between Hakin and Hachilah is slight, the letter *n* and *l* being interchangeable as in the modern Arabic when, for instance, Sinasil and Silasil both mean earthquake.

The name, therefore, may be taken as the same. And if the name accords, how much more the scene?

"A large ancient ruin with caves and cisterns stands on the brink of the steep slope, and looks upon the white marl ridges of the Jeshimon, barren and rugged, patched with buff and brown, dotted with low black tents, but destitute of any single shrub or tree. On the north the twin peaks of Jebel el Shukuf above Ain Jidy, and beyond, all separated by the gleaming thread of sea, scarce seen in its great chasm; below are the long ridges of Moab, the iron precipices, the thousand watercourses, the great plateau of Kerak, the black volcanic gorge of Callirhoe, all lying in deep shadows under the morning sun, or brightened with a crimson flush at sunset. The scene is as wild and striking as could be desired for the drama there enacted.

"Yet further the meaning of the 'trench' may perhaps be explained. On the south side the road passes by a flat plot of ground, lying low and having steep cliffs on either side; it forms the head of a large wady, and has two wells of living water close to the roadside. It was no doubt here, sheltered from view and near to water, according to the modern Arab fashion of hiding an encampment, that Saul would pitch his tents. High up on either of the hill tops David stood to call to the host, and no doubt the special expression that he passed over to the other side intimates his crossing the valley and ascending the opposite hill."

Here we must close this brief and insufficient account of the survey of Palestine, so far as it has been accomplished. We have said nothing of the archæological discoveries made by M. Clermont Ganneau, nothing of the great discovery of the Levitical boundaries at Gezer, while we have not mentioned one-tenth of the identifications proposed, discovered, or confirmed. But perhaps enough has been said to show that the survey of the Holy Land is no visionary scheme under taken to gratify a few scholars; but a work for the whole world. The survey is fitly divided between the two countries whose present bond of union, besides their common speech, is their common love of the Bible. What we in England are doing for Western Palestine, you in America will do for the East. If to the lot of the English have fallen lands richer in Biblical interest, to America has fallen a country almost absolutely unvisited; covered with ruins, and as yet untouched by the spade of the archæologist. The land which gave the world the priceless stele of King Mesha, has doubtless many other such treasures waiting for discovery.

It remains only to say that the survey is now (February 1875) after three years of work, so far approaching completion that it is hoped to finish it in the course of next year. None of it has yet been published except a specimen portion of Mount Carmel, issued to show the style of the work. It can not, indeed, be published until Lieutenant Conder's return to England with the whole of his voluminous notes,

observations, and sketches. The committee have not pledged themselves to time, method, or price of publication, but it seems probable that the complete map will be issued in from twenty to twenty-four sheets, on the original scale of one inch to a mile; that it will be accompanied by a large and exhaustive memoir, by sketches, architectural details, plans, and special surveys; and that it will be followed by smaller maps based on the original survey, so drawn as to make the reading of Bible geography for the first time possible and intelligible. When the map is completed, the archæological work will begin, with a systematic examination into the other points connected with exploration, geology, natural history, and folk-lore. The recent discoveries among the Assyrian tablets; the survey of Sinai, the studies of Egyptologists seem to show that the world is on the eve of a far wider and more comprehensive knowledge of ancient history than has yet seemed attainable. It may be that many current ideas will have to be modified; that will be no loss to the world, provided the substructures of faith remain, as they will do, sound and unshaken.

FRENCH LITERATURE UNDER THE FIRST EMPIRE.

IN the year 1800, France, after having tried all forms of government since 1789, and wearied with internal dissensions, placed her destinies in the hands of a soldier of superior attainments, whose ambition was to emulate Pericles, Augustus, Leo X., and Louis XIV., by giving his name to the century in which he lived. But although the founder of the fourth dynasty united to his great military talents the capacity of an able administrator and the characteristics of a distinguished writer, the singular and violent policy which led him into so many wars, and which resulted in the invasion and profound humiliation of that France whose capital had not seen the smoke of a hostile camp for many centuries, prevents him from taking that place in history to which his really exceptional endowments entitle him.

To the majority of the historians of literature, the Consulate and the Empire form an absolutely sterile epoch, when a mad campaign against the whole of Europe absorbed the entire forces of France. The philosophic movement of the eighteenth century was then undoubtedly arrested in its development, and this fact must be attributed as much to circumstances as to the spirit of disquiet that the free manifestations of thought had infused into absolute governments. The philosophers whose writings prepared the way for the revolution of 1789 were less men of action than theorists, whose fundamental belief, inspired by a naïve optimism, was, that human nature is essentially good, and that the one thing needful to the return of the Golden Age, is its deliverance from the iron chains that bind it to a society whose organization is contrary to its instincts. The atrocious scenes of which they had been the unhappy witnesses, or the terrified abettors, had shaken their faith, without giving them in its place, except in a few rare instances, confidence in the belief which formed the basis of the former system. Disconcerted at the sight of the bloody ruins with which they were accused of having covered the face of "the most beautiful kingdom after that of heaven," they resigned them-

selves to the enjoyment of those material benefits which despotism promised to the harassed nations, as a compensation and consolation for the innumerable sacrifices which had been demanded of them. The Jacobins and the former Terrorists, by one of those rapid transformations of which France possesses the secret, readily donned the embroidered coats of the prefects, or in other words, the liveries of imperialism. The Sans-culottes showed themselves proud to wear the ribbons of chivalric orders. The proconsuls of Danton and of Robespierre, who had presided at the festivals of the Goddess of Reason, took part in the ceremonies of Catholic worship in the guise of princes, dukes, counts, and barons. The marquises whom Molière had satirized so sharply, did not seem to merit the honors of resurrection.

This enthusiastic restoration of old institutions scarcely allowed the writers who formerly opposed them with so much ardor, to pursue their polemics. The citizen Volney, on becoming count and senator, could not continue "*Les Ruines*," and Dupuis, forgetting the "*Origine de tous les cultes*," was transformed into a perfectly inoffensive professor. The celebrated author of "*Paul and Virginia*," Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, was more busily engaged in obtaining favors from the new administration, than in endeavoring to revise the theories of Rousseau, whose disciple and friend he had been. Marie Joseph Chenier would not dream of exposing a new "*Gracchus*," or another "*Timo-léon*," to the imperial censure. The aged orator Daunou was "*Archivist*" of the Empire, and Gregory, former constitutional bishop of Blois, who had declared Louis XVI. to be a criminal, held a seat in the "*Protectoral Senate*."

I.

The rôle of Apologist for Catholicism at this time was evidently much less difficult than in the previous century, when the nobility were almost entirely favorable to free thought, which then found numerous partisans, even in the bosom of the clergy itself. The nobility, terrified by the consequences of the Revolution, began to approximate more closely to the Church, and this movement has ever since increased in power among this class, according as the popular tendencies became more disturbing to it. Thus we see gentlemen taking the places occupied with so little honor by the dull theologians of the preceding century. In those provinces where the spirit of the eighteenth century had failed to penetrate thoroughly, several Catholic writers arose, some of whom were destined to

become famous. About the year 1796, Count Joseph de Maistre, a Savoyard, whose family was of French origin, gave promise in his original "Considérations sur la France," of the future author of the "Pape," and the "Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg." The Vicomte de Bonald, a gentleman of Rouergue, an emigrant who formerly applauded the movement of 1789, and whom Napoleon made a counselor of the Imperial University, published, in 1802, his famous "Législation primitive," which has become the manual of absolute and theoretic policy. Bonald, who, like J. de Maistre, made his début in 1796 by a "Théorie du pouvoir politique et religieux," is, together with Chateaubriand and De Maistre, although their inferior in a literary aspect, one of those writers who have most largely contributed to the restoration of Catholicism in the country of Calvin and Voltaire. In order to assimilate society to God more effectually, he assumes the existence of a revealed Word, and a primitive education of the human species, by the possession of a true language, that is to say, one which is perfect, and filled with truthful ideas.

The part of the Eternal One is assumed, in the patriarchal sphere, by the father of a family; in a monarchy by the king, who exerts over his realm the same undisputed authority, to which children are legitimately subjected, and who has a right to the same religious obedience we exact from them. The originality of the system consists in the functions of a Mediator, or *Means*, between the *Cause* and the *Effect*. The incarnate Word, being at the same time both God and Man, is the Mediator between divinity and humanity; the woman, who obeys her husband and rules her sons and daughters, acts between the father and the children; the minister, who is subject to the prince and superior to the people, mediates between the king and his subjects. The *Cause*, the *Means*, and the *Effect* are, as a contemporary of Bonald remarks, truly magic words, by the aid of which the Catholic philosopher transforms every thing, in order to reduce all things to a fantastic identity. In fact these terms all correspond one to the other according to their relative positions in the scheme of the universe. Thus they may be resolved into algebraic proportions prolific in social, political, and above all, absolutist consequences. The position God occupies in relation to the universe of souls, corresponds to that of the husband in his family, and the sovereign in his kingdom. This proposition being granted, we can, according to the rules of algebra, transpose the terms of one proportion to the other without changing its relations, and say that the father is the king of his family, God the Father of the World, the

king, the God of his realm. "Political society, as set forth in the ideas of M. de Bonald," says Loyson, "represents to me a flock of sheep, a shepherd, and some dogs; *Cause*, *Means*, and *Effect*; the shepherd eats the sheep and beats the dogs, (for who can prevent him?) and the dogs console themselves by killing the sheep. It may be, we are fully aware, that this vengeance is not always to the taste of the shepherd, but then the dogs, beaten afresh, only display the more fury against the sheep, which results in these latter being often cruelly murdered." The paper on divorce, published a year before "La Législation primitive," gives the most curious idea of the delusions of the theocratic school, and the errors into which men fall, who neglect the study of facts in the contemplation of theories. At this time the authors of the civil code, since called the Napoleonic Code, were engaged in discussing the question of divorce. The indissolubility of marriage had been abolished in 1792; but in the ardor of restoration with which France was infatuated, it can readily be understood that the matrimonial system adopted by the Roman Church, at a relatively recent epoch (Saint Ambrose still admitted divorce), would result in being overthrown. In furtherance of this movement, Bonald, evoked the specter of social anarchy, a mode of procedure which has since been adopted and abused:

"If divorce is decreed," he says, "then, unhappy Frenchmen, we must submit to our destiny; we must prepare to re-enter the vortex of errors and disorders in which we have whirled so long; the first revolution—an offspring of popular violence—began by the dissolution and overthrow of political laws; the second—a result of methodical legislation—will owe its beginning to the dissolution of the family and the overthrow of domestic laws."

The question naturally arises, Why, in countries where the orthodox Church and the various forms of Protestantism prevail, the existence of divorce not only has by no means led to the "dissolution of the family" and the "overthrow of domestic laws?"—but by what miracle it happens that in these very countries the family enjoys a solidity it certainly does not possess elsewhere.

We shall afterward see the liberal apologists of the Roman Church protesting against the policy of Bonald, as not being the correct expression of Catholic traditions, but simply a reproduction of the absolutist policy of the century of Louis XIV. Ozanam looks among the saints and theologians of the Middle Ages for the partisans of the sovereignty of the people; Père Lacordaire invokes the democrats of the "Sainte Ligue,"; Martin Doisy finds ultra democratic theories even in the Fathers of the Church, such as this definition of the rich

by Saint Jerome: "Every rich man is a thief, or the son of a thief." But during the reign of H. M. "the Emperor and King," it was the prevalent belief that there was no other Catholic policy than the "*Politique Sacrée*" of Bossuet; an opinion that Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. seem to have undertaken to confirm, by condemning "liberal Catholicism" on every occasion.

While undoubtedly an able writer, M. de Bonald was generally subtle, sharp, and devoid of charm, sentiment, and imagination, and was consequently not destined to shine in a generation which still held fresh the remembrance of those men who have popularized the French language and literature, even to the extreme boundaries of Europe. The time had not yet come when the restoration of the Bourbons was to bring back into fashion a patriarchal and archæological policy, in which those persons who delighted in the Voltairian and licentious novels of Vigault-Lebrun, were to have little share. To the vitiated souls that issued from the orgies of the Directory, and that notwithstanding were obliged to recognize the establishment of worship, an esthetic and sentimental Catholicism was much more harmonious than the weighty dissertations of Bonald, and others of his class.

The Vicomte de Châteaubriand, born in that province which has remained more faithful than any other to the language and theocratic spirit of ancient Gaul, showed no youthful promise of becoming subsequently an advocate of the throne and the altar. Before the Revolution he was associated with La Harpe, a disciple of Voltaire; with André Chenier, a great poet, who was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Paganism; and with Fontanes, who, though conservative, yet embraced the theories of the eighteenth century—theories that Châteaubriand himself supported in his first work, "*l'Essai sur les Révolutions*" (London, 1797)—a work that was more fantastic in form than in ideas, and in which the author revealed the man. But the unamiable "*Mémoires*" of a Breton gentleman, published after his death, show that he had one of those lively and mobile imaginations which are unable to resist the influence of current opinions. A Rationalist toward the close of the century of Voltaire, a Catholic at the beginning of the Empire, a Legitimist under Louis XVIII., a Liberal in the time of Charles X., and predicting, in the reign of Louis Philippe, the speedy triumph of republican ideas, he seemed always absorbed in seeking the best means to attain popularity, with the scepticism of a man who believes in nothing except religion. In a word, he belongs to that class of writers who set more value on the opinions of their contem-

poraries than on that of posterity, and toward whom posterity, to which they hardly give a thought, is apt to be very severe—their renown losing more and more of its prestige with the lapse of each successive day, after they have left the world that for a moment resounded with their fame.

When the émigré returned to France in 1800, he found the Paris in which he had written the verses for the "*Almanach des Muses*" greatly changed. André Chenier, one of the victims of an imbecile tyranny, had laid his head upon the block; La Harpe had abjured Voltairianism in the prisons of the Reign of Terror; Fontanes had written the "*Eloge de Washington*" (1800), giving less thought to this great and good man than to the future Cæsar whom he was to load with adulation, and to actively assist in the restoration of Catholic doctrines. Accordingly, in 1801, Châteaubriand published in the "*Mercur*," edited by Fontanes, his story of "*Atala*," which immediately created the greatest sensation. Like J. J. Rousseau, who had exerted an immense influence on the French literature of the nineteenth century—like the author of "*Paul and Virginia*," the friend and disciple of the Genevan philosopher—Châteaubriand possessed an acute sense of the beauties of nature, and he transferred to his subject with real art the impressions made upon his soul by the magnificent scenery of the New World. The orthodox tone of the romance was a homage to the spirit of his age, and to the Catholic policy of the First Consul. The melancholy and sentimental character of the work, natural to its author, and differing so entirely from the Voltairian school, appealed with great charm to those minds whom the catastrophes of the Revolution had appalled. Its dogmatic tendencies, no less than its mournful spirit, could not but fail to please those critics who continued to regard Voltaire's opinions, and his admirable and pre-eminently French style, as their criterion. In reality, the romantic school as well as the Catholic school had found its leader. At first, romanticism showed the same characteristics in France that it had done in Germany, fascinated by the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, and striving to react against the reform and the philosophy of the eighteenth century. While the admirers of "*Atala*" predicted that its author would become the greatest writer of the century, and the most skillful delineator of nature who had ever existed, the adherents of the Voltairian school ridiculed his emphatic style, his strange imagery, and his forced juxtaposition of words; all of these faults, which the advice of Fontanes, who, in a literary point of view, had remained faithful to Voltairian traditions, was in time to render less apparent. But if it was rela-

tively easy to make Châteaubriand appreciate the inconvenience of the declamatory rhetoric of J. J. Rousseau, and to induce him to detach rare beauties from the extravagant vegetation that threatened to choke them, it was more difficult to fortify a vain, vindictive, egotistical and sensual nature against the caprices of which the author of the "Confessions" has made us the sorrowful confidants. "René," written at the same period with "Atala," a sincere, impassioned, and perfect work, judging from a literary standpoint, unhappily throws but too vivid a light on the agitations which filled the soul of the new convert; and in reading his last work, "La Vie de Ranée" (1844), we are shown that succeeding years only served to turn his mind more definitely aside from the passions which had formerly governed his existence. "Genius shone in his eyes, and grace was in his smile," said one of his panegyrists, and the convictions of this child of the voluptuous eighteenth century were far from having the strength sufficient to prevent his being perpetually tempted to place his actual course in contradiction to his theories.

In the mind of Châteaubriand, "Atala" and even the singular "René" formed two episodes of the "Génie du Christianisme," which appeared in 1802. The Concordat had been concluded, and the First Consul had reconciled the French republic to the Roman Church. Accordingly, in the eyes of Châteaubriand—and the absurd idea is universal in the Latin countries—this church embraced the whole of Christianity. The most singular illusions are the result. Thus the author represents the Catholic worship as a truly extraordinary power. Now, Goethe, who was a contemporary of Châteaubriand, and a man of genius, and who like him admired this worship greatly, declares in his Memoirs, that from an esthetic point of view, it is inferior to the ceremonies of the Greek Church. It is a singular coincidence that at the moment when triumphant peans arose to celebrate the resurrection of the famous "Gallican Church," it had received its death-blow from the Concordat. By transforming the episcopate into the supple instrument of absolute power, by making the bishop a real despot, responsible only to the emperor and king, Napoleon caused the eyes of the whole priesthood to turn toward Rome, and changed into ardent "ultramontanists" that clergy which from Hincmar to Bossuet had shown itself so jealous of its independence. The ruin of this church, of which the French were so proud, and which they triumphantly compared with the churches of the south, was begun by the author of the Concordat, and completed by Napoleon III. The

Italian dynasty thus abolished one of the most cherished institutions of the Germanic dynasties.

The infatuation once overcome, sincere Catholics were obliged to acknowledge that the "Génie" had no demonstrative value. "The dogmatic portion," says M. L. de Carné, "is feeble and incomplete, the historic department hardly touched upon, and as to the scientific movement, from which it was to be foreseen the rehabilitation of Christianity would arise, it was too slightly developed in his day to allow of his being reproached for not having fully appreciated its importance." How strangely insignificant the scientific movement appeared in the time of Cuvier, of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, and of Laplace! The fact is, that literature had already divided itself into two departments, for one of which rhetoric was the supreme law, while the other demanded from science those inspirations needful for the renewal and transformation of literary life. How different Châteaubriand was from Goethe, who not only followed with a vigilant eye the works of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, but whose sagacious genius had already discerned several of those great discoveries which were subsequently to make the learned men of this century illustrious.

The publication of the "Génie du Christianisme," which went through six editions in one year, although men of taste by no means consider it a well-written book, was an important era in the life of Châteaubriand, corresponding to the production of the "Méditations poétiques" and of the "Tombeaux," in the respective careers of Lamartine and Auguste Barbier. These several works raised such expectations in the minds of their admirers, that it was impossible for their authors to maintain the exalted positions to which they had been elevated. When Châteaubriand attempted to apply the esthetics of the "Génie" to the "Martyrs" (1809), he became embroiled with the emperor, because of the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, and the servile official world was no longer disposed to be enthusiastic. Independent thinkers and cultivated men found it difficult to applaud an "epic in prose." In our day, we consider Châteaubriand incapable of delineating the heroic spirit of the primitive church, which was so perfectly comprehended by two Norman writers, Rotzon and Corneille. There is nothing in the "Martyrs" which recalls the sincere enthusiasm that animates "Saint Genest et Polyeucte." The nineteenth century seems destined, like the eighteenth, to prove that modern France has no "epic master." The "Grèce affranchie" of Fontanes is in verse, but the "Martyrs" is more deserving of the name of epic. The beautiful "Chanson de Roland," however, is far better proof than the

"Martyrs," that the genius of epic poetry has not been entirely denied to the old land of the Gauls.

Before writing the "Martyrs," Châteaubriand visited the East, and his relation of his voyage, "*L'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*" (1811)—for this was the period of Châteaubriand's maturity—is in his best style. At this time the hour of deliverance for the Christians of the east, had not yet struck. Greece was bowed under the Ottoman yoke; Serbia had hardly begun to recover from the disaster of Rossovo; Albania seemed hopelessly absorbed by the fratricidal struggles of clans; Bulgaria appeared resigned to everlasting servitude; and the dominion of Turkey had become oppressive to the Roumanian principalities since the tragic death of the martyr of Roumanian nationality, Gregory III. Ghika. The Catholic traveler could not look with indifference upon the deplorable condition of these "schismatics," when he recalled the fact that his ancestors, in the days of the crusades, had fought valiantly against the Mussulmans. Notwithstanding the many faults of his character, he had a really chivalrous contempt for the triumph of force. The man who had sacrificed personal interests in protesting against the assassination of the unfortunate descendant of the Condés could not impassively see the spectacle of Greece humbled in the dust by Islamism. Thus, when the glorious war for independence arose, as prolific in heroes as in victims, he contributed more than any one man to the generous philhellenic movement which decided Charles X. to dispatch an army to the Morea under orders to interpose between a martyred people and its abominable executioners, when the strength of that people was well-nigh exhausted by struggling so many years against the reunited forces of European, Asiatic, and African Mussulmans. Like Byron, this misanthrope, so disheartened and wearied with every thing, still had noble impulses enough to wipe out the remembrance of his faults, and he never belonged to that class of individuals, by far too numerous in Latin countries especially, who set their fellow-men no better examples than those of servility, cupidity, and an egotistical and timorous prudence.

The Empire by no means influenced Châteaubriand's intellectual development, as is generally supposed. It prevented him, it is true, from becoming a politician, a character for which his brilliant and mobile mind was by no means adapted. Obligated as he was to concentrate his splendid faculties within the sphere of letters, all of his productions that posterity will value belong to it alone. We see him, after the Restoration, much better satisfied with his position than

he was in the reign of Napoleon I., but absorbed in writing sterile polemics, puerile calculations of vanity and ambition, and, in a word, wasting his powers on works, in which men of less brilliant but more practical intellects, such as a Richelieu or a Casimir Périer, would undoubtedly have been his superiors. Unhappily, the whims which prevented the eloquent author of "René" from comprehending the profound difference between executive and literary talent were destined to find, in France, a multitude of imitators. There is no one to-day in this country of "*fruit sec*" who does not consider himself able to govern and regenerate the universe, provided he writes in a paper or review. No other mania has contributed more effectually to the decadence of French literature, for it has not spared to attack the greatest minds—for example, Lamartine.

While the policy of the Empire, like that of the Revolution, found a decided opponent in Châteaubriand, a writer arose in his own province whose attacks against the Gallican Church, which the First Consul believed himself to have reorganized, were to be continued under the Restoration. Félicité-Robert de Lamennais, who was called in Louis XVIII.'s time a "Father of the Church," had, like the author of "René," been profoundly impressed by the influences of the times, and above all by J. J. Rousseau, whose socialist ideas he adopted toward the close of his life. He did not partake of his first communion till he was twenty-two years of age, which was an unheard-of occurrence in Catholic Brittany. Although he did not become a priest until after the Restoration, he took an active interest, during the Empire, in the study of theology, under the supervision of his brother, the Abbé Jean de Lamennais, by whom he had been converted. In 1808 he published, in conjunction with him, an anonymous work entitled "Réflexions sur l'Etat de l'Eglise en France," the circulation of which was prohibited by the police of Napoleon. "L'Institution des Evêques" is a violent polemic against the Gallican doctrines and against the Imperial University, a species of attack that engrossed public opinion during the reign of Louis Philippe. The Emperor of the French was so slightly disposed to tolerate the introduction of Ultramontanism (for so the doctrine which admitted the infallibility of the Pope was called in France, from its trans-Alpine origin), that his agreement with Pope Pius VII. was followed by speedy deceptions. The Papacy, far from being, as he fondly hoped, a willing instrument in his hands, occasioned him, on the contrary, embarrassments which increased in gravity according as his foolish ambition augmented day by day the number of his enemies. Louis XIV., who was as zealous

for Gallican liberties as Napoleon, did not find the same concurrence with his opinions, in a celebrated prelate of his day, as in Bossuet and other French bishops. Fénelon, to whom tendencies conformable to the spirit of our century have been generally, and often very wrongly, attributed, had attempted to found an ultramontane school in France. Lamennais was much more successful than the author of "*Télémachus*." Napoleon was far from imagining that he included among his subjects a more redoubtable adversary of Gallicanism than the Italian counsellors of the weak Chiaramonti, who gave him so much uneasiness. The intellectual torpor which characterized the Empire was not so real as it seemed. In fact, the great tide had then begun to arise, which after Waterloo acquired an irresistible impetus, and completely transformed the opinions of the French.

II.

Napoleon paid much more attention to the liberal opposition, of which Madame de Stael was the principal organ, than to Lamennais' attacks upon the church established by the concordat. In proportion as the Breton writer, who afterward attained such celebrity, was yet obscure, the daughter of Louis XVI.'s minister, herself an ambassador, attracted universal attention. Anne-Louise Germaine Necker belonged to French literature more by adoption than by natural ties. Her father, himself the son of a Prussian, was a Genevan by birth; her mother, a native of the Canton de Vaud; and she herself was married to the Baron de Stael-Holstein, the Swedish ambassador at Paris. Her first preceptor was a Swiss writer, the author of "*Emile*."

The influence of J. J. Rousseau, so marked in the melancholy authors of "*René*," of "*Oberman*," and of the "*Paroles d'un Croyant*," is no less apparent in Madame de Stael. She made her debut in her "*Lettres sur J. J. Rousseau*," the enthusiastic tone of which surprises our generation. In general the writers belonging to the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, such as Bossuet, Buffon, Rousseau, Stael, and Lamartine, make use of a language widely different from that employed by those writers whom we believe interpret the Gaulish spirit more correctly, such as Pascal, La Bruyère, Molière, Voltaire, and P. L. Courier. The solemnity of Bossuet easily degenerates into declamation in an age when public taste is less pure than in his. Now Madame de Stael belonged precisely to an era of this kind, when a declamatory style became the universal idiom. Both Montagnards and Girondins seemed determined to reproduce those defects which were most offensive to J. J. Rousseau, of whom Robespierre was a passionate admirer

This language exerted the most unfortunate influence on French democracy in its undeveloped state by teaching it to take metaphors for ideas. The evil diminished during the Empire, and yet the most able writers of this time, Châteaubriand, Madame de Stael, and above all, Lamennais, are far from being exempt from it.

Uncultured minds are too apt to suppose that declamation implies passion. Madame de Stael's admirers believe that they have established her claims to being a perfect writer, when they declare that she is "as profound as Montesquieu and as impassioned as Rousseau." It is very doubtful whether the pedantic heroine of "*La Nouvelle Heloise*" ever experienced the impulses of passion. A contemporary of Rousseau, the Abbé Prevost, has depicted in the "*Chevalier des Grieux*" a soul that the heavenly spark had really touched. It is only needful to have the smallest literary perception to distinguish the language of the heart from the verbiage of rhetoric. Those who find Saint-Preux impassioned, may think that the heroes of Madame de Stael's romances possess the same character. But "*Corinne*," no less than "*Delphine*," strike our generation as being rather uninteresting personages. *Corinne* declaiming at Capo Misena is the sister of those men who delivered so many sonorous and empty phrases in the assemblies of the French Republic while engaged in the formation of a truly childish constitution. However, it must always be remembered to the honor of Madame de Stael that at an epoch when France appeared to believe that the best means to secure the admiration of Europe was to inspire the nations with awe, she comprehended the fact of there being a purer and more lasting glory than that of battles and conquests. She proves, with veritable talent, in "*Corinne*," her appreciation of the fact that art and letters gave a prestige to the Italy of the Renaissance far superior to the eclat of victorious wars, a thesis which is confirmed by Ginguené in his beautiful "*Histoire de la littérature Italienne*." "*L'Allemagne*" is an outgrowth of the same tendency, but also an exaggeration of it. A victim of the annoyances which she relates in her "*Dix ans d'exil*," Madame de Stael renews the tactics of Tacitus, and makes of Germany, then a powerless, pacific, and scholarly nation, an ideal for a despotic and warlike empire to emulate. Historic truth is not to be reconciled with satirical meanings, which transform facts according to the disposition of the writer. The celebrated poet Heine, who called himself a "liberal Prussian," in a book full of caustic spirit, which bears the same title as that of Madame de Stael, and which appeared during the reign of Louis Philippe, continually gives vent to those enthusiastic expressions, which seemed, in the eyes of the Imperial

police, contrary to the most common-place patriotism. Without discussing the question whether a writer of Swiss origin would be likely to feel great zeal for the interests of France, it must be acknowledged that the author of "l'Allemagne" had the merit of teaching the French to defy the *chauvinism* which Napoleon's subjects were inclined to confound with patriotism. She singularly enlarged their horizon, and contributed more than any one person to the advent of that cosmopolitan spirit which we notice in the literature of the Restoration, and more especially in that of the romantic school. Being both a Protestant and a liberal, she took part with the author of the "Génie du Christianisme" in the crusade against the pretended revival of the classics, so pitifully represented by the official literature of the Empire.

Madame de Stael, whose "l'Allemagne" was suppressed by the police, could not hope to propagate her political views, when even the liberty of the Press had no existence in France. She lived too short a time after the Restoration, to publish her "Considérations sur la Révolution Française." She belonged by blood, to a people composed, like the Anglo-Celts, of Celtic and Germanic elements, and was endowed like them with rare political instincts. A little nation, environed by great conquering states, would not have been able to retain its independence for so long, without uniting prudence to resolution. But its attachment to the Republican form of government is more rational than enthusiastic, and few people are less disposed than the Swiss to institute a republican propaganda. They by no means possess the "Missionary" character, that Joseph de Maistre attributes to the French. Consequently, though Madame de Stael's parents were born in a republic, and although she had in the days of the Directory supported the party which attempted to found a moderate republic in France, she was more inclined toward a constitutional monarchy, like her cousin the late Duc de Broglie. She shared the illusions of the French bourgeoisie in 1789, in 1815, and in 1830. She fancied that the middle classes, without undergoing either great sacrifices or hard labor could take the place of the time-honored "privileged classes." The example of the aristocratic revolution of 1688, so often quoted, was a source of vain hope. One class can never be substituted for another without a severe struggle. Besides, a constitutional monarchy presupposes a social hierarchy that the French bourgeoisie did not accept. Without this hierarchy, nothing remains but a democracy, which tends irresistibly to become either a republic, or to submit itself to the control of a Cæsar able to guarantee equality in servitude.

It could be readily foreseen, notwithstanding the censure that survives all manifestations of opinion, that a party was to arise which should completely subordinate the political question to the social and economic principle, and to which the evangelical Christianity of Madame de Stael was by no means so pleasing as the romantic Catholicism of Châteaubriand, and the absolutist theology of Bonald. In the year of 1760, there was born in the bosom of a family which had furnished France, in the seventeenth century, with one of her greatest writers, that Duc de Saint-Simon so imbued with aristocratic prejudices, a man who exerted the utmost influence to propagate socialistic ideas among his countrymen. Count Henry de Saint-Simon, after having fought for the independence of the United States, and being made colonel at the age of twenty-three, quitted the military career, the better to devote himself to the realizations of his theories. The revolution of 1789, which appeared to the Count de Maistre as essentially "satanic," was in his eyes the beginning of a "social regeneration," in which puerile attachment to titles and a fantastic genealogy should have no existence. In pursuance of his aim to reorganize society, science, and industry, he became a great traveler, to the end that he might study the interior workings of the principal European nations, and his experiences were valuable and sometimes singular. Charlemagne, who was his pretended ancestor, had deigned to encourage his projects by a personal revelation to him, while he was a prisoner during the Reign of Terror: "My son," said the founder of the "holy empire" to Simon, "since the world began, no one family has boasted the honor of producing both a hero and a philosopher of the highest rank; that glory has been reserved for my family alone. My son, thy fame as a philosopher is destined to equal mine as a soldier and statesman." Is this astonishing? Certainly not, if, as Saint-Simon would have us believe, all the great things that were ever said and done, have been said and done by gentlemen "like Charlemagne, Peter I., Frederick II., and Napoleon I."

The "*Lettres d'un habitant de Genève à ses contemporains*" (1803) show that the author's assumption of the rôle of reformer, which he considered as a celestial mission, dates from the imperial era. He distributed the dominant powers in the following manner: spiritual power to the scholar; temporal power to the land-owner; and elective power to everybody. He also gives us an insight into the important part which he destines for woman in the new condition of society. Such theories are by no means acceptable to the papal

authority, and therefore Saint-Simon finishes his work by a vehement philippic against that power which had already found little favor in the eyes of his ancestor, the celebrated author of the "Mémoires."

In his "Introduction aux travaux scientifiques du dix-neuvième siècle" (1807-1808), he recurs to the important part allotted to scientists in the reformed society. Napoleon had made the following proposition to the Institute: "To report the progress of science since the year 1789." Saint-Simon took it up in his own manner. In the midst of numerous irrelevancies, which betrayed a confused mind, as well as an inexperienced writer, he thrust his finger resolutely into the bleeding wound of his day. He shows the terrible scourge of labor to be war, which in twenty years had devoured fifteen millions of men. He conjures the scientists to use energetic measures against the homicidal fury, that a Cæsar more philosophical than the emperor of the French, appreciated so fully. "Haste," he says to them, "blood is flowing, time flies, it is urgent that you should assert your authority!" He concludes by demanding the organization of an intellectual magistracy, which should be to Europe what the Amphictyonic council was to the Hellenic states. These views are rather difficult to reconcile with the admiration he professed for Napoleon, unless we take into consideration the great disinclination felt by French socialism toward autocratic proceedings.

But the time had not arrived when Saint-Simonism was to become a real philosophic school, and ultimately a religion. The empire, harsh season though it was for active intellects, did not kill the germs deposited in the soil. The valiant generation which followed the revolution laid the foundations of all those structures which, later, reared their more or less solid proportions into view.

The same year in which Saint-Simon published his "Introduction," Charles Fourier, the ardent adversary of the former's doctrines, produced his famous "Théorie des quatre Mouvements," preceded by the following epigraph: "With what obscurity is nature still enshrouded." Fourier was not a great noble like Saint-Simon, but only a simple deputy, born at Besançon, who was destined, however, to become the founder of a school which has exerted no little influence on his century, and on his country. Fourier is a logician who draws all his conclusions from the paradoxical optimism of J. J. Rousseau. The author of the "Confessions" maintained that man is essentially good, and that society alone demoralizes him. Fourier maintains that it is possible to organize a social system, wherein all human desires, —even those which are considered as vices in existing society—could

easily find their useful application. The instinct which a contemporary physiologist, Gall, denominates "destructivity," being the one most highly appreciated during the Empire, Fourier was regarded with indifference by his contemporaries.

But it is nevertheless true, that Fourierism as a system dates from this epoch. The theory proper could, if necessary, dispense with the works which followed and completed it, notwithstanding the care the author has taken to put in relief whatever is fundamental to his plan. The attraction of the passions, the groups, the series, all that is contained in Fourier's subsequent publications, we here find in the germ, together with the greater part of the objections urged against him, which he attempts to refute, and including the cosmogonic eccentricities to which he gave great prominence, without attaching as much importance to them, as it has been supposed he did: "My three systems," he says in fact, "cosmology, psychology, and analogy, are one thing, and my fourth, or the attraction of the passions, is another. When you have thoroughly examined the latter, abandon the others. Should this appear extravagant, I can only say that Newton wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse." If it is true that Virgil found pearls in the dunghill of Ennius, it is equally certain that there is more than one profound thought to be discovered in the writings of the socialists. Thus when Fourier is told that benefits are bought with labor, with what truth does he answer, "But labor is itself a benefit!" The founders of the socialist schools, independently of the interest which innovators might be expected to awaken in an age of *idéologies*, were, as mere writers, too insignificant to popularize their theories. If Châteaubriand had not had more talent than the prelates who then upheld the Roman Church, such as Duvoisin and La Luzerne, the successors of the obscure apologists of the eighteenth century, the romantic Catholicism of the Breton viscount, would have won but few adherents. Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Comte, only attained celebrity when their disciples, who were more learned than their masters, espoused their ideas and defended them against all manner of adversaries. There is, then, no analogy between the founders of the socialist schools, and the chiefs of the Protestant communities of the sixteenth century. Calvin was not an organizer only; the author of "Institution Chrétienne" was one of the greatest writers of his great century, and Bossuet himself renders homage to his "beautiful style."

The scientific movement, the opponent of spiritualism, which latter tendency finds many partisans in our day in socialist circles, then met with far greater favor than socialism. A year after the appearance

of Fourier's work, the celebrated naturalist Antoine de Monet, Chevalier of Lamarck, published his "*Philosophie zöologique*," of which Professor Martins has recently issued a new edition. Lamarck held the theory of transformation, to which Mr. Darwin has called universal attention, and which has become a subject of discussion even among the most unscientific. The physiologists were the more disposed to accept these opinions, from the fact that a physician named Cabanis had won them over more or less to the cause of materialism. Doctor Cabanis was not, like Saint-Simon and Fourier, merely a thinker destitute of literary ability. A spiritualist writer (Damiron) acknowledges that his book, the "*Rapports du Physique et du Moral*" (1802), is "one of the most beautiful monuments with which the philosophy of the nineteenth century is honored," because besides being written in a clear, simple, and elegant style, it is rich in new and varied ideas, and is scientific without being technical. The author did not wish it to be understood that he shared all of Lamarck's opinions, and he protests against the theory of spontaneous generation, embodied in the "*Philosophie zöologique*."

The views of Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire on the unity of composition, also prepared the way for Darwinism, but, like Lamarck's theories, they have produced more effect in our day than they did upon the minds of their contemporaries. They afterward formed the basis of violent discussions between Saint-Hilaire and his rival Cuvier, who has been called the Aristotle of the nineteenth century.

The doctors of the faculty of Montpellier, the successors of Borden and of Barthez, followed, it is true, a different course from that which Cabanis and the celebrated physiologist Bichat influenced the faculty of Paris to adopt. Birey, the author of the "*Histoire naturelle du genre humain*" (1801), the style of which is easy and brilliant, prepared himself to support the polemic in favor of vitalism, in which like Dr. Bérard, whose mind was far less accustomed than his to the requirements of a scientific discussion, he was to play an important part.

The example of Birey proves that this era, so rich in great men such as Laplace and Gay-Lussac, whose names will live forever, was by no means unmindful of the glory which letters bestowed upon it. George Cuvier and the astronomer Biot, the author of the "*Histoire des Sciences pendant la Révolution*" (1803), owed their seats in the French Academy to their literary talents. François Arago, who was both a man of letters and a scientific scholar, distinguished himself as a professor by his spirit, eloquence, and genius.

This French Academy to which we have just alluded, and which

owed its establishment to Richelieu, became one of the five classes of the French Institute, a useful and admirable creation of the republic. The reception it gave to a deistical discourse by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, the celebrated author of "*Paul et Virginie*," shows that it yielded but slowly to the religious reaction, and that during the Empire, it was useless to rely upon its support in the struggle against materialism. The Imperial university founded by Napoleon naturally inclined to far more conservative tendencies. A corporation composed of laymen, even hesitated to propagate theories in direct opposition to the convictions of a majority. But the spirit of the eighteenth century was too powerful to yield its ground without a struggle. Therefore, we see in the university, several even of the disciples of Condillac, contenting themselves by extenuating like Laroniguière—elegant writer and able professor that he was—the sensualist principles of their master, principles from which clumsy Condillacism drew pure materialism so willingly. Maine de Biran, who did not belong to the university, and who combined the study of philosophy with modest administrative functions, inaugurated a still more energetic reaction against the system of Condillac. Yet the thinker, of whom Royer-Collard said, "He is our master in all things," appears at first more favorable than hostile to the ideas of the reigning school. In his "*Mémoire sur l'influence de l'habitude*" (1802), he chose this epigraph of Bonnet: "My brain is for me a retreat wherein to enjoy those pleasures that cause me to forget my sufferings." Although the paper on the "*Decomposition de la pensée*" (1805), seems indicative of other theories, we may surmise from the fact of its having been sanctioned like the first by the Institute, that he did not challenge received opinions too boldly and that the spiritualist school had not discovered, with regard to this philosopher, that his very mediocre talent as a writer was by no means capable of popularizing "the most profound metaphysician of his time."

The eloquent Royer-Collard, professor to the faculty of letters in Paris, of which he was the dean, was much better able than the sub-prefect of Bergerac, to exert an influence on public opinion.

It was not so easy as we now think to give a new direction to French philosophy. The principle that, "Nothing exists in the intellect, that has not previously been experienced in the senses," was not only admitted by the barely orthodox school of Condillac, but was also borrowed by the Catholic Middle Ages from Aristotle, who was such an infallible oracle in the schools of that period, that even in the sixteenth century, Ramus, professor of the College of France,

was assassinated for having disputed his authority. The imperial restorer of Catholicism agreed with his contemporaries in regard to this question, and notwithstanding the darts he launched against the "idéologues," he looked upon Condillacism as the national philosophy, and the admirers of Kant, as well as the disciples of Reid, would have appeared to him guilty, like Madame de Stael, of compounding with "foreign ideas." When Royer-Collard began his course at the Faculty of Letters (1811), Condillacism, supported by Destutt de Tracy, as well as by Volney, and demonstrated in the early works of Baron de Gérando, and of Droz, everywhere prevailed. Garat had taught it with success in the normal schools, and the spiritual lectures of Taronvigièrè preserved his popularity, even in the faculty of letters, where Royer-Collard challenged him to a seemingly unequal contest (1811). But although Royer-Collard had, at the beginning of the Revolution, taken his stand among the adversaries of the old system, the excesses of which he had been an unhappy witness, caused this energetic soul to react against the ideas of the eighteenth century. He co-operated for awhile in the restoration of the Bourbons, and only resigned himself to the empire, on seeing the re-establishment, under its auspices, of the greater part of those institutions which the tempest had swept away.

Being a Christian of the Jansenist school, he looked with satisfaction on the re-establishment of the Gallican Church, without probably regretting the overthrow of the old Roman militia, in other words, the monks, of whom Napoleon was the declared adversary, and whom the second empire—which was more loyal to Italian traditions than to French tendencies—restored to their former position. Whatever may be the opinion in regard to the Scotch philosophy which Royer-Collard brought into vogue for awhile, there is no doubt that it was the inauguration of a movement of considerable importance. Condillacism was at an end, and it was time that France should become initiated with the philosophic movement, which was to popularize new theories and new names. The quick intellect of the French, once awakened, was not destined to remain enclosed within the narrow limits of the Scotch philosophy.

Reid and Dugald Stewart served to open for the entrance of Lessing, Herder, and Kant, those doors which the *chauvinism* of the Empire had closed so carefully.

III.

In letters we find the same antagonism that marks the philosophy of the period, and the same tendency to substitute more liberal ideas for the sterile spirit of the eighteenth century.

Guizot, who, like Royer-Collard, was Professor to the Faculty of Letters (1812), and whom Goethe regarded as the model of historians, made a thorough investigation of foreign erudition, in his historical studies. Malte-Brun gives him a prominent place in the "Revised Geography" (1803-7). If Royer-Collard represented the spirit of Jansenism embodied in the France of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by so many illustrious personages, François Guizot was an equally perfect representative of Calvinistic tendencies, demonstrated by his austere manner, his indefatigable ardor in work, and his persevering zeal for the intellectual development of his country.

Being by no means favorable to the Imperial autocracy—French Protestants generally incline to liberal institutions—the Restoration proved a more congenial season for his admirable activity. Without being, like Guizot, an orator and writer combined, Daunou, who was formerly a member of the Oratory Congregation, and afterward Director of the Imperial Archives, rendered important services to historical studies by continuing the great Benedictine collections, viz.: "Les Historiens de France," and the "Histoire littéraire de France." Having remained faithful to Voltairian precepts, he was greatly in favor of the attempt to incorporate Rome with the Papacy, an attempt which Guizot always regarded with disfavor.

The success of such an indifferent work as that of Anguetil, a laborious priest whose historical researches had given him some prominence before the Revolution, is sufficient to show how difficult it is for those who seek to regenerate historical studies in France to infuse life into them. Perspicuity, a quality that is eminently French, is the only merit of this voluminous composition, which is wholly lacking in interest, in action, in communicative warmth, and in the faculty of comprehending and reviving the past. It has been well said that, according to the old French historians, the rude Merovingian kings, with their long hair, and eyes "like the restless azure of the ocean," scarcely differed from the "*roi-soleil*," Louis XIV., in his perruque, whom monarchical absolutism has made the ideal of a prince. It is much easier for the historian of a period nearly related to or contemporaneous with his own, to make his work interesting. Thus it is that we still read with pleasure a book that has been republished many

times, the "*Histoire de France, pendant le dix-huitième siècle*" (1808), by Charles Lacretelle, Professor to the Faculty of Letters at Paris (1810). In regard to his essays upon the Revolution and upon the Empire, published afterward, his more elegant than vigorous style was hardly fitted for such subjects, and the labor that he expended on them is the more readily overlooked, at the present day, from the fact that French literature now possesses works of a like nature by authors far superior to Lacretelle, such as Thiers, Mignet, Michelet, and Louis Blanc.

Literary history, although somewhat neglected, boasted nevertheless two great works, neither of which is devoid of value. The "*Cours de littérature de La Harpe*" (1799-1805) is lacking in proportion, depth, and impartiality, its author being no better acquainted with antiquity than was Boileau, the famous author of "*l'Art poétique*," and being, moreover, unable to resist the desire to systematically decry the writers of the eighteenth century, whom he had previously loaded with eulogies. On the other hand, in the "*Tableau de la littérature française, depuis 1785*," by M. J. Chenier, the author shows his fidelity to the opinions he adopted before the Revolution. "*L'Histoire littéraire de l'Italie*" (1811), by Ginguené, has retained its popularity better, and even now there is no work on the same subject existing in France which is superior to it, while M. Patin's beautiful treatises on the Greek dramatists, those of M. Nisard on the seventeenth century, and the "*Cours de littérature, tableau du dix-huitième siècle*," by Villemain, have deprived La Harpe's voluminous work of most of its interest.

Criticism, which had the "*Journal de l'Empire* (since become the "*Journal des Débats*) for its principal organ, showed itself in Bertin's paper no less unfavorable than La Harpe to the spirit of the eighteenth century.

Geoffroy, who was brought up in the school of Féron, Voltaire's opponent, was a devoted admirer of the classics of the seventeenth century, and did not spare the Voltairian philosophy any more than that of Rousseau. Felitz had more atticism, Hofmann more liberal views, and a greater diversity of studies. In the "*Mercure*," La Harpe, Fontanes, Bonald, Châteaubriand, and Michaud were in harmony with the "*Journal de l'Empire*." The publicist Suard and Mademoiselle de Meulan (Madame Guizot) occupied prominent positions in the opposing ranks, together with Ginguené, in the "*Publiciste*" and Roederer in the "*Journal de Paris*." Napoleon himself sometimes spoke through the columns of the "*Moniteur*." But the taste of the

man who was ambitious to be the "regent of Parnassus" as well as the master of Europe, was of slow formation. When he entered the lists of competition at the Academy of Lyons (1791) he declaimed after the manner of Raynal; his letters to Josephine (1797) recall the emphatic style of the "Nouvelle Heloise." His critical perceptions were so imperfectly developed that he always believed the pseudo Ossian (Macpherson) to be a new Homer. His talent as a military writer was not revealed till afterward by his simplicity of style, boldness of diction, and strokes of genius that flash through his pages like the blaze of cannon in battle. But even when he had arrived at his maturity, speaking from a literary standpoint, he remained the inferior of Xenophon as well as of Cæsar.

The historians of literature, no less than its critics, had not dreamt, as yet, of including Asia in their studies. Now, however, several eminent men undertook to demonstrate that this immense continent would not long continue to be omitted from the history of the human mind. The France of the seventeenth century knew no more of Semitic literature, than the Bible and the Koran. At the time of the Empire, Anguétel-Duperron, brother of the historian, acquainted his countrymen with the dogmas of the Indian Aryans (Onpuck-hat 1805) by translating from the Latin, a Persian version of the "Onpanichards" of the Vedas. He had already, before the Revolution, called attention to one of the most noted of the Aryan beliefs, Marzdeism or religion of Ancient Persia, by translating a Persian version of the Zend-Avista. His defiantly independent nature prevented him, in spite of his many important works, from acquiring even a modest maintenance. Unfortunately, the primitive languages of the Aryan nations of Asia were unknown to him. The Zend had not as yet become an object of study, and Sanscrit was scarcely known except in England. France, however, already possessed a disciple of the English Sanscrit scholars, in the person of Leon de Chezy, one of the founders of the Asiatic society, who introduced Valmiki and Kalidasa to the knowledge of his compatriots, and for whom a chair of Sanscrit was created in the College of France, after the fall of the Empire (1815). Abel Remusat, a successor of the eminent French *sinologues* of the preceding century, busied himself with the preparation of works which only made their appearance toward the close of the Empire (1814), when he was called to a professorship in the College of France. In 1806, the Jansenist philosopher Sylvestre de Lacy, one of the most distinguished philologists of his country, was professor of Persian in this celebrated institution. The author of the "Grammaire Arabe" (1810) was

familiar with more than twenty languages; and his no less varied than admirable works prove equally with those of A. Rémusat and Eugène Burnouf, that France would have become the rival of Germany in the field of philology, had not the continually promised, and invariably postponed educational reform paralyzed the development of the national intellect. But until now criticism in France has been constrained to declare, that, "the temple of taste was yet to be rebuilt"; Homer, it asserts, will be always and everywhere the criterion, the most Godlike. But back of him, like a cortege of Eastern monarchs, stand these three magnificent poets, these three Homers, so long unknown to us, who have also written, according to the custom of the ancient Asiatic peoples, grand and sacred epics—the Hindoo poets Valmiki and Vyasa, and Firdusi the Persian.

We have seen that the Imperial era was far from being sterile. But military France, at war as she was with the whole of Europe, had the fatal glory of causing literary France to be ignored, while the France of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notwithstanding the unpropitious days of Malplaquet, and of Rosbach, continued to exert a veritable intellectual supremacy over the entire continent. The reign of Napoleon, moreover, lacked several of those branches of talent which flourished during the Restoration; branches which endow a century with a certain prestige, as of poetry, dramatic masterpieces, and popular romances vividly depicting the dominant passions of life. The poets of the Empire, far from contributing to its glory, have in several instances tended to render it ridiculous, through their lack of originality, force, and inspiration. It was absolutely impossible for us to share the illusions of their contemporaries in regard to them. We are almost tempted to smile at the name of "Pindar" being coupled with that of Ecouchard Lebrun; "He loved to emulate Pindar, to whose height he sometimes attained" (Chemier "*Tableaux*,") who sung the praises of Louis XVI., the Republic, and the Empire, with an equal degree of enthusiasm, and some little talent. Although the Chevalier de Parny succeeded in writing elegies, and was not wanting in either nature or sentiment, it is difficult to acknowledge him a French Tibullus. Delille himself, so overrated as a translator of the "*Géorgics*," and placed in the first rank for "descriptive talent," Delille "so justly famous," seems to us merely a simple versifier, and it is hard to read, without becoming weary, "*L'Homme de Champs*" (1800), "*La Pitié*" (1803), "*L'Imagination*" (1806), "*Les trois règnes de la nature*" (1809), "*La Conversation*" (1812), works in which the genius of Virgil no longer sustains him. The numerous imitators of

Delille's didactic and sentimental poetry, such as Chénendolle, Esme-nard, Michaud, Tissot, Costel, Gudin, are still more tedious. Only a few have survived to the present day.

All those who wrote for the theatre contented themselves, like Delille, with feebly imitating their masters. Doubtless neither Corneille nor Racine can be properly placed in the same rank with Shakspeare and Æschylus, but the first of these great writers had a quick appreciation of grandeur, while the second possessed a truly sensitive soul capable of comprehending and of reproducing the most delicate sentiments of the heart. Already under Voltaire and his school, the tendency of tragedy—as Geoffroy rightly remarked in the “*Journal de l'Empire*”—was to become declamatory, by continually losing, little by little, the purity of the classic forms. Chenier, the last of the tragic dramatists, yet remained faithful to these forms. The Revolution had too strong a taste for declamation, not to encourage the exaggeration of this tendency in the successors of the author of Charles IX. The time can readily be foreseen when tragedy will possess no interest except for the historian of literature. The exceptional talent of a great actor, Talma, the reformer of stage costume, prevented the subjects of Napoleon from believing in the decadence of a style of dramatic writing that had charmed the aristocratic society of the *ancien régime* for so long, but which had in reality ceased to harmonize with a completely altered world. Napoleon, taking another view of the matter into consideration, held up the perfection of the classic writers to their feeble successors, when one of their number, Arnault, the caustic and witty author of the “*Fables*,” persisted in turning out tragedies: “There,” he said to him after the failure of *Don Pèdre* (1802,) “see what it is to write tragedies after Corneille and Racine.” The success of the “*Templiers*” by Raynouard, which was due to one or two happily turned verses, appeared for awhile to indicate an awakening of the tragic muse, when the Théâtre Française resounded with the applause it had ceased to hear since the days of Voltaire. But in 1806 the “*Mort de Henri IV.*” by Legouré, whose poem the “*Merite des Femmes*” had met with prodigious favor in 1801, “suffered severe treatment at the hands of the critics.” Since De Lanceval's best tragedy of “*Hector*” (1805), notwithstanding his decoration, and the pension of 6,000 francs awarded to him by Napoleon when temporarily inclined in favor of tragedy, was not competent to infuse vitality into a species of composition which the honest Ducis, whom M. J. Chenier calls a celebrated poet, had labored in vain to regenerate, by borrowing the subjects of his dramas from Shakspeare. Notwithstanding the

success of his "Agememnon" (1797), Neponincène Lemerrier—the precursor of the romantic school, and one of the best of citizens at this epoch of strange palinodes, who remained subject to the law in times of anarchy, and faithful to liberty when the reaction came—appreciated more fully than the other writers of his age, the impossibility of continuing in the old ruts. He cared very little for the no less absurd than famous rule of the three unities, attributed to Aristotle, which Ducis imposed even upon Shakspeare! But Lemerrier would scarcely have dared to apply the theory to a "noble art" like tragedy, which he practiced in regard to comedy, to the great scandal of the pedants of his time. The pedants that Molière turned to ridicule in the "Femmes Savants" flourish in all ages, and are confined to no one epoch.

Comedy, one of whose interpreters was Mademoiselle Mars, sur-named the "the inimitable," and who from 1798 to 1841, "created" more than one hundred rôles at the Théâtre Française, had unfortunately no worthy successors of the immortal author of the "Misanthrope," and the sprightly author of the "Joueur." The French democracy failed to produce an Aristophanes. The merciless genius of the author of "Plutus" would moreover have been as incompatible with the censure of the Reign of Terror, as with that of the Empire, and his essentially Attic elegance would scarcely have been appreciated by an audience composed largely of illiterate soldiers. The inoffensive Collin d'Harleville, the author of the "Vieux Célebretaire" (1792), "in which," say his admiring contemporaries, "nothing is wanting," was well adapted to the taste of this period. But at his death in 1806, his talent was already on the wane. His friends, Picard and Andrieux, inherited his popularity for awhile. The versatile Picard, who was, like Shakspeare, an actor and poet combined, busied himself studying the bourgeoisie that the Revolution had brought so prominently into the fore-ground, in spite of the puerile attempts of Napoleon to establish an aristocracy, at a time and in a country both of which were eminently democratic. Picard's comedies, vaudevilles, and comic operas, numbering eighty pieces in all, do not share an equality of merit, although possessing as a rule, veracity, nature, and a rare power of observing and depicting the follies of his time, such as speculation meditating upon the instability of a society disintegrated by revolutions, the audacious proceedings of cupidity, and the tricks of knaves plotting a bankruptcy during a magnificent fête. "La Petite Ville" (1801), suggested by a fancy of La Bruyère, is as applicable at the present day, as it was at the beginning of the

century. Andrieux, an independent, disinterested, and liberal citizen is less known by his witty comedies—"Helvetius" (1802), "Le Trésor" (1803), etc., etc.,—than by his popular tales, such as the "Miller of Sans-souci," the concluding sentence of which will be remembered: A mill is respected, but a province is stolen.

N. Lemercier infused his spirit of innovation into comedy, and his "Pinto," brought out in 1800, was even then considered a romantic work. The subject of this drama, which was played at a time when the Pronunciamento of the 18th Brumaire was uppermost in the popular mind, was borrowed from one of those political conspiracies of southern Europe in which the comic element was mingled with the tragic in such a way as to produce, by the relation of the action to the importance of the plot, one of those contrasts which the melodramatic French school were subsequently to use and abuse. The hero of the conspiracy which placed the house of Braganza on the throne of Portugal, was also its historian, and his account furnished Lemercier with several of those striking situations, which were then as sparingly used as they are now lavishly introduced. But few people will believe, as Chenier did, that Lemercier took much pains to depict accurately a conspiracy that in reality was less an affair of politics than of patriotism.

This era, in which the epic elements were no less present than those comic situations inseparable from all great social transformations, had neither its Torquato Tasso, nor its Milton, whose translators even were numbered among the most esteemed poets of the Empire. It has been said that the "Martyrs" is a "beautiful poem," but it is difficult to see any thing in it but an historical novel. Neither Milleroye, whose "Chute des Feuilles" will be remembered, nor Parseval de Grandemaison, were competent to celebrate Imperial France in an epic. The author of "Charlemagne à Paris," and of "Alfred," had no particle of epic talent. The precise author of the "Amours épiques" labored twenty years at an epic on Philip Augustus, which only appeared in 1825, and which lacked both action and interest. Barour-Lormian, the translator of the "Jerusalem Delivered," was unable to rival Tasso in his "Atlantide," which was universally and justly condemned, as was also N. Lemercier's "Atlantiade," of which Newton was the hero and the Achilles. A century that looked upon Voltaire's "Henriade" as a great epic, and that scorned the "Chanson de Roland," was incompetent to produce an epic poet. The violent passions of a revolution had not, as in England, given birth to a species of enthusiasm favorable to epic conceptions. The power of the Empire

had been too evanescent to exert an influence on the imagination, as in the days of the bard of Æneas. The victor of Jena, the soldier consecrated by the Pope, had neither a Homer nor a Virgil, and when after he had passed away the adversaries of the Restoration invoked his shade, in their hatred of the pacific spirit of the Bourbons, they contented themselves with simply versifying the history of his campaigns. The Empire has had but one rudimentary epic: the songs of Beranger, which glorified its conquests, and deplored the fate of its chief, sadder at the last than that of the humblest of his followers:

Pauvre soldat, je reverrai la France,
La main d'un fils me fermera les yeux !

We know that the origin of all epics lies in the poetry of the common people, who celebrated their heroes, long before Achilles and Rama became the themes of Homer and Valmiki. If the Napoleonic legends, sung by the people's poet, had retained their prestige, they might have been, in time, although our century is in no wise favorable to epic compositions, transformed into a really epic work. But after the publication of M. Thiers' great book, these traditions are already open to grave critical assaults, which at the present day exert such a powerful influence. The Barnis and Lanfreys of modern times tear the imperial purple to shreds, and in the event of a poet's persisting, in the face of such rebutting testimony, in the production of a Napoleonic epic, the result would probably be to endow the general of the 18th Brumaire with the sinister aspect of the conqueror of Pharsalia; the man who did not hesitate to cross the Rubicon confronted by the "image of his awe-struck country." Fortunately for Napoleon's memory, he inspired the most beautiful lyric compositions and his name will last longer in the verses of Lamartine, of Victor Hugo, and of Manzoni, than in the bronze of the column—*ære perennius*! Even "L'Idole" of Barbier displays a power of anathema worthy of the man who was for awhile the terror of Europe and the chief promoter of wars in which, according to an English writer, ten millions of men perished, and if the French empire had been celebrated by poets as great as Horace, its Juvenal would not have been wanting.

JOHN STUART MILL AS A RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHER.*

THREE distinguished English writers, all notorious for their negative attitude toward Theism and Christianity, have left their maturest and ablest writings upon these topics, to be published after their death. Lord Bolingbroke committed his "Letters on History," which had already been privately printed, to David Mallet, who published them in 1753. This procedure elicited from Dr. Johnson the well-known emphatic comment: "Sir, he was a scoundrel and a coward: a scoundrel for charging a blunderbuss against religion and morality; a coward because he had not resolution to fire it off himself, but left half a crown to a beggarly Scotchman, to draw the trigger after his death."

The ablest work of David Hume, the "Dialogues on Natural Religion"—perhaps the most subtle anti-theistic treatise ever published in the English language—was written in 1751, but was not published till 1779, some three years after his death. Hume, by his will, appointed Adam Smith his executor, and left him two hundred pounds for the services he might render in editing this work. But fearing that Smith would be unwilling to execute the task, on account of the odium it might excite, he gave the matter in charge to his publisher, and in the event of Smith's failure to issue the treatise within two and a half years, to a nephew, by whom it was published in fact.

Mr. John Stuart Mill was more reserved in his life-time, in the expression of his religious opinions, than either Bolingbroke or Hume. Had not his autobiography in part prepared the public for what they had reason to expect, these theological essays would have been looked for with a more eager curiosity than they received. There seems to have been no good reason for the delay of the publication of the first two essays contained in this volume, both of which were

* "THREE ESSAYS ON RELIGION." BY John Stuart Mill. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

written between 1850 and 1858. The editor confidently avers that their author did not withhold them from publication "on account of reluctance to encounter whatever odium might result from the free expression of his opinions on religion." She ascribes his delay to his well-known deliberation in forming his opinions, and his special dislike to express opinions when half-formed. The careful student of Mr. Mill's other writings could not fail to notice, however, that he uniformly avoided any reference to religious questions, or, in the few cases where they have been forced upon his attention, so carefully avoided committing himself, as to seem wanting in both frankness and courage. His actual opinions were so generally understood, and the conclusions to which his philosophy must lead him were so inevitable, that his cautious and studied statements were interpreted as indicating a certain sardonic contempt of the faith or feelings of the most of his countrymen. These feelings were distinctly expressed by the remark in his autobiography, that from his childhood "I looked upon the modern as I did upon the ancient religion, as something which in no way concerned me." His studied and long-delayed reticence can not easily be reconciled with the emphatic assertion in the same connection, that the time had already come in which it was not only safe for, but obligatory upon, all those who held opinions opposed to those commonly received, to assert them freely and boldly. For many reasons, the revelations of this autobiography did not open the way for the most favorable reception of his mature and yet long withheld opinions upon Theism and Christianity. The avowals made in that notable work, of the conclusions which he had reached, and the contemptuous or unsympathetic air assumed toward all forms of earnest religious belief, were not fitted to conciliate a very favorable judgment from very many readers, who are not wanting in candor. Nor should it be overlooked, that not a few rejectors of supernaturalism in England and this country, hold a philosophy and a faith which are very far removed from those of Mr. Mill; nor again that Mr. Mill's prestige as an authority in metaphysical philosophy, has been somewhat diminished by the more imposing proportions and claims of the philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer. This writer, although his system rests upon the same psychological basis of inseparable associations, claims that it meets all the requirements of the intuitional metaphysics, and even provides for faith in an inscrutable force or being or person, who or which is at once the necessary assumption of science, the verified result of all experiments, and the satisfying though ever changing object of faith and worship.

It might seem scarcely necessary to solicit attention to the religious philosophy of so modest a thinker as Mr. Mill, at a time when his ineffectual fires are paling before the radiant splendors of so imposing a teacher as Mr. Spencer. But Mill's system of religious philosophy is, to say the least, a metaphysical curiosity. The analysis of it may also be presumed to give some important indirect results, even though it may not be required for the refutation of his arguments.

The first of the three essays contained in this volume is entitled "Nature," and in matter and form is the least interesting. We can not be mistaken when we pronounce it one of the feeblest of Mr. Mill's productions, for the ambitiousness of its pretensions, the narrowness of its definitions, the defectiveness of its logic, and the repulsiveness of its conclusions. Though written in the maturity of the powers of the author, after he had felt and acknowledged the liberalizing and elevating influences of both poetry and love, and had learned to be catholic in judging, and kindly in appreciating, the opinions and feelings of men from whom he differed very widely, this essay seems to reflect the narrowest and the most acrid spirit of his unripe youth, as well as the bitterest prejudices against all who believe in God's goodness, which characterized his early manhood. It would seem that his temper must have been for the most part greatly disturbed, while he thought and wrote out this essay.

He begins by observing that the words *Nature* and *Natural* have become obscured and entangled almost hopelessly in metaphysical vagueness or contradiction; and that it is greatly to be desired that the words should be subject to the careful and patient sifting of the Socratic analysis. Following this method, he proceeds to define the several meanings of *Nature*. The first which he gives is obvious enough—the sum of the powers, capacities, and laws which make up an individual thing. Closely connected with this signification is that of the aggregate of all things which exist with the total of their powers, capacities, and laws. In this sense *Nature* is synonymous with the finite universe of material and spiritual beings. The second distinctive meaning is that in which *Nature* is opposed to *Art*. But in this application, the powers which art combines and directs, are powers of nature, and the powers which combine and direct the agencies of nature are themselves natural.

These being assumed to be the two principal senses of the word *Nature*, the author then asks in which of these senses, if in either, is it used when it conveys ideas of "commendation, approval, or moral approbation." That it has been used as the foundation of these ethical

ideas, can not be questioned by any one who knows any thing of the ancient moralists, the Roman jurists, or Christian theologians. These last have indeed been somewhat restrained in giving honor to nature as an authority in morals, by the doctrine of human depravity; but this circumstance has inclined the deistical moralists, especially those of the sentimental school, to exalt nature still more. The view that nature is in some sense an authority to be followed and trusted in morals, is very generally accepted at the present time, though with more or less vagueness of interpretation.

"This employment of the word nature as a term of ethics seems to disclose a third meaning, in which nature does not stand for what is, but for what ought to be." A little consideration will show, however, that there is no third meaning, but that those who "lay down as a rule for what ought to be, a word which in its proper signification denotes *what is*, do so because they have a notion, either clearly or confusedly, that what is, constitutes the rule or standard of what ought to be." Whether this application of the word nature thus defined, is justified, the author proposes to inquire. The necessity for this inquiry, he insists, is still more imperative, if we consider that the word *law* is used in ethics with equal vagueness, being sometimes employed to denote what are called fixed uniformities in the operations of things, as in the phrases, laws of motion or of chemical combination, and sometimes for what ought to be, as in the phrases, the law of honor, or the law of veracity.

These are the results of the author's preliminary analysis of the meaning of the word nature, before arguing the question proposed in the essay, viz., whether the ethical rule or principle to follow nature, which has been so generally adopted, by so great a variety of thinkers, can be justified. In this analysis the author betrays not the least suspicion or misgiving that he may have overlooked one of the possible significations of the word nature. From his show of candor on the one hand, and his display of acuteness on the other; from the naïve confidence of his assertions and the cool assurance of his manner, the confiding reader would infer that Mr. Mill had covered the field of possible significations. Inasmuch as his subsequent argument rests entirely upon the correctness of this analysis, we may be excused if, before accepting the astounding conclusions to which the author's argument would conduct us, we feel compelled to subject the analysis to a critical examination.

We do not dispute the correctness of Mr. Mill's statement, that the word nature signifies *what is*, in the general sense of the proper-

ties and capacities of any one, or of the aggregate of the various beings and agents that exist. It is equally obvious that when nature is opposed to art, the instruments and means of art on the one hand, and the operations of art on the other, are limited to the capacities furnished by nature. We submit, however, that what are called the capacities or constitution of a thing, and also the characteristics or contents of its concept, may as properly include what the thing or agent was intended for, as well as its one or many capacities, which are manifested or employed in actual results. In other words, what a thing *is*, or the nature of a thing, includes what it was made or exists *for*, as well as what it achieves in fact.

It is of the nature of a steam-engine to be moved and to generate power by the expansive force of steam, whether it is actually used for this effect or not. It was of the nature of steam to generate power centuries before nature was *followed* by the use of its properties for this end or result. Whenever nature has been conceived of as a guide, or rule, or end of life or action, it has also been uniformly conceived of as a constitution, which was capable of misdirection or neglect, as well as of being followed and obeyed. The end or the natural *use* of its capacities was also supposed to be indicated by its constitution, and therefore to be a part of its nature, and properly to be a constituent element of its contents or definable *essence*, or, in Mr. Mill's language, of *what it is*. Moreover, the nature which the ancient philosophers and the modern jurists and theologians have had prominently if not exclusively in view, in these ethical discussions, has been *human nature*. This human nature they have regarded as a whole, consisting of various impulses or desires, all alike natural, considered singly, and all having a purpose, but capable of defeating the highest result which the whole human constitution could attain, and so of a deviation from the nature or supreme end of man as a whole. A conflict of these separate impulses was supposed not only to be possible, but inevitable. In such a conflict, the prevalence of some one impulse, and the consequent subjection of the others, was held to be sanctioned and required by nature, and as therefore pre-eminently *natural*. For a man to act according to his nature, *i. e.* his human nature, was in their view, to fulfill the ends or purposes of his constitution as a man.

But although the nature of man, or human nature, has been prominent in the thoughts of ethical thinkers, it has not always limited their thoughts. Indeed, inasmuch as man can not be fully understood, except his relations to his fellows and to the physical universe

are also recognized, the properties and the laws of the universe of spirit and matter must needs be considered, in order fully to understand the nature and duty of man. For a man to follow nature, consequently signified, not only to act in harmony with the ends and laws of his own individual being, but also to act in harmony with the laws, and in subjection to the ends, of the universe.

It is passing strange that a writer like Mr. Mill, who had been trained in a severe school of logical analysis, and been accustomed from his childhood to state and to scrutinize definitions and arguments, who had moreover written an elaborate treatise on definition and reasoning, and who had given formal notice that he was about to examine with the utmost care the conception in question for the special purpose of testing the correctness of the reasoning founded upon its definition, and who also included in his plan the purpose to state and examine the various possible senses in which the concept *nature*, and the precept *to follow nature*, had been used, should have so completely failed to recognize the only important signification of the term which could have any possible relation to the question in hand. The frequent and familiar use of the term in this sense, it would seem, could not possibly be overlooked by a careful reader of most popular and well-known treatises on morals. The necessary limitations of Mr. Mill's own psychological theory ought not to have rendered him insensible to the testimony of history, that other men had in fact used terms in other senses than those which his system had provided for. We can easily see how he might, and indeed how he must, test the correctness of the definitions of other men by comparing them with his own. But Mr. Mill does not always adhere to his own definitions and theories, as in his well-known paroxysm of ethical earnestness against Mansel. Not only in this instance, but in many others, he has forgotten his own theories, when combating the opinions of other men, and has even employed against his antagonists arguments which derive all their cogency from a philosophy which he rejects. It is obvious enough, however, that whether he is aware of it or not, whether he stands upon his own metaphysical ground, or unconsciously shifts his position to the ground of another philosophy—that he is more or less influenced by his own psychological and philosophical theories. Indeed it is not easy to see how a writer who defines matter as “a permanent possibility of sensation,” and mind as “a series of feelings which is aware of itself as past and future,” should be able to conceive of either as having a nature, even in the narrow sense in which Mr. Mill defines it, as that *which is*. We can very easily see how it would be altogether impossible for him

to find in human nature, or physical nature, or in both combined, any thing which could possibly be *followed*. To follow also supposes something like deliberation and free action, or choice subsequent to thought and conclusion. But in Mr. Mill's psychology there is no place for freedom, nothing but impulse, furnished by nature, intensified by repetition, fixed by inseparable associations, and admitting no possibility of disinclination to or dissent from the dominant and necessitated desire.

It is almost amusing, were not Mill always so solemn, to notice that he condescends to concede that man may be said to follow nature when he intelligently directs his conduct by the laws of nature to the attainment of his purposes, *i. e.* when he uses one law to counteract another. As if this were not in principle, though not in phraseology, all that had ever been contended for. For how could it be possible for a man intelligently to set up one law or force of nature above another unless some reason for so doing were found in nature itself. And if a reason could be furnished, it must be found in something higher than any single one of these forces or laws—higher even than their conspiring or aggregate energy, *i. e.* in some relation implying an end which might be followed or neglected. But it is more than amusing, it becomes absolutely farcical, to learn from this venerable and most logical utilitarian that such a construction of the precept to follow nature would only introduce the *prudential* as contrasted with the *ethical* sphere, as though his own conceptions of duty had ever reached any higher than a somewhat low plane of the prudential.

As we follow Mr. Mill's analysis still further, we find him raising the inquiry whether if nature is used on the second sense, recognized by himself, *viz.*, as the spontaneous in contrast with the artificial, the phrase "to follow nature" becomes any more rational. To this question he answers, that to follow nature when taken in this sense would be palpably absurd, inasmuch as it is the duty of man to improve upon nature, rather than to imitate her. Here again Mr. Mill seems utterly unconscious that if it be the duty of man to improve upon nature, this duty must in some way have been made known to man through nature, which would involve the assumption that the *what is*—must somehow or somewhere have contrived to suggest or reveal the ideal possibilities which art should aspire and labor to make real. Overlooking this metaphysical inconsistency, and cleaving to his original narrow idea that the only conceivable way of following nature is to imitate her actuality rather than to make real the best possibilities which she suggests, he indulges himself in a long series of rambling

observations, the aim of which is to set forth the general immorality of unartificial or spontaneous nature on the grand and the small scale, and to prove that if there be any such thing as human virtue or human duty, it is attained by deviating from and improving upon nature by means of art.

Among these observations we find the following :

"In sober truth, nearly all the things which men are hanged or imprisoned for doing to one another, are nature's every-day performances. Killing, the most criminal act as recognized by human laws, nature does to every being that lives, and in a large proportion of cases, after protracted tortures such as only the greatest monsters whom we read of ever purposely inflicted on their living fellow-creatures.

. . . Nature impales men, breaks them as if on the wheel, casts them to be devoured by wild beasts, burns them to death, crushes them with stones like the first Christian martyr, starves them with hunger, freezes them with cold, poisons them by the quick or slow venom of her exhalations, and has hundreds of other hideous deaths in reserve, such as the ingenious cruelty of a Nabis or a Domitian never surpassed."

"But it is said, all these things are for wise and good ends. On this I must first remark that whether they are so or not, is altogether beside the point. Supposing it true that, contrary to appearances, these horrors when perpetrated by nature, promote good ends, still as no one believes that good ends would be promoted by our following the example, the course of nature can not be a proper model for us to imitate. Either it is right that we should kill because nature kills, torture because nature tortures, ruin and devastate because nature does the like, or we ought not to consider at all what nature does, but what it is good to do. If there is such a thing as a *reductio ad absurdum*, this surely amounts to one."

To this last sentence we heartily assent, but the question still remains undecided whether it is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the author's misconceptions of the position under discussion, or of the position itself when correctly understood. We also submit that English philosophy contains very few passages that contain grosser or more inexcusable misinterpretations than those which we have quoted. Not only does Mr. Mill overlook the true sense of the direction to follow nature, as we have already explained, not only does he substitute another meaning which no man ever held, but even if his own interpretation were to be allowed, it would not sustain the inference that the external operations or actions of nature, such as killing, could possibly be accepted as examples for man by any except the most superficial moralists. The most superficial ethical teacher even might be supposed to recognize the axiom that the ethical quality of every action lies in the intuition and not in any external action whatever—indeed that external actions as such are of no possible importance except as they exemplify intuition.

The watchful reader will have observed that at this stage of the

discussion, Mr. Mill has somehow forsaken the ethical field for that of natural theology. It might be thought too severe to assert that his zeal to depreciate nature as an example in ethics, had insensibly prompted him to take immediate occasion to dishonor its Creator, and if he might find occasion to do this, he would feel no special objection to believe that a creator of some sort actually exists. If the reader were a sagacious philosopher he would not fail to notice that Mr. Mill could not make this transition without enlarging his conceptions of the import of nature, so as to find in *what Nature is* some import of *what nature intends*. Explain it how we will, we find our author embarked in the solution of one of the gravest problems of natural theology, viz. that which relates to the divine benevolence. The problem is no sooner proposed for solution than it is summarily disposed of, after the briefest discussion, by the conclusion that the only possible method of vindicating the divine goodness, is to suppose that God is limited in power. In the author's conduct of this brief argument, we observe a similar incapacity, fairly to conceive and state the views of theologians, to that exemplified in his representations of the doctrines of ethical philosophy. We do not care to analyze or criticise his argument. It concludes as follows: "the same perfectly wise and good Being had absolute power over the material, and made it by voluntary choice, what it is." To admit this might have been supposed impossible to any one who has the simplest notions of moral good and evil. "Nor can any such person, whatever kind of religious phrases he may use, fail to believe, that if nature and man are both the works of a Being of perfect goodness, that Being intended nature as a scheme to be amended, not imitated, by man."

This brings our author back upon the ethical field, and he resumes the discussion of the question from which he had digressed, having unconsciously learned by the process, that design and purpose, as well as capacities and laws, may be affirmed of *what is*. He now asks whether the Creator's will, *i. e.* the rule of duty, may not be supposed to be indicated in "the active impulses of human and other animated beings," *i. e.* in their instincts and desires. The question in principle does not differ from the broader question whether nature indicates the rule of duty, by the capacities and endowments of any existing beings. He replies to his own question—first, that to hold that desire or instinct manifests the rule of conduct, would exalts blind impulse above reason, and next, that not a single instinct can be discovered in man as he exists in a state of nature, which deserves to be regarded as an impulse to virtue. Courage would perhaps be cited first as such an

impulse, but Mill roundly asserts that by nature man is only a coward. Cleanliness is not a natural virtue, for man is naturally the opposite of cleanly; for is it not notorious that children all the world over delight in filth. Not one of the social virtues is natural. Man is by nature invertebrate, selfish, and incapable of self-control. There is no such virtue conceivable, as natural justice; justice is an artificial product only, and the growth of social existence. Men are notoriously cruel also, and delight in inflicting pain on their fellows. If we concede that men have some warm and friendly feelings, still nature or providence has to answer the question, why the animal creation is so completely given up to the havoc of preying and being preyed upon. After discoursing in this fashion, at some length, he sums up the conclusions of his essay as follows:

"The word Nature has two principal meanings: it either denotes the entire system of things, with the aggregate of all their properties, or it denotes things as they would be, apart from human intervention.

"In the first of these senses, the doctrine that man ought to follow nature is unmeaning; since man has no power to do any thing else than follow nature; all his actions are done through and in obedience to, some one or many of nature's physical or mental laws.

"In the other sense of the term, the doctrine that man ought to follow nature, or in other words, ought to make the spontaneous course of things the model of his voluntary actions, is equally irrational and immoral.

"Irrational, because all human action whatever consists in altering, and all useful action in improving, the spontaneous course of nature.

"Immoral, because the course of natural phenomena being replete with every thing which when committed by human beings is worthy of abhorrence, any one who endeavored in his actions to imitate the natural course of things would be universally seen and acknowledged to be the wickedest of men.

"The scheme of nature, regarded in its whole extent, can not have had for its rôle or even principal object, the good of human or other sentient beings. What good it brings to them, is mostly the result of their own exertions. Whatsoever, in nature, gives indication of beneficent design, proves this beneficence to be armed only with limited power; and the duty of man is to co-operate with the beneficent powers, not by imitating but by perpetually striving to amend the course of nature, and bringing that part of it, over which we can exercise control, more nearly into conformity with a high standard of justice and goodness."

It is scarcely fair to say that this is a summary of the creed of Mr. Mill. It is little more than a series of negations. So far as ethics are concerned it is purely negative, asserting only what is *not true* of nature as an instructor and director of duty. It is almost equally negative in respect to theology, asserting that if God is good, and so far as he can be proved to be good, he does not possess

unlimited power, and so far as man is good, he should avoid imitating the operations of nature, but should seek to improve upon them. From what source, or by what methods a man derives the ideas of duty, or the sense of obligation, by which he is taught to improve upon nature, and to judge of the beneficence of God, Mr. Mill does not intimate.

But whatever view we take of these conclusions, Mr. Mill has failed to justify them by any solid reasons. His reasonings are all directed against conceptions of nature which were never held by a single individual of the many philosophers, jurists, or theologians, who preferred nature as an ethical teacher or guide. His conclusions are the unproved and often the unsupported assertions of a narrow and splenetic dogmatist, who persistently insists on the one hand, that the universe is not completely controlled by a benevolent ruler, and asserts most inconsistently on the other, that there is every reason to hope that if man endeavors to make the same universe better than he finds it, he has the amplest encouragement for perpetual progress and certain success.

It might seem to be a useless and thankless undertaking, to dwell so long upon an argument which is so perverse and unsatisfactory as this. It is, indeed, in every respect unsatisfactory; it is unsatisfactory as a statement of the theory which the author takes such useless pains to refute; it is unsatisfactory as an argument for the views which the author asserts; while as an argument against the benevolence of an unlimited Creator, it is pre-eminently superficial and dogmatic. In two respects, however, the essay is very significant: that the author attaches great importance to its reasonings and doctrines which is evident from the confidence with which he refers to this essay in the two which follow it, as further developments of his Religious Philosophy; that it also expresses the creed of a school which is becoming not inconsiderable, even among English and American writers, and is likely to prove a somewhat formidable antagonist even to a wholesome and hopeful theism.

The essay is also instructive, as we have already intimated, as showing how completely inadequate is Mr. Mill's metaphysical system for the construction of a satisfactory or even a fixed philosophy of religion. Mr. Mill makes no show of his philosophical views in his reasonings. He rather conceals it from view, as he is apt to do. He now and then even abandons it, and reasons from the ordinary principles of conscience and common sense. But he is none the less completely swayed by its influence. To us it is no matter of wonder

that a system made up of associational psychology, empirical metaphysics, prudential ethics, and necessitarian fatalism, should be incompetent to lay the foundations or rear the superstructure of a religious theory of the universe. Mr. Mill has no need to obtrude upon our attention the peculiarities of his instrument and method. The results make them but too conspicuous. A telescope which stands upon an unstable pedestal, and is furnished with imperfect lenses, and moved by imperfect machinery, must of necessity give images of vague outlines and blurred surfaces. Mr. Mill's philosophy appears to a bad advantage when it is applied in the service of a science of nature considered as the aggregate of finite, physical, and spiritual existence. It is not surprising that it should fail altogether to justify the belief in a self-existent Originator and Moral Ruler of this finite universe, who is unlimited in power and perfect in goodness.

The weakness of Mr. Mill's philosophy is singularly conspicuous in the reasonings of both father and son in respect to the goodness of God. We learn from the autobiography of the son, that there was no opinion to which the father adhered more positively than that the universe was to a certain extent under the control of some principle or source of evil which limited and checked the benevolence of the Creator. He was led to this conclusion by the argument in Butler's Analogy. This argument was, in his view, decisive to the conclusion that the same difficulties which inhere in the scriptural representations of God are found in the moral administration of the universe. For a while the argument satisfied him that the Revelations of the Scriptures were from God, and ought to command his confidence and his complacency. But on farther reflection he found himself drawn back to the more radical conclusion that the administration of nature itself could not be vindicated to his reason and conscience, except on the theory that the benevolence of God is in some way thwarted and controlled by the limitations of his power. This doctrine was held with fanatical dogmatism by the father, and was literally *inculcated* by his hard and positive temper into the receptive and plastic nature of the son. If is the strong and ever reappearing warp of the argument in these essays, into and athwart which are wrought all the minor arguments which make up the tissue. Even at the very close of the last essay, after the ample and almost pathetic concessions to Christian theism which he makes, out of the gentle and truth-loving impulses of his better nature, he gives as his last thought to the world, that in addition to the other moving influences to love and duty which proceed from God, and Christ, and Immortality, the motive should

not be overlooked that by our personal love and duty, we give aid and sympathy to God himself in the unequal conflict which he is maintaining with the inevitable and persistent evil.

In all this argument, as conducted by both father and son, there seems not to have been the faintest approach to a suspicion that the difficulty in the way of receiving the doctrine of a benevolent God was created by the bald and outspoken necessitarianism of their psychological philosophy. The associational psychology involves by a logical necessity the conclusion that every man's character and actions are the product of circumstances. It necessarily excludes the possibility of individual responsibility in any proper sense of the phrase. Any science of sociology, and any philosophy of history would be impossible, in the judgment of Mr. James Mill, Mr. John Stuart Mill, and Mr. John Morley, unless every individual man and all the societies of men were formed by the environment of each according to laws the operation of which is as fixed and inevitable as is the operation of gravitation and chemical affinity. The distinction between fatalism and necessity made by Mr. Stuart Mill is designed to meet a difficulty which is simply practical, and does not alter in the least his views of responsibility, and of moral liabilities.

Now it ought to have been no secret to any of these gentlemen that the majority of theists who have attempted to explain and vindicate the divine goodness, have derived most of their arguments from the essential nature of freedom as the necessary condition of moral responsibility. It was entirely a proper question for them to discuss, whether or not these arguments were pertinent or satisfactory, but it was not left to their option as courteous or even as well informed critics to leave this class of arguments unnoticed, or to ignore their existence and importance, at least as matters of philosophical history. An impartial critic will readily see that it must make the greatest possible difference in the judgments which we form of God's benevolence, whether we do or do not include as an essential element to be considered, the reality and the importance of individual responsibility, and that a reasoner who denies the freedom which is its essential condition and accepts in its place the doctrine of necessity, is driven by a logical necessity to the conclusion that either God is not supreme in goodness or not unlimited in power. But Mr. Mill had never the capacity to look at any argument from any other point of view than that which his own philosophy permitted. The weak, and false, and vacillating conclusions which he so often reached, very often illustrate

nothing so strikingly as the uncertainty or the falseness of his underlying philosophy.

The second essay on "the Utility of Religion" is less speculative in its character than the essay on "Nature." And yet it is scarcely less important as an exposition of certain practical features of his religious philosophy. The drift of its argument is against the almost universal impression that some form of positive religion is useful and even necessary for the moral well-being of man. The author in opposition to this view, contends that many of the elevating and restraining influences usually ascribed to religion alone, are in fact due to the influence of authority by which the principles and impulses of men are so largely molded. Authority, he urges, can be exercised as efficiently without as with religious motives; overlooking very strangely as it seems to us, the fact that the force and energy of authority must be intensified when the authority of God is superadded to that of any and all human beings. Even if it were conceded that the force from these two sources was similar in kind, it might still remain true that the authority of religion is not only useful but indispensable. Mr. Mill urges next, that education has done vastly more than religion in elevating the human race, and that the Grecian states especially are examples of what education can do with the least possible assistance from any religious force. He also contends that public opinion exerts a potent formative influence upon the character, overlooking the often unnoticed yet always energetic part which religion has uniformly played in molding and animating both education and public opinion. Next, he borrows from Mr. Bentham an argument, the object of which is to show, that the influence of religion is conspicuously weak in deterring men from perjury, duelling, and illicit sexual intercourse, an argument of which it is difficult to see the force, so long as decisive evidence is not adduced, that men who are manifestly swayed by religious influences are as little restrained as other men when tempted to these three forms of sin. That religious motives are very often impotent to deter many from these offenses, proves nothing except that temptations to commit them are specially powerful with the majority of the race. The special power of religion to sustain men under severe persecution and even extreme torture, is disposed of by referring it to "a divine enthusiasm—a self-forgetting devotion to an idea; a state of exalted feeling by no means peculiar to religion, but which it is the privilege of every great cause to inspire"—which is met by the query whether religion is not in its motives and inspiration, the greatest of all causes.

From these general considerations the author advances to the special position that if it be granted, as it should be in all fairness, that in the past, religion has been efficient and necessary in teaching and enforcing morality, its aid is required no longer, for the reason that when ethical truth is accepted and approved, it shines by its own light and attracts by its own radiance. Religion is no longer useful because the occasion for its influence has been outgrown. Its addresses to the fears of men may be laid aside, and it is desirable they should be dispensed with as ignoble, and consequently in the present state of society as anything but useful. Its power to elevate and kindle the imagination may be conceded, and its actual influence in this direction may be gratefully acknowledged. But if the imagination can be stimulated and purified by ideal pictures, the same results will follow:

"It has still to be considered whether in order to obtain this good, it is necessary to travel beyond the boundaries of the world which we inhabit; or whether the idealization of our earthly life, the cultivation of a high conception of what IT may be made, is not capable of supplying a poetry, and, in the best sense of the word a religion, equally fitted to exalt the feelings, and (with the same aid from education) still better calculated to ennoble the conduct than any belief respecting the unseen powers."

That present and finite objects and motives are capable of producing these effects, is argued as follows:

"When we consider how ardent a sentiment, in favorable circumstances of education, the love of country has become, we can not judge it impossible that the love of that larger country, the world, may be nursed into similar strength, both as a source of elevated emotion and as a principle of duty." "This exalted morality would not depend for its ascendancy on any hope of reward; but the reward which might be looked for, and the thought of which would be a consolation in suffering and a support in moments of weakness, would not be a problematical future existence, but the approbation, in this, of those whom we respect, and ideally, of all those, dead or living, whom we admire or venerate."

The author therefore infers that for all the exigencies of men, the *Religion of Humanity* is better than any *Supernatural Religion*:

"For, in the first place, it is disinterested. It carries the thoughts and feelings out of self, and fixes them on an unselfish object, loved and pursued for its own sake. The religions which deal in promises and threats regarding a future life, do exactly the contrary; they fasten down the thoughts to the person's own posthumous interests," etc.

"Secondly, it is an immense abatement from the worth of the old religions as a means of elevating and improving human character, that it is nearly, if not quite impossible for them to produce their best moral effects, unless we suppose a certain

torpidity, if not positive twist in the intellectual faculties. For it is impossible that any one who habitually thinks, and who is unable to blunt his inquiring intellect by sophistry, should be able without misgiving to go on ascribing absolute perfection to the author, and ruler of so clumsily made and capriciously governed a creation as this planet, and the life of its inhabitants."

If a man, to adjust the strip between his moral convictions and his faith, accepts the conclusion that morality in himself and in God are different attributes—

"The worship of the Deity ceases to be the adoration of abstract moral perfection. It becomes the bowing down to a gigantic image of something not fit for us to imitate. It is the worship of power only."

The Religion of Humanity has the still further advantage, that it relieves men of intellectual and moral independence, from believing that God, as represented in the Scriptures, can possibly be good.

"He who can believe these [and the characteristics of God as set forth in and through the Scriptures] to be the intentional shortcomings of a perfectly good Being, must impose silence on every prompting of the sense of goodness and justice, as received among men."

"Only one form of belief in the supernatural—one only theory respecting the origin and government of the universe—stands wholly clear both of intellectual contradiction and of moral obliquity. It is that which, resigning irrevocably the idea of an omnipotent Creator, regards Nature and Life not as the expression throughout of the moral character and purpose of the Deity, but as the product of a struggle between contriving goodness and an intractable material, as was believed by Plato, or a Principle of Evil as was the doctrine of the Manicheans." "Against the moral tendency of this creed no possible objection can lie; it can produce on whoever can succeed in believing it, no other than an ennobling effect."

The author concedes that the supernatural religions possess one advantage over the Religion of Humanity, in the prospect they hold out to the individual of a life after death. But he urges that man has no rational desire for continued existence in itself, and that as man rises in intellectual culture and in unselfish desire he will be trained by degrees, rather to prefer annihilation to immortality. Or as he expresses himself:

"It seems to me not only possible but probable, that in a higher and above all in a happier condition of human life, not annihilation but immortality may be the burdensome idea; and that human nature, though pleased with the present and by no means impatient to quit it, would find comfort and not sadness in the thought that it is not chained through eternity to a conscious existence, which it can not be assured that it will always wish to preserve."

To a conclusion so lame and impotent as this, is the author reduced in order to sustain his position that supernatural religion is

supernatural religion as compared with the Religion of Humanity. It was written only a few years before the death of Mr. Mill. It indicates a fairer intellectual spirit, and a more kindly feeling toward Christ and Christian believers than the first two essays. In respect to many points, the author retains and reasserts the same opinions contained in these earlier essays. In respect to others he modifies his opinions very considerably. The argument for the Being and attributes of God is scrutinized with great earnestness and logical acumen from the point of view given in Mr. Mill's philosophy and psychology as re-enforced by the doctrines of the conservation of force and the struggle for existence. There are philosophers, however, who do not accept his philosophy. There are those who do not believe that the belief in causation, and in the unity of the universe is derived from experience or verified by experiment. Such might be willing to concede that on the basis of any philosophy whatever, whether it be intuitional or experiential, the Being of God can not be proved by induction or demonstrated by syllogism. To such, Mr. Mill's failure to reach intellectual satisfaction by an argument, only adds to the demonstration furnished by many similar failures, that truths like these are incapable of demonstration. But Mr. Mill's objection to accepting the truth as *a priori*, that it is deduced from *an idea* or *an instinct*, would only excite the wonder, if it did not the ridicule of any intelligent advocate of this theory as held in modern times. But for a practiced controversialist, Mr. Mill is singularly incapable of justly appreciating and faithfully representing the views of any school but his own, and almost uniformly fails to conceive how any man can possibly reason or think in any other way than he does. That the belief in an intelligent originator is the necessary assumption to the belief in an orderly universe, and therefore the condition of all special induction, is a proposition which Mr. Mill would seem to be incapable of understanding, so far as to conceive how any sane man should hold it. That a man, with these limitations, should fail to find what he calls an argument decisively proving that God exists, is to us altogether intelligible.

Of the natural attributes of God, he asserts that omnipotence is incompatible with design—an old assertion which gains no new force as repeated by Mr. Mill. He adds that if matter and force are eternal, as would seem to be probable, we can see an additional reason for believing that the power of God is limited. When he adds that there is no decisive proof that God is absolutely omniscient, and that God's foreknowledge need not extend to all future events, he simply

expands and enforces what he had already announced in the Essay upon Nature. In respect to the Benevolence of God, he reaffirms what he asserted so positively in that essay, but with far less bitterness of spirit.

He gives the following as

“The net results of natural theology on the question of the divine attributes. A Being of great but limited power, how or by what limited we can not even conjecture; of great, and perhaps unlimited intelligence, but perhaps, also, more narrowly limited than his power; who desires, and pays some regard to, the happiness of his creatures, but who seems to have other motives of action which he cares more for, and who can hardly be supposed to have created the universe for that purpose alone.”

Leaving the doctrine of God as so far established, the author proceeds to the discussion of immortality. The conclusions which he reaches are that, apart from the designs of the Creator, there is no evidence for the future existence of the soul from its own essence or from its aspirations or desires. If we reason from the power or goodness of God, both of which have been proved to be limited, we can infer only, that there is room to hope that both the one and the other may extend to granting us this gift, provided it would really be beneficial to us.

Strangely enough Mr. Mill next proposes the problem of Revelation in a general sense, including the possibility and credibility and actuality of miracles. The chapter on this topic is singularly fair and even-handed, and in the discussion of this subject, the author shows himself an able expounder of the principles of evidence. Possibly his philosophical theory of the grounds of our faith in the laws of nature and in the power of God, may have had some influence in determining his positions. Still the conclusion which he draws is “that miracles have no claim whatever to the character of historical facts and are wholly invalid as evidences of any revelation.”

Thus far, Mr. Mill seems to proceed in a line of thought in which he is, with here and there an exception, consistent with himself. But in the “general result” in which he proposes to gather together the several lines of argument and to bring them to a consistent and well-supported conclusion, he opens a new line of thought, and as it were turns back upon and reverses his previous course of argumentation. This general result covers less than fifteen pages, but in these few pages Mr. Mill presents himself in a new attitude, and seems to reason from a new point of view in a direction which is opposed to that of the entire volume. The sentiments expressed in this general result are doubly interesting from the fact that this is the last utterance of the author

upon a subject which had occupied many earnest thoughts during his life-time.

The new point of view is what he himself, in the second essay, has somewhat naïvely described as "the theism of the imagination and feelings," as not incompatible with the "scepticism of the understanding." How he could possibly satisfy himself with any conclusions reached from this point of view, especially after the abundant and almost passionate protests which he urged in all these essays, against reasoning from what he calls "instincts" and "ideas," it is not our duty to explain. That he did do this is evident in almost every line of this concluding chapter. That he did it deliberately and upon a theory is manifest from his autobiography, in which he speaks of his "conversion" to the position that it is absolutely essential to cultivate and exercise the sentiments and the imagination for the sake of their effect upon character and happiness. The theory as he held it, not only entirely overlooks any necessary or even any conceivable connection between the sentiments and the imagination and intellectual conviction, but it proceeds on the supposition that the truth for which the understanding fails to provide, or which it is forced entirely to reject, may be accepted by the imagination and embraced by the feelings. In a similar spirit Tyndall asserts in the address delivered at Belfast:

"For science, however, no exclusive claim is here made; you are not urged to erect it into an idol. The inexorable advance of man's understanding in the path of knowledge, and those unquenchable claims of his moral and emotional nature which the understanding can never satisfy, are here equally set forth." . . . "'Fill thy heart with it,' said Goethe, 'and then name it as thou wilt.'"

It is worth noticing as a sign of the tendencies of the times, that this gross form of sentimentalism seems to be epidemic among a very large class of anti-supernaturalists and negative thinkers. Even Mr. John Morley, who, in the "Fortnightly Review" for November 1874 and January 1875, argues very earnestly and ably against the sentimental argumentations of Mr. Mill, in this draws very largely upon the imagination for the gorgeous drapery which he requires to hide and to adorn the repulsive hideousness of his own ghastly creed, and places great reliance upon the noblest and the tenderest emotions which in their nature are stronger than death, to persuade the soul that shrinks from the extinction of its being, that it can only attain to the apotheosis of self-forgetfulness by being willing to forego the hope of immortality. Even George Eliot depends upon the richness of her own affluent and soaring imagination, and the pathos of her

singularly tender and sympathizing heart, for the splendid imagery and moving appeals, that almost reconcile herself and her reader to the abnegation of the most exalted hopes and the noblest faith of our nature.

The conclusions which Mr. Mill sets forth in this remarkable conclusion are that

"the whole domain of the supernatural is removed from the region of belief into that of simple hope; and in that, for anything we can see, it is likely always to remain."

He then asks

"whether the indulgence of hope, in a region of imagination only," "is irrational and ought to be discouraged as a departure from the rational principle of regulating our feelings as well as opinions, strictly by evidence?"

To this question of his own asking, he replies that human life stands greatly in need of "a wider range and greater height of aspiration for itself and its destination,"

"and that it is the part of wisdom to make the most of any, even small probabilities on the subject, which furnish imagination with any footing to support itself upon." "On these principles it appears to me that the indulgence of a hope, with regard to the universe and the destiny of man after death, while we recognize as a clear truth, that we have no ground for more than a hope, is legitimate and philosophically defensible."

What Mill called only a hope, resting on the slightest and scarcely preponderating probabilities, others regard as so nearly self-evident as to be the most trustworthy truth. The sentiments which he would cherish for the sake of their elevating tendency and their kindling power, others would say were justified by the most obvious and decisive analogies. What he would inculcate as worthy and uplifting sentiments, others would enforce as the natural result of the most elevating truths. The processes which are often dignified by the appellation of faith, as an activity justified by reason, while it quickens the imagination and kindles the sensibility, Mill would lower to the regions of the imagination and sensibility, with the faintest and feeblest suggestions of reason. But while Mill remands the truths and faiths of religion to the limbo of mere possibility, he fully concedes their beneficent influence even where they are regarded as only imaginary ideals. In the second essay, he had elaborately argued the point that the need of religion is so completely outgrown as to have become utterly useless. In the conclusion of the third essay he concedes that although as a matter of faith, and as requir-

ing and resting on objective truth, religion may be outgrown, yet even as presenting definite and elevating ideals to the imagination, it is infinitely precious to mankind." He dwells upon the familiarity of

"the imagination with the conception of a morally perfect Being, and the habit of taking the approbation of such a Being as the *norma*, or standard, to which to refer and by which to regulate our own characters and lives."

He even concedes

"that the *undoubting belief* of the real existence of a Being who realizes even our best ideas of perfection, and our being in the hands of that Being as the ruler of the universe, gives an increase of force to these feelings beyond what they can receive from reference to a merely ideal conception."

This undoubting belief is not indeed warranted by evidence. Those who carefully weigh the considerations for and against, must lose somewhat of this "increase of force to these feelings." But what they lose in respect to force, they gain in the purity of their ideal. They find no moral contradictions in the object of their faith. If they can not believe in a God of infinite power, they can believe in a God who is as good as his limited power will allow.

Even the absolute unbeliever can avail himself of the ideal Christ which Christianity presents, and which can never be lost to the world whatever may be thought of the origin of the ideal, or of the history which records it.

"Whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left; a unique figure not more unlike all his precursors than all his followers." "But Christ stands alone, for who among his disciples or among their proselytes, was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels."

Christ must have been

"in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast." "When this pre-eminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer and martyr to that mission who ever existed upon earth, religion can not be said to have made a bad choice in pitching on this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor, even now, would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete, than to endeavor so to live that Christ would approve his life."

When we add the possibility that Christ was more than this, *i. e.*

"a man charged with a special, express, and unique commission from God, to lead mankind to truth and virtue,"

we may conclude that the influences of religion on the character are well worth preserving, and that

"what they lack in direct strength, as compared with those of a firmer belief, is more than compensated by the greater truth and rectitude of the morality which they sustain."

With these concessions, Mill leaves his readers. That he should make them, is a far higher and more decisive testimony to the sensibility of Mill, as a man, to the necessities of his moral nature, than to his sagacity as a philosopher and his self-consistency as a logician. His admiring or apologetic disciples may explain or excuse these concessions as they will, but his impartial though not unkindly critics can not fail to find in his last utterances upon religion a decisive, because an unconscious and even a reluctant testimony to the truth and importance of Christian theism.

The autobiography of Mr. Mill, and those three Essays upon Religion, are his last legacies of thought and feeling. The autobiography leaves him "in a cottage as close as possible to the place where she was buried," declaring that her memory was to him a religion, and her approbation the standard by which he endeavored to regulate his life. His Essays on Religion conclude with his honest testimony to the value of faith in a personal God, and a glowing tribute to Christ the perfect ideal of human excellence, and a possible extraordinarily furnished and commissioned messenger from God to man. Both these volumes are remarkable for many things, but for none which are more worthy to be pondered than these passages.

"WOOD-NOTES AND CHURCH-BELLS."

*By the Rev. Richard Wilton, M. A., St. Catherine's College, Cambridge.
London: Bell & Daldy, York Street, Covent Garden.*

THIS delightful volume of poems has sweet, joyous "wood-notes, as of birds, simple and clear," for the lover of Nature;—and for the sorrowful, church-bells with gracious echoes to cheer the meditative heart, allay mortal cares, and ring us to eternal peace. Both wood-notes and church-bells here unite their strains—"voices of earth and heaven, to soothe our way." It is pleasant to find, in the author, such an able poetical and practical advocate for the humane treatment of the animal creation, as many of these very characteristic poems prove him to be. Verily, as Coleridge sings:

"He prayeth well who loveth well
Both man and bird and beast."

Mr. Wilton pleads powerfully against the wanton and cruel destruction of birds—for their own sake, for man's sake, and for God's sake. His "Plea for the Sea-Birds," which appeared in the London "Times," in 1868, was largely instrumental in obtaining for them that protection of law which, in Britain, they now enjoy. He also, elsewhere, showed that sea-birds were often the means of saving human life, and warding off disaster, by warning vessels, in dark or misty weather, from the fatal rocks.

In "The Small Birds' Appeal," he sets forth the useful work done by birds,—in clearing insects from plants and the canker from roses—speaks of their graceful forms and beautiful plumage, recalls their sweet, joyous notes, and, also, the many divine lessons we are taught by observing the wonderful economy of bird-life; for we should never forget that birds are

"God's careless, tuneful creatures!"

In "A Plea for Caged Birds," he dissuades from the cruelty of trapping birds, urges the kind-hearted to set them free, and pertinently asks,

"What right hast thou
To lure the golden finches,
Or the red linnets, from the wildwood bough,
And cage them within bars of six square inches?"

He tells us of a "Tame Robin," in a rectory garden, which came, at call, from the trees, to be fed by its mistress; showing that gentle loving treatment overcomes natural timidity, and leads to trust. In "Birds Waiting for Breakfast," we have a happy group of bright faces at the cheerful parlor window; crowds of expectant, hungry birds sit near, huddled up together, with drooping beaks and ruffled feathers, watching eagerly and waiting for the window-sash to be raised, and for wonted showers of crumbs to be thrown by loving little hands on "their table-cloth of snow;"

"Then, while birds their bounty gather,
Rosy cheeks and curly head
Bend and pray to God their Father.
'Give us, Lord, our daily bread'!"

Here is a Bible lesson from the sparrow, "A tiny angel in a bird disguise"—admirably put:

THE SPARROW.

"A Sparrow lighted chirping on a spray
Close to my window, as I knelt in prayer,
Bowed by a heavy load of anxious care,
The morn was bitter, but the bird was gay,
And seemed by cheery look and chirp to say—
What though the snow conceals my wonted fare,
Nor have I barn or storehouse anywhere,
Yet I trust heaven e'en on a winter's day.
That little bird came like a wingèd text.
Fluttering from out God's Word to soothe my breast:
What though my life with wintry cares be vexed,
On a kind Father's watchful love I rest;
He meets this moment's need, I leave the next,
And, always trusting, shall be always blest!"

In looking back to "Cambridge Days," when life was young, Mr. Wilton characteristically recalls the singing of *birds*, which he then heard, when pacing under "those studious walls," where Milton and Newton walked.

In "Give me a Drink, or the Thirsty Dog's Petition," he calls attention to dumb animals sinking down on the public way; left for hours in the dusty lane; or with patient eyes appealing in vain,

"From iron railroad, or from stone-paved city;"

The poem closes thus :

“ Touched with the feeling of His creature's grief,
The mighty Maker listens to their groaning ;
Shall we deny them water for relief,
And man alone be heedless of their moaning ? ”

We have one poem on the “ Launch of a Life-boat ” and another deprecating the horrors and miseries of “ War ”—which are vividly portrayed from the experience of recent times ;—in the first we are taught to look to the Saviour of Men ; and in the last to Jesus who is the Prince of Peace, and we are carried forward to the contemplation of that blessed time, when men shall learn the art of war no more.

In “ Bible Workmen, or the Dignity of Labor,” eight stanzas are devoted, respectively, to Adam, Noah, Joseph, Moses, David, Peter, Paul, and Jesus, and the following is the concluding stanza :

“ Hast thou as a workman wrought ?
Dost thou toil with hand or brain—
Wearing labor, wasting thought ?
Prayerful work is not in vain :
And since JESUS toiled and died
Labor has been glorified ! ”

A fine thought is well wrought out in “ The Church Tower and the Beech-Tree ” ;—only a glimpse of the tower can be seen, for it is concealed by the mass of living green foliage, and the many great outstretching boughs. The tree and the tower are made symbolical of the World obscuring Heaven :—gazing on the full-leaved tree, we forget the tower which we do not see ; but summer passes, storms come, winds strip the tree, and then, through the brown and sere branches, appear window and buttress, showing clearer every day, till no muffling leaves intervene, and the perfect tower is at length seen.

“ So when Earth's wingèd joys take flight,
And blessings wither from our sight,
And days are shorn of their delight :

When all Life's sheltering boughs are bare,
May we behold yon Temple fair
In strength and beauty standing there.

Welcome the storms which strip our bowers,
If we but see those golden towers,
And know, through Christ, that they are ours :

Let blasts of earthly care prevail,
Let earthly comforts fade and fail,
If Heaven shines through the shattered veil ! ”

Here is a fine "Harvest" picture, with "praise for plenty":

"We catch the pleasant ripple from fields of yellow grain,
 We see the loaded wagon come rumbling down the lane,
 The sound of happy voices from rural homes is heard,
 Blessing the God of harvest who keeps his plighted Word. . . .
 Is ours the plenteous harvest? Oh, let us spare a sheaf
 For those who pine with hunger, or sit in lonely grief:
 And is the spoil celestial in our possession found?
 Oh, let us share the treasure with all our brethren round.
 Has God given us abundance of earthly, heavenly Bread?
 He points us to the needy, desiring to be fed:
 And as our hands we open, He gives us more and more,
 And as our hoards we lessen, He multiplies our store!"

In a sonnet, entitled "David the Wanderer," after tracing the rough thorny paths by which the chosen youth was led for his good, Mr. Wilton writes:

"Thus in deep furrows of God's plow are sown
 The precious germs of fair, immortal graces;
 And still by arduous ways God leads His own
 To sit on starry thrones in heavenly places."

"The Journey to Emmaus" concludes thus:

"When our way is sad and lone
 And our comforts small and few,
 And the landmarks are not known,
 Or a mist obscures the view,—
 If our sky begins to clear,
 'Tis because the Lord draws near.
 And His presence we discern
 When our hearts within us burn!"

Mr. Wilton speaks of "Tennyson's country," for in the far distance, across the Humber, from his rectory he sees the "Lincolnshire Wolds," and he also, in this connection, makes a kindly allusion to the laureate's brother, the Rev. Charles (Tennyson) Turner, who is one of our very purest and sweetest living poets. Many of these charming poems of Mr. Wilton's, truly named "Wood-notes and Church-bells," "sweet and gracious"—

"Voices of earth and heaven to soothe our way.
 In days of sunshine, or of cloud and rain,"

have been set to music by the Rev. Sir F. Gore Quseley, Bart., Musical Professor, Oxford; and the "Hymn to the Holy Spirit," (on p. 202) is set to music by Dr. Stainer of St. Paul's Cathedral. Mr. Wilton's muse is ever reverent, loving, humane, kindly, and observant. May

his "winged thoughts" carry many a bright message of comfort and blessing to the sad and weary, and ever

"In shady places be a gleam of light!"

In consideration of his great love for birds, we close this notice with a sonnet which brings the sweet summer time into the heart of winter, and which, like Bryant's poem to the "Waterfowl" is, in itself, a true note of helpful comfort and cheer:

THE SWALLOWS.

"Peaceful across the level lawn they glide,
O'er latticed shadows of the Summer trees,
Weaving short flights all day with careless ease,
As if forever destined to abide
In this green nook. No thought of regions wide
Which they must traverse soon, of boisterous breeze,
Or league on league of far-resounding seas,
'Neath purple wing and snowy breast they hide.
Enough for them that now the skies are blue,
And food sufficient fills the humming air;
Of darker days they take no forward view:
Oh, that their happy wisdom we could share,
And leave to-morrow to His faithful word,
Who tells the flittings both of man and bird!"

ASSYRIAN DISCOVERIES.

An Account of Explorations and Discoveries on the site of Nineveh, during 1873 and 1874. By George Smith, of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum. With Illustrations. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co.

LESS than a generation ago, the great collection of inscriptions which had been unearthed by explorers in the valley of the Euphrates, was generally regarded as setting before us an insoluble problem. Here were vast volumes of records, laboriously traced by human hands for the sole purpose of conveying to remote ages a knowledge of the deeds and life of kings and nations. But for seventy generations or more they had lain in broken heaps of ruin; every trace of the proud civilization that produced them had perished; the very names of the monarchs who sought immortality through them, and of the gods they served, were forgotten; and the language in which they expressed

their triumphs and passions had long passed forever from human lips, before the "books" of their history came to light. It must surely be reckoned among the highest achievements of intellect that these monuments have been satisfactorily deciphered; the buried language has been reconstructed, and now has its place among its kindred dialects accurately determined, its forms and rules set forth in published dictionaries and grammars, and the records expressed in it accepted as authorities for a new but large section of the history of the world. The most skeptical must now admit that, in the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria, we possess contemporary testimony to the leading facts of the history of Western Asia for a period nearly as long as the entire Christian Era; and that they are to-day our best authority for the chronology of the world during at least a thousand years. Mr. Fox Talbot can hardly be accused of exaggeration, in saying, as he recently did, before the Society of Biblical Archæology, of the reading by various scholars of these texts, "I think that when the subject is easy, and the text of the tablet in good preservation, there is almost as much concordance as would be found between two translators of a passage in Herodotus."

Mr. George Smith is well known to be unsurpassed in his familiar acquaintance with this revived language, and with its records. He has spent seven years in the study of them in the British Museum, reaching results of the highest value. No more suitable person could have been found to execute the commission of the London "Daily Telegraph," and to search the ruins at Nineveh for whatever further inscriptions might be found to supplement the collections of Layard. This work was carried out by him in 1873 and 1874, and the volume before us is a detailed record of his journeys and difficulties, with an account of the most important results of his researches.

Mr. Smith, as a traveler, has nothing remarkable to tell, nor is he, as a writer, capable of clothing his narrative with the charms which make some modern itineraries, even of Turkish lands, readable. He gives us no new information upon the present condition of the people or the government in Asia, and most readers will wish that about one-third of the book, made up of common-place extracts from his journal, had been omitted; or, better still, had been filled with a systematic commentary on the translated Assyrian texts, such as Mr. Smith, and hardly any other Orientalist, might have given us. Indeed, the time seems now to have come, when a scholarly account of the Assyrian history and civilization, as a whole, with a sketch of the steps by which the knowledge of them has been obtained, might

be given to the world ; such a book, in fact, is demanded by the intelligent general reader everywhere ; and it is disappointing to find, in the style and structure of Mr. Smith's "Discoveries," no ground for a hope that he will be able to produce it. With all his learning and ability, he seems to be devoid of the peculiar culture and skill essential to the successful book-maker.

The author, however, in his account of the cuneiform texts discovered by himself, is on ground which he has made altogether his own ; and the remarks which he appends, by way of comment on their meaning, are full of intelligence and suggestiveness. These texts are selected either from the inscriptions which have been discovered by Mr. Smith in his recent explorations, or from those which were before imperfectly known, and have now been completed or at least extended by him. Among the latter is the "Legend of the Flood," in its Assyrian version, exhibiting many points in common with the Scripture narrative. This is here given in a form much less fragmentary than ever before, and is carefully collated with the accounts in Genesis, and that in the fragments of Behistun. Still more important, historically, is the "cylinder" covered with the chronicles of Assurbanipal or Sardanapalus, a translation of which fills about sixty pages of the book, and gives "the official history of Assyria," from B. C. 671 to B. C. 645. In the inscriptions newly discovered by Mr. Smith there are several incidental confirmations of accounts given by the Hebrew Scriptures.

In the rapid progress of knowledge, much has already been learned concerning the religions of ancient Asia. Mr. Smith strangely remarks : "The value of the Assyrian and Babylonian mythology rests not only in its curiosity as the religious system of a great people, but on the fact that here we must look, if anywhere, for the origin and explanation of many of the obscure points in the mythology of Greece and Rome. It is evident that in every way the classical nations of antiquity borrowed far more from the valley of the Euphrates than that of the Nile, and Chaldæa, rather than Egypt, is the home even of the civilization of Europe." (p. 451.) A strange remark, we call this, because the connection of the Chaldæans with the Greeks, however instructive it may yet prove to be, sinks into insignificance before the intimate and unquestionable relation between the Babylonian systems of belief, and those of the later Jews, among whom Christianity itself took origin. It is a favorite speculation of some accomplished oriental scholars, that the Hebrews were destitute of any knowledge of a future life, until the captivity

of Babylon; and that, during their exile, they acquired this doctrine from their captors. Without adopting this view, we must at least admit that the ancient Assyrians entertained clear convictions on this subject at an earlier period than the Jews themselves; and that the habits of thought of the chosen people may have been powerfully influenced by contact with the lofty mythology which prevailed by the rivers of Babylon. On this question, the importance of which does not seem to have attracted Mr. Smith's attention, further information will be eagerly hoped for as the inscriptions are more carefully examined.

THE LAST JOURNALS OF DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

The Last Journals of David Livingstone in Central Africa. From 1865 to his Death. Continued by a Narrative of his last Moments and Sufferings, obtained from his faithful Servants, Chuma and Susi. By Horace Waller, F. R. G. S., Rector of Twyvell, Northampton. With Portrait, Maps, and Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers.

THE nineteenth century has often been stigmatized as the era of economists and speculators, as an age in which the moral glories of heroism and chivalry have become dim traditions. Twenty years ago, indeed, the world of letters had no more favorite theme on which to indulge in melancholy reflection than "the long, long canker of peace," during which economical motives had supplanted knightly honor and generous valor throughout Christendom. But days of trial have since then come to test the manhood of the industrial nations, both of Europe and of America; and have fully proved that the very virtues which shine most brightly in war, are best and most surely developed in peace; that the most heroic school of life is to be sought, not in the "Dark Ages" of history, but in the broad light of Christian civilization. Indeed, the proof of this lies less in the recent records of war—though these, at home and abroad, are as full of noble deeds as the pages of Homer or Livy—than in the stories which come before us daily, of services rendered to mankind by peaceful teachers of truth. Of old, the only hero was the warrior; the valor or *worth* of the man was his effectiveness in the ranks of battle; but now the world is learning, not only that it is better to save life than to kill; but that the noble qualities demanded for the work of saving, are the same which always won men's rever-

ence, even when engaged in destruction, but elevated and transfigured by their better employment. In short, the Christian principle, that heroism means self-sacrifice, enters into the life of our age, as into that of no former era in history. Thus, it is the missionary work that gives character to the Christian Church of our generation, and will make this forever memorable as, more truly than the days of Constantine or of Tancred, the heroic age of Christianity. It is the same spirit which, even when unrecognized by its own prophets, has filled the contemporary annals of science with a zeal for truth that daily costs the world, or rather enriches it, with new martyrs. But in our day, the work of the investigator who devotes himself to the discovery of new truth, and that of the teacher or missionary who diffuses the truth already learned, to deliver men from ignorance, are commonly separated; and they whose chief care lies in either, are too often unable to appreciate the noblest services of the other class. If the noble devotion to truth which glorifies the lives of Faraday and Darwin is too little honored among the churches, the genuine heroism of Judson and Moffatt, has been far too lightly esteemed by the world of science. It remains for the future to unite in cherishing the memory of them all, above that of Hector or Epaminondas, of Camillus or Brutus.

But the volume before us contains the memorials of a true hero of our own age, whose peculiar fortune it is to represent that which both classes held in highest honor. Dr. Livingstone's whole life was that of a zealous Christian missionary. His supreme inspiration was his love for the souls of men; which, however degraded, he viewed as redeemed and immortal. To save them, by communicating to them the truth in which he trusted, was the one object of his labors, and to this he gave himself without reserve. On the other hand, Dr. Livingstone is best known as an explorer, a servant and martyr of science. From the first, he took broad views of his work. He clearly saw that one man could act immediately on the minds and hearts of but few savages, and then but slowly; that the direct labors of a single missionary life must be as nothing before that redemption of a continent which he burned to accomplish. But the first condition of the great change was to open this continent to Christendom; to make it known to the world; to break paths by which all the influences of civilization and truth might find access to it; and, above all, to expose before men the infamous trade in men, which is a greater curse to Africa than its malaria, and to arouse a philanthropic public opinion which will compel the nations to suppress it. It was this enlarge-

ment of his aim as a missionary that made Livingstone a great explorer and geographer. The foundation of his scientific zeal was laid in his Christian charity; and the satisfaction he finds in his own contributions to knowledge lies wholly in the hope that they will prepare the way for the truth which he believes able to save. It is not surprising that, with this superior motive actuating his labors, the humble missionary, when brought face to face with the great geographical problems which had kindled scientific ambition for centuries, surpassed, in steadfast perseverance and in brilliant achievements, all the generations of explorers who preceded him.

The work before us, containing Dr. Livingstone's own record of the last eight years of his life, is already so widely known to the public that it would be superfluous to give an outline of the story. There are few journals in civilized lands which have not borrowed from its pages, of deeper interest than the news of dull days; especially in the tragic account of Livingstone's last long struggle with disease and privation, and in the moving narrative of the almost superhuman labors of his devoted African followers, to bring his body to his friends, and to preserve his papers, which they could not understand, because he had valued them. We can only call the attention of readers who may have supposed that such extracts are all they need examine, to the loss they will sustain by failing to read the book at length. All students of the geography of Africa are, of course, diligently comparing it with whatever is known from other sources, and thus rectifying and extending their knowledge of that vast and mysterious continent. In ethnology, too, and even in geology and natural history, details of importance will be found recorded here. But it is not in all these together that the chief value of Livingstone's journals lies. It is in the full picture it affords of a grand, heroic character, struggling under contradictions of no common order to accomplish an unselfish and magnificent purpose; and falling under his burden while victory was as yet only made certain by his own unshaken faith. The reader will learn much of African lakes and rivers; much of lions and elephants, of the driver-ant and the tsetse-fly; stirring adventures are not wanting, and of lively descriptions of the manners and life of strange savages the book is full; but the best of it is that it awakens and sustains, throughout, the lively sympathy of every reader with a heart and mind steadily fixed on doing service to humanity, and humbly devoting every power to this work. The faith of Livingstone in the humanity of the most degraded races, and in their capacity for elevation, never wavered, even

before their persistent misunderstanding and maltreatment of himself ; and his love and hope for them seems to have grown continually, in spite of his continual experience of injustice at their hands. Great as is the work he accomplished for science, and which has placed his name in the highest rank of the great explorers ; great as is the service he has done to Central Africa, by opening the way for civilization to its nations, and by bringing the scorn of mankind upon the Mohammedan slave dealers who are their greatest bane, we can not but declare that his greatest achievement is his life, as the expression of a personal character which can not fail to stimulate true heroism and to strengthen man's halting faith in man, wherever it is read and known.

TROY AND ITS REMAINS.

A Narrative of Researches and Discoveries made on the Site of Ilium, and in the Trojan Plain. By Dr. Henry Schliemann. Translated with the Author's Sanction. Edited by Philip Smith, B. A. With Maps, Plans, Views, etc. London : J. Murray ; New York : Scribner & Co.

PROBABLY no publication of the present day is more noteworthy than this volume of Dr. Schliemann's. As a record of patient, untiring industry, determined grappling with difficulties, and unconquerable enthusiasm, it is unsurpassed in the annals of literature ; and whatever may be the ultimate decision of the learned world upon the value and importance of his discoveries and researches, the story told by him can never lose its interest.

It is curious and instructive, both, this popular faith in the actual existence of Homer's heroes on the plain of Troy. It is no less so, to mark with what tenacity of life the blind old bard himself stands out before us on the historic page. For ages, men entertained no doubt whatever on the subject, and both Troy and the Iliad were real, substantial facts to the ancients as well as to a larger part of those who came after them in later times. The historic verity of the Trojan war was recognized, and the struggle—made immortal to us through Homer's poetry—between two portions of the Aryan race, was accepted as certain and undeniable. And it must be admitted, we think, that, however deficient the ancients were in what is known in modern days as the science of historical criticism, they were abundantly competent witnesses as to the matter of fact that there were such and such tra-

ditions in existence, and held to be reliable from age to age. But Homer's work, like all other great productions of the kind, has had to pass through the fire of criticism, and the fiercest assaults have been made, and the most plausible reasons urged by critics in these latter days, so as to show that there never was any Homer at all, and that not only is he a myth, but the whole Trojan story is little better than so much "moonshine." It is, however, worthy of note that skepticism in this case has not led to the rejection or abolition of Homer, as being a real personality, and the greatest of the ancient poets of whom we have any knowledge; but rather to the strengthening of the traditionary faith; and we venture to assert, without fear of contradiction by any competent authority, that the great majority of scholars and critics are satisfied that the ancients were right, and that the ordinary tradition in regard to Homer and Homer's great work is reliable in all its essential features.

But, even supposing that Homer and his poetry are given up, as being mere windy myths, there is still another question which can not so easily be set aside, viz., that as to the locality of Ilium or Troy—if there ever was any such place. A great many volumes and dissertations have been written on both sides of this question, and much learned criticism has been bestowed upon this disputed point. Plainly, however, the difficulty was not to be solved in this way, and books might have continued to be written for centuries without arriving at any definite conclusion. Dr. Schliemann has taken the only proper mode of reaching a solution, and he has certainly proved this much at least, by the most effectual of all processes, that there were towns or cities on the legendary site, and that these towns or cities are situated relatively each to the other as the necessities of the traditionary story demand. To all intents and purposes, Dr. Schliemann has proved that there was, somewhere back in olden time, a fierce and long-continued struggle between two branches of the same race, on the plains of Troy. If any one feels disposed to reject the names used by Homer, and is inclined to join in the ridicule heaped upon the explorer for adopting these names in his work, we commend to his perusal the rather sharp reply of Schliemann himself, quoted by Mr. Smith, from the Academy: "I identify," he says, "with the Homeric Ilium, the city second in succession from the virgin soil, because only in that city were used the Great Tower, the great Circuit Wall, the Great Double Gate, and the ancient palace of the chief or king, whom I call Priam, because he is so called by the tradition of which Homer is the echo; but as soon as it is proved that Homer

and the tradition were wrong, and that Troy's last king was called 'Smith,' I shall at once call him so."

Into the details of Schliemann's daily labors we need not here enter. Every reader, who is at all interested in the subject, will of course go to the volume itself, and will find that he is well repaid in so doing. No review, however elaborate, could do justice to this work, in any such wise as to lead to the dispensing with actual examination of the narrative of the energetic explorer, especially since, in order to the due appreciation of what he has done, there is need, on the part of the student, of a careful study of the maps, plans, views, and cuts, representing some five hundred objects of antiquity discovered on the site of Troy. One thing we may mention in this connection, and that is, that Dr. Schliemann is peculiarly happy in having so intelligent, well-read, and sympathetic an editor as Mr. Philip Smith, a gentleman who has already made his own mark in the field of history and archæology. Mr. Smith has done every thing that became his position, and has added materially to the interest and value of the work by his well-timed preface, his learned and judicious notes throughout the volume, and his very appropriate appendix on the inscriptions found at Hissarlik.

In conclusion, we may briefly sum up the results. Dr. Schliemann has certainly accomplished a great work in having settled for all future time the vexed question of the exact locality of ancient Troy. His excavations among the ruins are of the deepest importance to the historian and student of ethnology, not only in the vast variety of objects brought to light and the numerous inscriptions yet to be deciphered and fully explained, but also in the unearthing that very curious collection which Schliemann calls "the king's treasure"; "this treasure of the supposed mythical king Priam, of the mythical heroic age, which I discovered at a great depth in the ruins of the supposed mythical Troy, is at all events a discovery which stands alone in archæology, revealing great wealth, great civilization, and a great taste for art, in an age preceding the discovery of bronze, when weapons and implements of pure copper were employed contemporaneously with enormous quantities of stone weapons and implements. This treasure further leaves no doubt that Homer must have actually seen gold and silver articles, such as he continually describes; it is, in every respect, of inestimable value to science, and will for centuries remain the object of careful investigation." It is in the supply of material for further investigation into the spread of Aryan civilization, that the labors of Dr. Schliemann are so especially valuable.

Matters of opinion (markedly those which involve the Homeric question) are less certain: they are in great measure open as yet, and critics and scholars will probably quarrel over the meaning of certain Greek words and nice points of interpretation for a long time to come. From the necessity of the case, a great deal is, and must be for a considerable period, tentative and unsettled. It would be as illogical as unwise to pronounce positively upon various points yet *in lite*; but, making every allowance for the severity of criticism, and the changes and modifications which further light will throw upon the whole matter, it must be admitted that Schliemann has presented a strong case. He has rendered the world of letters an incalculable service; and we may look for further investigation and research, as well on the part of the learned author himself as on that of his fellow-laborers in this field, with confident hopes of real tangible results which shall prove to be of undoubted permanent worth.

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CHARLES (TENNYSON) TURNER.*

NEARLY fifty years ago, there appeared a small first volume of poems by two brothers—Charles and Alfred Tennyson. Wordsworth then thought Charles the greater poet of the two. Alfred afterward gave himself entirely to the muses; Charles devoted himself to the care of his rural parish and the faithful discharge of pastoral duty.

Charles Tennyson (Turner) was born at Somersby, in Lincolnshire, July 4, 1808. George Clayton Tennyson, his father, was rector of Somersby, etc., and himself a poet, although he did not publish any thing. He married Elizabeth Ffytche, the daughter of the vicar of Louth. He took a great part in the education of his sons. The eldest surviving son, Frederick, is a poet, and published "Days and Hours," and has written many beautiful poems. Charles, our author, is the second surviving son; and Alfred—the poet-laureate—is the third.

These three brothers were at Trinity College, Cambridge, where Frederick and Alfred obtained prizes; Charles, the Bells scholarship. Before going to college, when they were yet in their teens, Charles and Alfred published a small volume of poems together—that to which we have alluded.

At Cambridge they became acquainted with Arthur Hallam, who was afterward engaged to their sister Emily. It was the early loss

* I. SONNETS. By the Rev. Charles Turner, Vicar of Grasby, Lincoln. London and Cambridge: Macmillan & Co., pp. 112. 1864.

II. SMALL TABLEAUX. By the Rev. Charles Turner, Vicar of Grasby, Lincoln. London: Macmillan & Co., pp. 122. 1868.

III. SONNETS, LYRICS, AND TRANSLATIONS. By the Rev. Charles Turner, Vicar of Grasby, Lincolnshire. London: Henry S. King & Co., 65 Cornhill and 12 Paternoster Row, pp. 108. 1873.

of this friend, to whom he was tenderly attached, that moved Alfred to write "In Memoriam." It was when Charles was at Cambridge, that a friend and fellow-collegian, John Frere, by showing him some original sonnets, called his attention to the particular form of poetry to which he has remained constant ever since. Charles Tennyson published his first volume of sonnets soon after, while he was yet at college. A copy of this volume was shown to Coleridge, who made some very favorable notes on it. Unfortunately, Coleridge was prevented from carrying out his intention of writing a commentary on each sonnet and lyric in the volume. Leigh Hunt also reviewed it favorably, together with his brother Alfred's first volume, which was published at the same time. Charles Tennyson changed his name to Turner, in obedience to the wish of his great-uncle. He took holy orders, and, after being curate for some time, in 1836 took possession of his little living of Grasby in Lincolnshire.

He and his brother Alfred married two sisters, daughters of Henry Sellwood, Esquire, who married Sarah, sister of Sir John Franklin, the arctic explorer.

Charles did not again publish until 1864 (although he occasionally wrote), when his second book of "Sonnets" came out. That was followed, in 1868, by "Small Tableaux," which were also sonnets; and, in 1873, by his last volume, "Sonnets, Lyrics, and Translations." The recent volumes also embody a number of his earlier sonnets revised, and it is of these three latest volumes we would now speak; or, rather, we would introduce, and leave them to speak to the reader for themselves.

The broader, wider, and grander genius of Alfred—the poet-laureate—has made room for itself in the world. It is the larger gem; but in Turner's "sonnet-muse"—sweet, retiring, pure, penetrating, and radiant, with the light that never was on land or sea—the genius is as true, and of purer water. He adds consecration to the "crown of art," presenting us with

"Fair Athens and divine Jerusalem;"

and he ever reads both Nature and Life as viewed in the light of Revelation. Turner well describes "In Memoriam" as

"That Book of memory
Which is to grieving hearts like the sweet South
To the parched meadow, or the dying tree;
Which fills with elegy the craving mouth
Of sorrow—slakes with song the piteous drouth,
And leaves her calm, though weeping silently!"

In it, Tennyson truly and sweetly alludes to his brother Charles, as a "noble heart" holding the "costliest love in fee"; molded together with him "in nature's mint"; adding:

"And hill and wood and field did print
The same sweet forms in either mind.

For us the same cold streamlet curled
Through all his eddying caves; the same
All winds that roam the twilight came
In whispers of the beauteous world.

*At one dear knee we proffer'd vows,
One lesson from one Book we learn'd,
Ere childhood's flaxen ringlet turn'd
To black and brown on kindred brows."*

What a beautiful picture we have here of childhood, with the happy home influences and surroundings of an English parsonage—good, varied, and genial influences which are everywhere apparent in Mr. Turner's sonnets.

To an ever-widening circle of thoughtful, appreciative, and loving readers, these volumes are already known, as pure living well-springs of calm delight. Nature under its varied features, and humanity, in its many phases, have been long and carefully studied by him; there is always an open-air freshness, sweetness, naïveté, and repose, about his verse; while, for refined thought, condensation, and perfect art-finish, nothing could be more exquisite.

Strong in the dignity of repose and quiet wisdom, many of his sonnets, "so still, so calm, so purely beautiful," bright with heaven's pure light and gently heaving with the ground-swell of humanity, like Milton's

"Birds of calm, sit brooding on the charmed wave."

or, viewed in another aspect, like graceful white water-lilies, rocking on the ripple of the lake, they are securely anchored "within the veil" and rooted in that "which can not be shaken."

An "observant eye" is very characteristically his: he himself truly and beautifully says:

"On nature's book
I love to pore, and mark what soars on high,
Or lurks in by-paths for *the observant eye*";

and, whatever object or incident Mr. Turner thus sees, he happily makes his own, and uses it for the illustration of some deep spirit truth; for teaching lessons of patience; for bringing comfort or heart-

cheer to the sad; and ever for the inculcation of kindliness to all. God's dumb creatures, birds, and even insects, all, in a very marked degree, share our poet's sympathies.

How touchingly he enters into the sorrows of childhood, while forecasting deeper griefs in

MINNIE AND HER DOVE.

"Two days she missed her dove, and then, alas!
 A knot of soft gray feathers met her view,
 So light, their stirring hardly broke the dew
 That hung on the blue violets and the grass;
 A kite had struck her fondling as he passed;
 And o'er that fleeting, downy epitaph
 The poor child lingered, weeping; her gay laugh
 Was mute that day, her little heart o'ercast.
 Ah! Minnie, if thou livest, thou wilt prove
 Intenser pangs—less tearful, though less brief;
 Thou'lt weep for dearer death and sweeter love,
 And spiritual woe, of woes the chief,
 Until the full-grown wings of human grief
 Eclipse the memory of the kite and dove."

He warns a child against the cruelty of "Bird-Nesting," hoping that he will not follow the bad example of others,

"for hark! the boys
 Are peering through the hedge-rows and the grove,
 And ply their cruel sport with mirth and noise;"

pleasantly portraying the future, when a secret spell shall bring the little birds, that have owed their lives to his youthful pity, about the tree, to sing sweetly to him,

"When these blue eggs are linnets' throats and wings."

Mr. Turner's sympathies are always alive to suffering, whether it be human, or, as we have seen, that of the lower animals. He writes of

THE CATTLE-TRAIN. PENMAENMAWR.

"All light or transient gloom—no hint of storm—
 White wreaths of foam, born in blue waters, broke
 Among the mountain shadows; all bespoke
 A summer's day on Mona and the Orme.
 My open window overlook'd the rails,
 When, suddenly, a cattle-train went by,
 Rapt, in a moment, from my pitying eye,
 As from their lowing mates in Irish vales;

Close pack'd and mute they stood, as close as bees,
 Bewilder'd with their fright and narrow room ;
 'Twas sad to see that meek-eyed hecatomb,
 So fiercely hurried past our summer seas,
 Our happy bathers, and our fresh sea-breeze,
 And hills of blooming heather, to their doom."

How perfectly the following *simile* is wrought out :

IN AND OUT OF THE PINE-WOOD.

"Beyond the pine-wood all looked bright and clear—
 And, ever by our side, as on we drove,
 The star of eve ran glimpsing through the grove,
 To meet us in the open atmosphere ;
 As some fair thought of heavenly light and force,
 Will move and flash behind a transient screen
 Of dim expression, glittering in its course
 Through many loopholes, till its face is seen ;
 Some thoughts ne'er pass beyond their close confines ;
 Theirs is the little taper's homely lot,
 A woodside glimmer, distanced and forgot—
 Whose trivial gleam, that twinkles more than shines,
 Is left behind to die among the pines ;
 Our stars are carried out, and vanish not !"

What a touching reminiscence of our "Mary,"

"With Death's disastrous rose upon her cheek" ;

he had often watched her, "pale and meek," "pacing the sward" of the gorge, by which "on each less genial morn" she "passed to gain her sheltered lawn." "She died in June" and now he seeks

"The track, by those slow pausing footsteps worn,
 How faintly worn ! though trodden week by week."

When (continuing the subject in the next sonnet), he seeks "the chamber where she dwelt," seeing the "one loved chair," he adds :

"The match-box and the manual, lying there,
 Those sad sweet signs of wakefulness and prayer,
 Are darling tokens of the Past to me ;"

and what a delicately truthful modern pre-Raphaelite touch is that, where the lighting of a wax vesta wakes the bird :

"The little rasping sound of taper lit
 At midnight, which aroused her slumbering bird."

In "Ellen, or First Love and Death," how sweet and perfect is the parallelism between

"The meadow sweet and wild rose dew-besprent,
And her pure words of troth!"

Flower-like she drooped and passed away: weary and "weeping for his promised bride," her lover "treads the sodden grass" at twilight:

"The wind blows cold; the corn has long been cut;
And, three moons since, his plighted Ellen died!
But lo! that glimmer in the watery rut!
It is a star—in Heaven, yet by his side."

How kind of our Heavenly Father to let even the watery ruts of our rough and weary way, at times, thus mirror the blue sky and the stars!

"Lucy" waxed even fairer as "she grew to woman": the sweet picture is Wordsworthian; we would call especial attention to the fine trait recorded of her in the last three lines:

"Not a girl
In all the village bore her gracious look:
But each her dear pre-eminence could brook,
Nor wished a duller gloss on the least curl
Of her bright auburn hair. Love came to woo
In humblest guise, yet no coquettish guile
Depraved the honest beauty of her smile;
Her goodness raised and bettered those who drew
The lot of the rejected, for they knew
Her utter truth and sweetness all the while!"

In the sonnet "Charlotte Corday," Mr. Turner, speaking of the maiden's hand, blood-stained from dreaming of "her country's good," as

"The very symbol of th' unnatural time
When Norman Charlotte dared her noble crime,"

heightens the effect by contrasting her womanhood with her childhood—looking back to the time when it was

"A *child's* small hand, lost in her father's—twined
In springtide round the stems of earliest flowers,
Which she had found in fields and orchard-bowers
With earnest eyes, that best deserve to find."

Of "Morning Sorrows" and the uses of adversity, regret, and anguish, designed by a wise Providence for supplying "our moral need," he thus writes:

"Who escapes, or can escape
The burthen, while the great world sins and mourns?
Grief comes to all, whatever be her shape

To each, but we are framed with pain to cope ;
And, when we bow, we help our climbing hope."

What a depth of feeling is expressed in

THE AFTERNOTE OF THE HOUR.

"The hour had struck, but still the air was filled
With the long sequence of that mighty tone ;
A wild Æolian afternote, that thrill'd
My spirit, as I kiss'd that dear headstone ;
A voice that seemed through all the Past to go—
From the bell's mouth the lonely cadence swept,
Like the faint cry of unassisted woe,
Till, in my profitless despair, I wept ;
My hope seemed wreck'd ! but soon I ceased to mourn ;
A nobler meaning in that voice I found,
Whose scope lay far beyond that burial-ground ;
'Twas grief, but grief to distant glory bound !
Faith took the helm of that sweet wandering sound,
And turn'd it heavenward to its proper bourne."

In the same direction, what strength of consolation he here brings to the sad, especially to those who are plunged deep in sorrow's sunless sea :

HOPE BENEATH THE WATERS.

" 'I can not mount to heaven beneath this ban :
Can Christian hope survive so far below
The level of the happiness of man ?
Can angels' wings in these dark waters grow ?'
A spirit voice replied, ' From bearing right
Our sorest burthens, comes fresh strength to bear ;
And so we rise again toward the light,
And quit the sunless depths for upper air :
Meek patience is as diver's breath to all
Who sink in sorrow's sea, and many a ray
Comes gleaming downward from the source of day,
To guide us reascending from our fall ;
The rocks have bruised thee sore, but angels' wings
Grow best from bruises, hope from anguish springs."

In "A Night Thought," he thus beautifully addresses a "snowy star" :

"Thou fill'st my cup of tears with silver light
And lusters of regret serene and pale."

This is the very poetry of sad retrospection ; refined, exquisitely tender, and pure.

The many subtle curious felicities of expression—"Jewels five words long"—which abound in these sonnets, are quite Tennysonian, as might be expected of brothers "molded like" and "one in kind." They are not, however, in any sense imitations, but by birth-right his own; for he is the older poet of the two.

Every one in reading these volumes will be struck with at least four very characteristic traits of Mr. Turner's mind, viz., his wide, genial, and delicately tender *human sympathies*; his great *love for little children*; his *consideration for the lower animals*; and his deep loving *delight in nature*, under her ever-changing and varied manifestations. How tenderly he describes a dying orphan girl, whose couch has been taken out into the open warm summer air. Her likening of the star, looking at her and brightening through the whispering firs, to a mother's watchful eye—especially under the circumstances—is very beautiful:

THE SICK ORPHAN.

" 'Twas at the close of a warm summer's day,
We spread our orphan's couch in the sweet air;
And she was happy as the healthiest there;
While, with each changing posture, as she lay,
A star, that lurk'd within the whispering firs,
Look'd forth upon her, glistening tenderly;
'How like,' she said, 'a mother's watchful eye,
That wakes and brightens, when her infant stirs!'
She lov'd God's world, that maiden meek and mild;
She challeng'd kith and kin on every hand,
Like Francis of Assisi—that dear child
Spoke sisterly of flowers and song-birds wild;
Till every listener lost his self-command,
And o'er her dying love-notes wept and smiled."

In "The Half Rainbow," we have "groups of autumn flowers" "all ablaze"; the hollyhock and scarlet crane's-bill burning like fires—the distance "blocked with haze";

"Then came a brightness over rick and roof;
He gladdened, as *the running sunshine laughed*
Its way from sheaf to sheaf, while, high aloof,
The rainbow lingered in one glorious shaft;"

then, in that light of promise, the lover appealed "to her who was his heart's best hope";

"She heard
The tender suit his trembling lips preferred,
And in imperfect words her love revealed;

Her faltering accents gave a pledge divine,
Like Heaven's half-bow, a true tho' broken sign."

By "The Parting Gate" the lovers had "lingered long and late," "in that old beech-walk." "Harsh was the clang of the last homeward gate that latched itself behind them, as they passed—then kissed and parted."

"Soon her funeral knell
Tolled from a foreign clime; he did not talk
Nor weep, but shuddered at that stern farewell;
'Twas the last gate in all their lovers' walk
Without the kiss beyond it! Was it good
To leave him thus, alone with his sad mood,
In that dear foot-path, haunted by her smile?
Where they had laughed and loitered, sat and stood?
Alone in life! alone in Moreham wood!
Through all that sweet, forsaken, forest-mile!"

The spirit of the whole sonnet is concentrated in the one word "alone"; and how exquisite, in the closing line, is his use of the word "forsaken!" Alone in life—alone everywhere—here, of all places, loneliness almost makes itself a home in that "sweet forsaken forest-mile!"

"The School Boy's Dream on the Night before the Holidays" is admirable, and almost makes one young again:

"'Twas the half-year's last day, a festal one;
Light tasks and feast and sport, hoop, cricket, kite,
Employed us fully, till the summer night
Stole o'er the roofs of happy Alderton.
Homer in-doors, and field-games out of school,
Made medley of my dreams; for, when I slept,
The quaintest vision o'er my fancy swept,
That ever served the lordship of misrule:
Our hoops through gods and heroes ran a-muck;
Our kites o'erhung the fleet, a public gaze!
And one wild ball the great Achilles struck—
Oh! how he towered and lightened at the stroke!
But, tho' his formal pardon I bespoke,
I told him plainly 'twas our holidays."

"Eustace and Edith, or The old Rocking-Horse," is natural, simple, and touching—a true glimpse into the far-East of Memory. Both now mount living steeds. Edith, lady-grown, as she stands in the hall leans her dainty whip across its smooth-worn flank, feels it dip beneath the pressure, while she dons a shoe or lifts a glove and thinks

“ ‘ My childhood’s gone ! ’

While the young statesman, with high hopes possess,
Lays a light hand upon thy yielding crest,
And rocks thee vacantly and passes on.
Yet they both love thee—nor would either brook
Thine absence from this hall, tho’ other aims
And interests have supplanted thy mute claims,
And thou must be content with casual look
From those, who sought thee once with earnest will,
And galloped thee with all their might and skill.”

For “ A Little Child who asked a Laurel Crown ” he purposes to braid “ a gayer coronal ” when summer comes to match her “ merry mien ” :

“ Woodbine and jessamine shall then inclose
Thy fair young head, well woven with choicest art ;
And many a sprig of verdure interpose,
And pinks and rich carnations bear their part,
White lilies, and the hollow balmy rose,
And pansy, with the day-spring at her heart.”

In the next sonnet apostrophizing this same child—“ little Katie ” —how quaintly beautiful is the simile he uses,

“ The *fairy-land* of thy sweet face ! ”

Our poet ranges earth, sea, and sky, firmly believing

“ ‘Tis God’s own truth that all things near and far
Were made for *eyes* to see, and *hearts* to read.”

Waking in the Vicarage, on a March morning, he writes :

“ Yon happy blackbird’s notes the rushing wind
Quells not, nor disconcerts his golden tongue,
That breaks my morning dream with well-known song.”

He dreams that he “ stood upon a strand,” and Indian

“ seas come washing to the shore
In sheets of glimmering ripples, wide and fair ” ;

and writing of “ An Annular Eclipse of the Sun,” he quaintly says,

“ To-morrow is the great Eclipse, we said :
The moon shall be an island in the sun ! ”

What a fine fresh picture of the dawn he gives us, in connection with nature’s recuperative influence on the overwrought brain in the

RESUSCITATION OF FANCY.

"The edge of thought was blunted by the stress
 Of the hard world; my fancy had wax'd dull,
 All nature seemed less nobly beautiful,—
 Robbed of her grandeur and her loveliness;
 Methought the Muse within my heart had died,
 Till, late, awakened at the break of day,
 Just as the East took fire and doff'd its gray,
 The rich preparatives of light I spied;
 But one sole star—none other anywhere—
 A wild-rose odor from the fields was borne;
 The lark's mysterious joy filled earth and air,
 And from the wind's top met the hunter's horn;
 The aspen trembled wildly, and the morn
 Breath'd up in rosy clouds, divinely fair!"

Observe his many happy epithets, and the rich cumulative "preparatives of light!"—day breaks, as the East takes fire, and doffs its gray—there is only one star; we have the odor, too, of the wild rose; the lark's mysterious joy; while the breeze at sunrise is indicated by the aspen trembling wildly, and the *breath* of morn coming up "in rosy clouds divinely fair!"

Here is a very perfect rendering of an English

SUMMER TWILIGHT.

"It is a summer twilight, balmy-sweet,
 A twilight brightened by an infant moon,
 Fraught with the fairest light of middle June;
 The lonely garden echoes to my feet,
 And hark!—O hear I not the gentle dews,
 Fretting the silent forest in his sleep?
 Or does the stir of housing insects creep
 Thus faintly on mine ear? Day's many hues
 Waned with the paling light and are no more,
 And none but reptile pinions beat the air:
 The bat is hunting softly by my door,
 And, noiseless as the snow-flake, leaves his lair;
 O'er the still copses flitting here and there,
 Wheeling the self-same circuit o'er and o'er."

In Mr. Turner's sonnet "To the Nightingale," he represents moonlight laying out the lawn in mighty shadows—western skies kept awake to see the sun arise—and the lonely lover dreaming that "the pure notes," of the bird's "songs unseen," are sad:

"O honey-throated warbler of the grove!
 That in the glooming woodland art so proud
 Of answering thy sweet mates in soft or loud,
 Thou dost not own a note we do not love;
 The moon is o'er thee, laying out the lawn
 In mighty shadows—but the western skies
 Are kept awake, to see the sun arise,
 Though earth and heaven would fain put back the dawn!
 While, wandering for the dreams such seasons give,
 With lonely steps, and many a pause between,
 The lover listens to thy songs unseen;
 And if, at times, the pure notes seem to grieve,
 Why lo! he weeps himself, and must believe
 That sorrow is a part of what they mean!"

Here is depicted, accurately and lovingly, that period, in England, between winter and spring, when the white world, at the magic breath of the sweet south, melts round the snow-drops, in a day, and reveals their fair lonely beauty on the green earth:

THE THAW-WIND.

"Thro' the deep drifts the south wind breathed its way
 Down to the earth's green face; the air grew warm,
 The snow-drops had regain'd their lonely charm;
 The world had melted round them in a day:
 My full heart long'd for violets—the blue arch
 Of heaven—the blackbird's song—but Nature kept
 Her stately order—Vegetation slept—
 Nor could I force the unborn sweets of March
 Upon a winter's thaw. With eyes that brook'd
 A narrower prospect than my fancy crav'd,
 Upon the golden aconites I look'd,
 And on the leafless willows as they wav'd—
 And on the broad-leav'd, half-thawed ivy-tod,
 That glitter'd, dripping down upon the sod."

How finely, in the following sonnet, he illustrates the relative importance of things, with the difference between the seeming and the being; dealing with "results, both far and near," in order to teach us, shortsighted, erring mortals, a lesson of trust in HIM who "*knows*" all:

THE PLANET AND THE TREE.

"The evening breeze is blowing from the lea
 Upon the fluttering elm; thou hast a mind,
 O star! methinks, to settle in the tree—
 But, ever baffled by the pettish wind,

Thou movest back and forward, and I find
 A pastime for my thoughts in watching thee ;
 In thy vast orbit thou art rolling now,
 And wottest not how to my human eye
 Thou seemest flouted by a waving bough,
 Serving my fancy's needs right pleasantly ;
 Thou wottest not—but He who made thee knows
 Of all thy fair results both far and near,
 Of all thine earthly, all thine heavenly shows—
 The expression of thy beauty there and here."

Nothing, as we have seen, escapes Mr. Turner's keen observation ; and every fact or incident, to which he directs *eye* and *heart*, serves his "fancy's needs, right pleasantly," for extracting and inculcating fine lessons of faith, hope, and charity, for the use of humanity—whether in joy or sorrow. With wiser heart than Shelley, *he* also hears

"The winds, in the reeds and rushes ;
 The bees in the bells of thyme ;
 The birds on the myrtle bushes ;
 The cicalé, above, on the lime ;"

and he might say, too :

"I sang of the dancing stars,
 I sang of the dædal Earth ;
 And of Heaven, and the giant wars,
 And Love, and Death, and Birth."

To his "philosophic mind," however, the material Cosmos is as "the shadow of heaven," with its multitudinous outward harmonies, inner correspondences, and mysterious starry influences—aerial, tidal, and magnetic. He notes the many ceaseless interdependent changes, and that perpetual *becoming* of Nature, which oscillates within certain prescribed limits, inexorably fixed by benign law ; and he also reverently takes cognizance of "that eternal circle run by life," up through crystal, plant, and the lower animal creation, to man—with his high immortal destinies. Recognizing these links, and 'the comparative anatomy which pervades the universe—"no chaffinch but implies the cherubim"—he does not, however, rashly, as some do, mistake sequence for transmutation by evolution. Nor does he, perceiving harmonies, by any means ignore the mysterious existence of discords ; but, in faith and humility, he looks forward to that future when we ourselves shall *be* more, and *know* more—for their ultimate and perfect resolution.

In this world, "the adder hisses where the sweet birds sing," and many harsh jarring discords are found even in the same species. The

angels, alas! too often have cause to mourn and weep over "Man's inhumanity to man." Who, for instance, looking around, has not often contrasted the noble leonine aspect and bearing of

"A man with heart, head, hand,
Like some of the simple great ones gone
For ever and ever by,
Who can rule, and dare not lie,"

with the typical, low, pettifogging attorney? noting his sneaking, furtive, slouching, monkey gait, Chinese contour, spectacled protuding eyes, copper skin, and cunning, sinister expression; while his lank hair, moth-eaten moustache, and unwholesome, rakish *tout ensemble* at once suggest Darwin's "missing link"—approaching humanity, however, from the lower grade. The good, instinctively, shrink from such a creature; and Mr. Turner, execrating the character, touchingly represents a widow and her son, victimized and robbed, under the guise of law, by such a cruel crafty

"ROGUE":

"One who, the self-same morning, had decoyed.
The widow and her son with glozing talk,
At eve through springing pastures walked abroad,
And, after his poor sort, enjoyed his walk.
That night he dreamed: fresh flowers and April grass
Smothered his cruel pen; the white lamb kneeled
Upon his crafty parchments, signed and sealed
By victim hands; a babbling stream did pass
Sheer through those written wiles, till that base ink,
Which robbed the widow's mite, the orphan's dole,
Lost color. But that dream-begotten blink
Of damage waked at once his mammon-soul;
From his keen glance all vernal tokens shrink
While Fraud and Twilight watch the lying scroll."

A true artist, he everywhere evinces a correct eye, both in regard to form and color; so that many of his sonnets—both as to landscape and figures—read like vivid descriptions of pictures, which might have been painted by Holman Hunt, or Sir Noel Paton. Let the reader carefully read and study the following two sonnets, selected with an eye to form, color, grouping, composition, and general artistic effect; and he will not fail to understand what we desire to point out:

CALLED FROM BED; OR, LIZZIE AND KATE.

"With merry eyes against the golden west,
Two baby girls half-sat, and half-repos'd;
And prattled in the sunshine, ere they clos'd
That summer's eve in childhood's balmy rest;

But, hark ! their mother calls them from below,
 She bids them rise ! Right glad we were to see
 The twain, whose happy talk came down the stee,*
 Lizzie and Kate, with night-gear white as snow,
 And winsome looks. And when, with nod and smile,
 And kiss for each, we left the woodside cot,
 Upon the warm bright threshold for awhile
 They stood, as we look'd back upon the spot,
 Where crimson hollyhocks made contrast sweet
 With those white-darlings, and their naked feet."

Observe we have here, *evening* and the golden west, as a background for the sweet baby girls, with merry eyes, prattling in the sunshine of life's *morning*. Then "Lizzie and Kate, with night-gear white as snow, and winsome looks"; the kind pastor pauses, looking back at them standing on the warm bright threshold of the woodside cot, and he notes the rich color-contrast made by the green woods and fields, the crimson hollyhocks, and "those white darlings and their naked feet." The picture is perfect.

THE SEASIDE, IN AND OUT OF SEASON.

"In summer-time it was a paradise
 Of mountain, frith, and bay, and shining sand ;
 Our outward rowers sang toward the land,
 Followed by waving hands and happy cries :
 By the full flood the groups no longer roam ;
 And when at ebb, the glistening beach grows wide,
 No barefoot children race into the foam,
 But passive jellies wait the turn of tide.
 Like some forsaken lover, lingering there,
 The boatman stands ; the maidens trip no more
 With loosen'd locks ; far from the billows' roar
 The Mauds and Maries knot their tresses fair,
 Where not a foam-flake from th' enamor'd shore
 Comes down the sea-wind on the golden hair."

What a representation of sea-side joy in the summer time ! Bare-foot children race into the foam ; the boatman—idle, listless, forsaken—lingers about the shore ; and nothing could be more exquisite than the reproduction, in all its delicate purity, freshness, and sweet association, of that "foam-flake" coming down the sea-wind, and lightly resting on the golden hair of his sweet bewitching Mauds or Maries. It is "the one last touch—the crown of art" to his marine picture.

* Provincial for *ladder*. Here, it is the ladder up to the cottagers' bedroom.

He presents many choice *living* photographs of harvest scenes, rural life, and of Autumn. Let the reader now try to realize them for himself, gazing with the poet's eyes, and, thus aided, gratefully drink in their strength and beauty, pathos and comfort, and also share his thankful joy!

THE LAST SWEEP OF THE SCYTHE.

"The year had rushed along through May and June,
And my own natal month, her goal to win;
And now the fruitful sheaves were coming in;
The glow of August made the barren moon
As mellow as the corn-lands. One bright field,
Which to the southward sloped, enhancing all
The beauty of the view, was last to fall
Before the sweeping scythe. Its doom was sealed;
I grieved to think how fleet and fugitive
Are all our joys, how near to change or harm:
And how that azure distance would outlive
Its golden foreground, losing half its charm!
But I remembered, ere I looked again,
That fallen corn is bread, and many a loss true gain."

How characteristically the fall of the year is portrayed in the following sonnet! and the personification of "Autumn," in the next, is worthy of Spenser:

THE FIRST WEEK IN OCTOBER.

"Once on an Autumn day as I reposed
Beneath a noon-beam, pallid yet not dull,
The branch above my head dipt itself full
Of that white sunshine momentarily, and closed;
While, ever and anon, the ashen keys
Dropt down beside the tarnished hollyhocks,
The scarlet crane's-bill, and the faded stocks,—
Flung from the shuffling leafage by the breeze.
How wistfully I marked the year's decay,
Forecasting all the dreary wind and rain;
'Twas the last week the swallow would remain—
How jealously I watched his circling play!
A few brief hours, and he would dart away,
No more to turn upon himself again."

A "Scare-crow," left standing in the fields long after harvest, suggests a sad human picture to the poet; and after quaintly describing, he apostrophizes it:

"The stubbles darken round thee, lonely one!
 And man has left thee, all this dreary term,
 No mate beside thee—far from social joy;
As some poor clerk survives his ruined firm,
And, in a napless hat, without employ,
Stands in the autumn of his life, alone."

Mr. Turner, with "observant eye," "trick of imagination," and warm sympathetic heart, gleans far-reaching spirit-truths from many objects and incidents, which to others, not so largely gifted, might seem merely trivial, and be passed by, unnoticed. A "golden-crested wren" flew into the poet's study; and, ere gently liberating it, he took

"Oh, charm of sweet occasion!—one brief look
 At thy bright eyes and innocent dismay;
 Then forth I sent thee on thy homeward quest,
 My lesson learnt—thy beauty got by heart:
 And if, at times, my sonnet-muse would rest
 Short of her topmost skill, her little best,
 The memory of thy delicate gold-crest
 Shall plead for one last touch,—the crown of Art."

Henceforth the golden-crested wren is forever associated with his "sonnet-muse" and perfect finish. Here we present our readers with a noble specimen of his thoughtful and exquisite art:

THE HOLY EMERALD.

Said to be the only true likeness of Christ.

"The gem, to which the artist did intrust
 That Face which now outshines the Cherubim,
 Gave up, full willingly, its emerald dust,
 To take Christ's likeness, to make room for Him.
 So must it be, if thou would'st bear about
 Thy Lord—thy shining surface must be lowered,
 Thy goodly prominence be chipt and scored,
 Till those deep scars have brought His features out:
 Sharp be the stroke and true, make no complaints;
 For heavenly lines thou givest earthy grit:
 But oh! how oft our coward spirit faints,
 When we are called our jewels to submit
 To this keen graver, which so oft hath writ
 The Saviour's image on His wounded saints!"

Here is a rare glimpse into the poet's laboratory—"the study of imagination"—an illustration, showing how each gem-sonnet took form, in order to become "a thing of beauty" and "a joy forever":

THE PROCESS OF COMPOSITION.

" Oft in our fancy an uncertain thought
 Hangs colorless, like dew on bents of grass,
 Before the morning o'er the field doth pass ;
 But soon it glows and brightens ; all unsought
 A sudden glory flashes thro' the dream,
 Our purpose deepens and our wit grows brave,
 The thronging hints a richer utterance crave,
 And tongues of fire approach the new-won theme ;
 A subtler process now begins—a claim
 Is urged for order, a well-balanced scheme
 Of words and numbers, a consistent aim ;
 The dew dissolves before the warning beam ;
 But that fair thought consolidates its flame,
 And keeps its colors, hardening to a gem."

How skillfully he selects and presents the characteristic detail of a scene ! Nothing essential escapes his searching eye. He is " On Board a Jersey Steamer " : the whole scene is conjured up and vividly pictured—condensed into fourteen lines. He lies in his berth ; light breaks in at the little dipping windows ; he makes his way on deck to watch the midsummer sunrise ; salutes the pilot ; creeps back to his berth again ; there lies watching the gleams and shadows from the ocean sweeping and flecking

" wildly o'er *the dreaming fly*
 That clung to the low ceiling " ;—

he slept, woke, then rose again and went on deck, seeking once more " the sea and sky." Here is the sonnet :

" Long had I watched, and, summoned by the ray
 From those small window-lights, that dipt and bowed
 Down to the glimpsing waters, made my way
 On deck, while the sun rose without a cloud ;
 The brazen plates upon the steerage-wheel
 Flashed forth ; the steersman's face came full in view ;
 Found at his post, he met the bright appeal
 Of morning-tide, and answered ' I am true !'
 Then back again into my berth I crept,
 And lay awhile, at gaze, with upward eye,
 Where gleams and shadows from the ocean swept,
 And flickered wildly o'er the dreaming fly,
 That clung to the low ceiling. Then I slept
 And woke, and sought once more the sea and sky."

One more specimen of Mr. Turner's rare powers of condensation: the story of the old oak chest—both fact and feeling—is told, and well told, by him in fourteen lines. Let any one try to write it, as shortly, in *prose*, and he will appreciate the trait to which we call the reader's attention:

THE MISSING BRIDE.

"The wedded girl exclaimed, 'I'll hide, I'll hide!'
 And so they sought her gayly far and near,
 Till, first in wonder, then in mortal fear,
 Hour after hour they look'd for the lost bride.
 Oh! would she peep from out the laurel-walk,
 Or from yon pleached roses nod and smile
 We would forgive her all this mournful talk
 And sad surmise, nor chide her girlish guile.
 Years pass'd, long years! when in an ancient chest,
 Whose heavy lid had dropp'd upon its spring,
 They found the object of a bygone quest,
 A skeleton, in bridal wreath and ring;
 And recogniz'd, with hearts too full to speak,
 The mystery of that fatal 'Hide and Seek.'"

"An old Roman Shield" is "found in the Thames,"

"And makes an old-world clang upon the beach,
 Its first faint voice for many a hundred years; . . .
 As ringing at the fisher's feet it fell."

(Mark how it rings on through the fine alliteration!) Mr. Turner thus concludes, moralizing sadly on the sameness of depraved human nature:

"Then, as now,
 The tented plain was thronged with armèd men;
 Our weapons change, we quarrel now as then!"

(Elsewhere he devotes a whole sonnet to this subject, entitled "Arms Old and New," contrasting the arrow and shield, with the rifle, cannon, shrapnel, and torpedo.) He writes another sonnet, in continuation of the previous one, "On the Same" old shield frightening a swan, and so, aptly, furnishing the poet with the illustration which he needs for expressing the humane wish that war, with its horrors, should "fall into disuse":

"He drew it home—he heaved it to the bank—
 No modern waif, but an old Roman targe;
 The mild familiar swan in terror shrank
 From the rude plash, and left the weltering marge.

Low rang the iron boss ; the fisher stared
 At his new capture, while, in mystic tones,
 The lost shield called its legion, whose death-groans
 And clash of onset it had seen and heard.
 Oh ! when shall better thoughts be dear to man,
 Than rapine and ambition, fraud and hate ?
 Oh ! when shall War, like this old buckler, fall
 Into disuse, drowned by its own dead weight ?
 And Commerce, buoyant as the living swan,
 Push boldly to the shore, the friend of all ? ”

“The Lion’s Skeleton ” pictures, and admirably fixes, the process of decay, while contrasting death with life. Lying on the desert sands, its “flesh ” and its “fierce and thirsty eyes ” have been rapt away by “the vulture ”; worms, heat, wind, and rain ensued, and did their work ;

“The canker sate within thy monstrous mane,
 Till it fell piecemeal, and bestrewed the plain ;
 Or, shredded by the storming sands, was flung
 Again to earth ; but now thy ample front,
 Whereon the great frowns gathered, is laid bare ;
 The thunders of thy throat, which erst were wont
 To scare the desert, are no longer there ;
 Thy claws remain, but worms, wind, rain, and heat
 Have sifted out the substance of thy feet.”

There is a Dantesque intensity, simplicity, and grandeur about his allusion to the thought of Death in that sonnet on page 109 of “Small Tableaux,” addressed “To — ” ; (probably his brother—the Laureate).

“Thought travels past thee with intenser glow,
 And nobler visions burn upon thine eye,
 Than other souls e’er knew of, or can know ;
 Massing delicious thought, and fancies high,
 From hour to hour, thy spirit teems with joy,
 Nor seldom with unrest ; for, when the mind
 O’er many themes keeps survey unconfined,
 Death will be one ;—’tis surely sad to die !
 Placed at the limit of all mortal being,
 The mute unquestionable shadow stands,
 Whose simple mandate binds the giant’s hands
 Helpless, and seals the keenest eye from seeing !
 We own his power, but know not whence he came ;
 We call him Death—he telleth not his name ! ”

How delicately he renders the thrilling swell—the plaintive dying

wail—the ethereal spirit cadences—the exquisitely wild and strangely beautiful resolutions—the unutterable yearning and dreamy sadness of

THE ÆOLIAN HARP.

“O take that airy harp from out the gale,
 Its troubles call from such a distant bourne,
 Now that the wind has wooed it to its tale
 Of bygone bliss, that never can return;
 Hark! with what dreamy sadness it is swelling!
 How sweet it falls, unwinding from the breeze!
 Disordered music, deep and tear compelling,
 Like siren-voices pealing o’er the seas.
 Nay, take it not, for now my tears are stealing,
 But when it brake upon my mirthful hour,
 And spake to Joy of sorrow past the healing,
 I shrank beneath the soft subduing power;
 Nay, take it not; replace it by my bower—
 The soul can thrill with no diviner feeling.”

Of “Bees” enthralled in his window, the kind-hearted poet writes:

“For such poor strays a full-plumed wisp I keep,
 And when I see them pining, worn; and vext,
 I brush them softly with a downward sweep
 To the raised sash—all angered and perplex:
 So man, the insect, stands on his defense
 Against the very hand of Providence.”

Returning home from studying works of ancient art, in the galleries of the continent, and engaging, once more, in rural duties, the good pastor, in “Art and Faith,” thus writes:

“Through all the winsome sculptures of old Greece
 Keep Thou an open walk for Thee and me!
 No whiteness is like Thine, All-pure and good!
 No marble weighs against Thy precious Blood.”

How sympathetically he reads the on-goings of village-life, while associating human interests, in general, with the lapse of time, in

OUR NEW CHURCH CLOCK!

“Henceforward shall our Time be plainly read—
 Down in the nave I catch the twofold beat
 Of those full-weighted moments overhead;
 And hark! the hour goes clanging down the street
 To the open plain! How sweet at eventide
 Will that clear music be to toil-worn men!
 Calling them home, each to his own fireside;
 How sweet the toll of all the hours till then!

The cattle, too, the self-same sound shall hear,
 But they can never know the power it wields
 O'er human hearts, that labor, hope, and fear;
 Our village-clock means nought to steed or steer;
 The call of Time will share each twinkling ear
 With summer flies and voices from the fields!"

The following "Prayer" expresses the deep yearning heart-wish of many a soul in Christendom:

"O God, impart Thy blessing to my cries!
 I trust but faintly, and I daily err;
 The waters of my heart are oft astir,
 An angel's there! and yet I can not rise!
 Ah! would my Lord were here amongst us still,
 Proffering His bosom to His servant's brow;
 Too oft that holy life comes o'er us now,
 Like twilight echoes from a distant hill;
 We long for His pure looks and words sublime;
 His lowly-lofty innocence and grace;
 The talk sweet-toned, and blessing all the time;
 The mountain sermon and the ruthless gaze;
 The cheerly credence gathered from His face;
 His voice in village-groups at eve or prime!"

Mr. Turner writes, thus earnestly and lovingly, of "An English Church" as

"The home of Prayer,
 For who shall say she is not lovelier there,
 Than in all other fanes beneath the sun? . . .
 There all the spirit of a Christian heart
 Is bodied forth in gentle rites and pure."

Hearing of "The Wind-bound Mission," and its noble work, he characterizes, as "tender and sublime," the thought

"That not a wind-bound sail,
 Near this rough foreland, waits the favoring gale,
 But Christian men observe the vacant time,
 Stand in the baffling wind and speak of heaven!"

Crossing a "Sea-Bridge," in a railway train, with its huge sea-pillars, the poet for a moment, but only for a moment, deems the power of song vague and weak, in comparison with "these vast mechanics mighty to convoy a length of cars high over flood and ooze," but soon asserts that the Muse is mightier still; instancing brave songs, nerving an oppressed people for strife with foreign foes;

and also sweet hymns, lifting the dying above the world and speeding the passing life on a far stronger bridge across deeper, darker waters to the land of rest! Here is the sonnet:

THE BARMOUTH SEA-BRIDGE.

"When the train cross'd the sea, 'mid shouts of joy,
And the huge sea-pillars dash'd away the tide,
Awhile the power seem'd vague, beside
Those vast mechanics, mighty to convoy
A length of cars high over flood and ooze;
But the brief thought was feeble and unwise:
No season'd oak is stronger than the Muse,
For all the great cross-beams, and clamps, and ties.
Brave songs may raise a people sore-deprest,
And knit its strength together for the strife
With foreign foes, or subtle statesman's art:
*Sweet hymns have lifted many a dying heart
Above the world, and sped the passing life
Across the waters, to the land of rest!"*

Whatever subject Mr. Turner treats, he is always loving, kindly, and slow to condemn, even when appearances seem adverse: under similar circumstances, it would be well if each one would ask, in the words of our poet,

"Shall I hold aloof,
And shut my heart up from the veriest blink
Of charitable sunshine?"

The simplicity and beauty of the following sonnet is as noticeable as is its just estimate of her who was "blessed above women":

TO THE HOLY VIRGIN.

"Mother of Him who made us! first of mothers:
Who heard'st the glorious angel bid thee 'Hail!'
Mother of Him who call'd mankind His brothers,
Although His dying rent the Temple's veil,
And utter darkness told He was divine;
A few brief scriptures show us more of thee,
Than all these after-times of pageantry,
The marble statue, and the jewell'd shrine;
The passionate acclaim of many lands
Has drown'd thine own sweet voice, that ever spake
Of the Lord's handmaid; now they bid thee take
His place, and wrong thee with adoring hands;
But oh! we know thee best, when seen alone,
Far in the Past, with Jesus and with John!"

The following beautiful picture recalls Chaucer's "good parson" and Cowper's "preacher":

THE PASTOR'S PRAYER.

"At dawn, he marks the smoke among the trees,
From hearths to which his daily footsteps go;
And hopes and fears and ponders on his knees,
If his poor sheep will heed his voice or no;
What wholesome turn will Ailsie's sorrow take?
Her latest sin will careless Annie rue?
Will Robin now, at last, his wiles forsake?
Meet his old dupes, yet hold his balance true?
He prays at noon, with all the warmth of heaven
About his heart, that each may be forgiven;
He prays at eve: and through the midnight air
Sends holy ventures to the throne above;
His very dreams are faithful to his prayer,
And follow, with closed eyes, the path of love."

Caring thus for the well-being and simple wants of his rural parishioners, Mr. Turner also keeps an outlook upon the great currents of thought and the tendencies of the age. While hailing and rejoicing in all true progress, he earnestly and lovingly warns men against the dangers of dogmatic "half-knowledge" in "science falsely so called," finely saying:

"But oh! let Faith and Reverence take the lead,
Test all half-knowledge with a jealous heed,
Nor set thy science jarring with thy Creed;
Each has its orbit round Truth's central Sun!"

HOW 'THE HIGHER CRITICISM' BLESSES THE BIBLE.

"You say 'tis still God's Book, still true and wise—
Tho' you have shorn it of its noblest parts,
Disparag'd all its great biographies,
And left no nourishment for pining hearts;
But that's a foodless river, where the fish
Are stolen from the waters, every fin,
Whence thieves have harried all that God put in,
And spared us scarce enough to freight a dish;
So have you stolen away our food for faith—
With Moses disallow'd, and Paul review'd,
And Christ Himself by rival pens pursued,
That race each other thro' His life and death—
It irks my soul to see how bland you look,
Giving your foolish blessing to the Book!"

How wisely, in the following sonnet, he estimates the value of sceptical writings, and the danger they may do to young unstable minds!

ON CERTAIN BOOKS.

"Faith and fixt hope these pages may peruse,
 And still be faith and hope; but O ye winds!
 Blow them far off from all unstable minds,
 And foolish grasping hands of youth! Ye dew
 Of heaven! be pleased to rot them where they fall,
 Lest loitering boys their fancies should abuse,
 And they get harm by chance, that can not choose;
 So be they stained and sodden, each and all!
 And if, perforce, on dry and gusty days,
 Upon the breeze some truant leaf should rise,
 Brittle with many weathers, to the skies,
 Or flit and dodge about the public ways—
 Man's choral shout, or organ's peal of praise
 Shall shake it into dust, like older lies."

How true, what he says of free-thinking negation!

"A smart, free-thinking sophist, pledged to nought;
 Is he not blind, the man who rashly dares
 To strut about a realm of mystery?
 . . . To a heart
 So braz'd with wisdom, canst thou hope to prove
 The old-world story of a Saviour's love? . . .
 Negation has no bond with ecstasy!"

Writing of those modern sceptics "who seek to invalidate our creed,
 by understatements partial, vague, and scant," he says:

"On their hard fronts the sunrise strikes in vain,
 No Memnon-chords have they in all their sorry grain!"

In the great race, he truly observes, Faith alone succeeds in reaching
 the goal,

"And as the distance shrinks 'twixt earth and heaven,
 Glows with its motion, and bears forward still, . . .
 While smart theosophies lose heart and die."

Here, in one line, is an advice, admirable at all times, and in every
 direction, but specially needed in these days of questioning and
 doubt: as it is precious, let the reader ponder, digest, and follow it:

"Pray, think, and strive! with God's good Book for guide:"

by so doing, although hopes and fears alternate in every heart, the
 hopes will enable us to tide over and overcome the fears, and thus
 faith shall be enabled to

"keep her victories of light!"

Of honest men—spirits yearning and doubting—but who, as yet,

"stand without," he admits that there are a few, and these he invites and cheers :

"Meek men of reverent purpose, watch and wait
And gaze in sorrow from the land of doubt. . .
Faith shall be born ! and, by his natural stress
Push through these dark philosophies, and live !"

In the same kindly spirit, too, after ably dealing with "the higher criticism" of Strauss and Renan, neology and rationalism in general, in a series of admirable sonnets, cogent and condensed, he thus tenderly addresses

THE YOUNG NEOLOGIST AT BETHLEHEM.

A Recommendatory Letter.

"Ye shepherds ! angels now ! who gladly heard
The midnight Word of God, in music given,
Which told of Christ's nativity, and stirr'd
Your hearts with melodies from middle heaven ;
Tend this poor creedless youth through David's town !
Be ever near him with a silent spell,
And lead him to the spot, where, floating down
Upon your watch, the choral blessing fell !
There charm away his false and flimsy lore,
And breathe into his soul your simple creed,
The child of angels' hymns and good men's heed,
The faith of Jesus Christ, nor less nor more—
So may he all his erring steps retrace,
And bless sweet Bethlehem for her day of grace."

These delightful volumes only require to be known in order to be loved, cherished, and admired by thoughtful readers. Although strikingly original, both in subject and treatment, Mr. Turner's muse can not fail to suggest the piety, purity, and simplicity of Cowper ; the deep, calm reflective vein, with spirit analogies and teachings from nature, which is characteristic of Wordsworth ; and also the condensation, felicitous epithet, and the exquisitely polished, careful art-finish of his brother—the poet laureate.

These are of the "books which *are* books," as Charles Lamb would have called them—books one loves, and would wish to have always near—lying at hand, in a corner—to be taken up often, and when we will ; whether to be read and enjoyed in the sweet summer-time under the trees—or in winter by the fireside. Pure well-springs, such as these sonnets undoubtedly are, never fail to refresh us, in youth, middle-life, or age. Here is a sonnet for those who are growing old. Are not thought, word, and structure all alike beautiful ?

THE HARVEST MOON.

"How peacefully the broad and golden moon
Comes up to gaze upon the reapers' toil!
That they who own the land for many a mile,
May bless her beams, and they who take the boon
Of scatter'd ears; Oh! beautiful! how soon
The dusk is turn'd to silver without soil,
Which makes the fair sheaves fairer than at noon,
And guides the gleaner to his slender spoil;
So, to our souls, the Lord of love and might
Sends harvest-hours, when daylight disappears;
When age and sorrow, like a coming night,
Darken our field of work with doubts and fears,
He times the presence of His heavenly light
To rise up softly o'er our silver hairs."

Long may this good, gentle-hearted pastor, who is one of our purest and sweetest poets, continue to write such delicately truthful, naïve, artistic, and charming sonnets!

AMERICAN CONSTITUTION IN 1787 AND 1866.

IN the matter of government, men do not incline to discriminate very accurately between that which, in their opinion, ought to be done and that which, in the nature of things, it is practicable to do. An Utopia is a thing so congenial to the feelings of the philosopher by whom it has been conceived, that the information that no existing nor possible form of political institutions would serve to insure its realization, is, to the last degree, unwelcome.

It is easier to deprecate the disorders that prevail in the States of the Union late in rebellion than it is to prescribe and carry into effect adequate means for their removal. It does not follow, if it were lawful to enlist all the powers of all the branches of the general government in the work of social pacification, that the desired result would be attained. There are other limits to political efficiency beside those which are laid down in the constitution. Government may be absolute institutionally ; but, in the nature of things, it can not be omnipotent practically. It can not, even in the most docile communities, always prevent the commission of crimes. It can not, when special agitations prevail, always succeed in their suppression. In its simplest and most purely executive manifestation, as an agent for the preservation of the peace, its omnipresence is a thing impossible.

It may have been a mistake to hold the late insurgent communities in a state of penance or probation. It may have been a mistake to restore to them their autonomy and place in the Union. In respect to this, however, no good can come from the discussion. The thing has been done ; the States have been rehabilitated. Whatever their rights may be, they are the same as those of the States that have never rebelled ; and politically, the standing in the Union of Arkansas or Louisiana is identical with that of Massachusetts or Pennsylvania.

Between a State in the Union in the full possession of the rights of local self-government, and a subject province ruled by exterior authority, there is, constitutionally, no intermediate condition. The

political communities included within the catalogue of the States must be either all the one or all the other. There is no legal process by which a State may be excommunicated, or—when not in corporate rebellion—in any respect diminished as to its structure or franchises. That which may be done in case of revolt is one thing; that which is required in case of adhesion is another. In the first instance, the safety of the commonwealth may prescribe the rule of conduct; in the last, the supreme law is the constitution. The difference between domestic discord and political contumacy is a radical difference; and to confound the one with the other would be unjust as a fact and dangerous as a precedent.

The domestic—civil and social—condition of a member of the American political family is disturbed. The State, as a body politic, is not at enmity with the Federal Union. In respect to whatever is relational between it or its inhabitants and the people and government of the United States, there is full compliance with every constitutional obligation. The Union is neither imperiled nor distracted, nor are the other States or their citizens put in jeopardy by its discordances. The circumstances suggest the inquiry: Has the United States any duty to perform in the premises; and, if it has, in what does its duty consist?

THE CONSTITUTION IN 1787.

A correct view of the relations which the Constitution established between the central and the local governments will lead to the conclusion that the function of the United States, under the circumstances described, is, in no respect, vindictive or punitive. The penal jurisdiction of the United States, political as well as civil, executive as well as judicial, is limited to offenses against itself. The Federal Government has no mission to become a righter of wrongs, except in so far as they affect its own corporate peace and dignity. It has no work of general benevolence to perform. As between a State and its citizens, or between one citizen of a State, as such, and another, it has no authority to interfere. Legally, it has no knowledge of individual distinctions or of different classes or orders in society. In the case of civil commotions, it can only enter a State on invitation—in the character of a friend and benefactor; to uphold, with its force, the local authority, and to assist in guarding against those injuries which factions inflamed by mutual hatred are apt to inflict upon each other and upon the persons and property of law-abiding citizens.

It might be a question whether, through the laying aside of all

thoughts of obligation to the Constitution, and the adoption of the rule that the apparent magnitude of the exigency is the measure of the right of the United States to interpose for the correction of social or civil disorders in the States, any thing calculated to promote the general well-being would be gained. To state the question in another form: Has not the Constitution delegated to the United States all the authority which, for any purpose essential to its own dignity, or beneficial to the States or to their people, it can exercise? This point—upon which there are wide differences of opinion—will be considered incidentally in an examination of the constitutional provisions through which such authority has been conferred.

The fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution provides as follows: "The United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion and, on application of the legislature (or of the executive, when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence."

The first clause, in the foregoing, relates to the preservation in the States of a republican form of government; the second, to their defense against invasion from without; the third, to their protection from disaster through the insubordination of their own inhabitants.

To what branch or department of the government of the United States it was intended by the framers of the Constitution to commit the power to guarantee to each State a republican form of government, does not appear in the text of the instrument; nor in what manner, or under what sanctions, such republican form was to be guaranteed. The employment of the word guarantee indicates that it was not, as many have supposed, the design to empower Congress to undertake the impossible task of creating self-government for the people of a State. The substance and the form of a republican government are so absolutely identical; that the one is inconceivable without the other. It can only be created by the people over whom it is to preside. It can only survive through their persistent consent and instrumentality. The only mode in which, under any circumstances, the United States can guarantee to a State a popular government is by protecting it from the intrusion of such as would attempt its subversion—itsself included. In short, the clause of guarantee is neither more or less than a covenant of non-interference. It means that the institutions which the people of the States establish are their own; and that, upon no conditions, will the United States interpose to destroy them or to diminish the rights to which the people, under their guardianship, are entitled.

The invasion of a State, whether by another State or by a foreign power, is a war against the United States. Upon this point there is no need of further remark in the present connection.

The third clause of the section relates to the obligation of the United States to protect the States respectively, against domestic violence. This is only lawful when the interposition of the former is invoked by the constituted authorities of the latter. The performance of this duty is, without doubt, a part of the functions of the administrative branch of the government. The service is strictly of an executive character. It is such as can be discharged by a military force, under a military command. It is analogous to that of a police officer sent to suppress a riot, or to disperse a mob; to guard against the destruction of life and property. The line of its duty is prescribed by the character of its mission—to protect the State against domestic violence. It has no political discretion whatever; no errand to deliberate, no authority to decide. The question whether or not the State has a legal government, or whether or not the right party or faction is in power, is one with which it has no concern. It knows neither interests nor institutions; and is simply so much conservative energy sent to save the elements of society from mutual destruction. The conformity of this view of the law to the spontaneous sentiments of mankind appears in the fact that no complaint has ever been made of the intervention of the United States as a peace officer, and that there has always been protest when it has assumed to act as a directing magistrate.

THE CONSTITUTION IN 1866.

There is a notion widely prevalent in the United States, to the effect that, either through civil war, or through additions since made to the Constitution, or through both of these together, such changes have been wrought in the relations between the federal and the local polities that a large discretionary authority has inured to the former, to interfere for the regulation of the domestic concerns of the latter: this not only for the preservation of the common peace, but for the protection of the persons, rights, and interests of classes and individuals. Beginning in these causes, alterative energies are supposed to be at work, which, through the process of expansive development, will beget changes social and political of a radical description and, at length, usher in an era in which the brotherhood of the human race will not only be better understood but will be conserved by appropriate guarantees and contrivances.

The observer of social phenomena from a rational point of view,

however, will feel himself compelled to consider political causes and effects in the light of the actual or probable adequacy of the one to produce the other. No changes in the Constitution were directly wrought through the secession of the States, or through the war by which they were restored to their allegiance. As incident to the conflict, the doctrine of the right of coercion may be said to have become established upon a firmer basis than before; but, as there can be no alternative principles hidden out of sight, or existing by implication, in a written instrument, the germs of spontaneous change implanted in our code of organic law, either by its framers or through any subsequent event or series of events, are things not easy to discover. That the accidental superiority of a particular party in the State has had the effect to give especial force, in practical legislation, to its own system of economical and administrative ideas, is undeniable; but legislative acts are no political precedents; and, that the incidents in our national history have operated to impart any degree of revolutionary impetus to our institutions is a thing not easily demonstrated.

Since the close of the civil conflict, however, certain appendices have been added to the Constitution; and, from these, in several quarters, great expectations have come to be entertained: expectations none the less brilliant and exhilarating because they partake largely of the indefinite. It is difficult to say what, in the minds of some, they may not be relied upon to accomplish. In many instances, by learned gentleman of the legal profession, and even by profound judges upon the bench, they seem to have been accepted as embodiments of ultimate truth—as the expressions of primordial principles, which, having, from a conjunction of favorable circumstances, obtained a lodgment in the Constitution, are destined through the process of incubative interpretation, to obscure, overtop, supersede, absorb, and finally to obliterate the body of the instrument to which they are attached. With that large class of the people whose members recognize themselves by the complimentary title of “advanced thinkers,” they are conceived as the harbingers of a new social and political dispensation: a golden age, which shall reverse the facts and ideas of all former eras and periods, and bring in a state of social and political organization so brilliant and perfect as to be beyond the powers of present description in any other than the vaguest generalities. Into the true intent of these sentences, it is in order to inquire.

The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution decrees that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except in punishment of crime, shall exist within the United States.

The fourteenth declares that all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, shall be citizens of the United States and of the State in which they respectively reside.

The fifteenth provides that the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude..

Each of the amendments is supplemented by a clause empowering Congress to provide for its enforcement by appropriate legislation.

It would not be necessary to suggest—if the contrary had not been assumed in documents of official authorship—that these provisions impose no duty whatever upon the President of the United States; that they neither extend the boundaries of his supervisory discretion, nor increase the sum of his authority. They can in no sense be regarded as affording the basis of any new or different interpretation of the domestic violence clause of the fourth article of the Constitution; nor can the two, taken together, imply more or different meaning than when taken separately. The third section of the Civil Rights act, passed April 9, 1866, confers upon the federal courts jurisdiction in all cases arising under the amendments to the Constitution and the laws passed for their enforcement; which provision is either expressly or impliedly contained in all subsequent legislation upon the subject. While the limits of an existing jurisdiction may, in some cases, be extended by act of Congress, it is not within the province of one branch of the government to confer power upon another. Delegations of power can only be made by the States and the people, through the Constitution; and, as the late amendments do not purport to confer power upon the executive, it is obvious that, under their provisions, this branch of the government has no function to perform.

The first of the late amendments purports to equalize the domestic, the second the civil, and the third, the political condition of the people of the States. The first declares the personal independence of the individual; the second affirms his entitlement to civil rights, and the third endows him with the potentiality of enfranchisement. The last did not absolutely make him an elector. It did not deprive the people of the States of the discretion, in their primary capacity, to decide who, of their number should enjoy the political franchise. It simply forbade them to adopt a particular rule of discrimination. They might establish a property test, or an education

test, or a tax or rent-paying test, or a militia-service test; but to establish a race or color test they were prohibited. It said, in effect, that if white persons voted because they were white, black persons should not be prevented from voting because they were black.

The duty to be performed by the federal courts in carrying into effect the provisions of the amended Constitution, and of the acts of Congress passed in pursuance thereof, does not differ in kind from that which would devolve upon the State courts under similar circumstances. Wherever there are rights which the law recognizes, there are always, in legal contemplation, means for their vindication. At common law—if there were no statute upon the subject—an elector, forcibly or fraudulently deprived of the power to deposit his vote at a lawful election, would be entitled to redress at the hands of the courts within whose jurisdiction he resides. The authority conferred upon the courts of the United States in the premises, is upon the presumption that, under the influence of special feelings of alienation, the legislatures of the States might not enact laws for the punishment of such as obstruct the enjoyment, by others, of their political privileges, of the proper measure of severity, or that the local tribunals might fail to enforce such laws with a due degree of impartiality and promptitude. While, therefore, the forms and processes employed by the State and federal courts, respectively, are similar, and the jurisdiction quantitatively identical, there may be wide differences in the measure of the penalty, or in the rate of speed at which retribution advances.

Contrary to the ideas of some, the function of the federal courts under the late amendments is simply judicial. The "judicial power of the United States extends to cases of law and equity," and it extends no farther. The courts have no spontaneity. They can only act when their action is invoked by a party seeking justice. They have no mission of a political character to execute. They are not conservators of the general peace nor redressers of the general wrong. They have no authority to supervise the returns of elections, to decide between conflicting claims of candidates, or to determine the political standing of person or party. They do not—even under the inspiration of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments—appear as the heralds of better times to come; they do not sit in their forums to distribute the seeds of political reform nor to warm into vital activity the principles of social renovation.

Some of the bright hopes that have been entertained of the grandeur of that future with which the social elements were supposed

to be impregnated through the masculine vigor of the late amendments, will, in all probability, be obscured by a recent judicial event. In the case of Virginia L. Minor, and Francis Minor, her husband, plaintiffs in error, vs. Reese Happersett, from the State of Missouri (not yet reported), the Supreme Court of the United States has recorded a decision which will necessarily postpone until after a revision of that tribunal, or further amendments, the hopes of many excellent mothers, wives, and daughters of the land, of being permitted to assist in expediting the march of humanity toward that perfection which is so easy to conceive but so difficult to realize. The opinion in the case, as masterly in its judicial style as it is impregnable in its legal and logical conclusions—in which the entire bench concurred—was delivered by his honor the Chief-Justice. The plaintiff in error desired to vote, but was hindered by the obstinate literalness of an unadvanced inspector of the election. Whereupon suit, claiming exemplary damages for the privation of a right affirmed in the Leviticus of the Declaration of Independence, and guaranteed by the Magna Charta of the Constitution, was commenced.

The argument on the part of the plaintiff was to the effect that, as a woman born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, is a citizen of the United States and of the State in which she resides, she has the elective franchise as one of the incidents of her citizenship, which a State can not by its laws or its constitution deny or abridge.

On the other hand, the court began by discriminating properly between the rights of the citizen and the privileges of the elector; proceeded to show that the possession of the one was legally and politically compatible with the privation of the other, and fortified its position with an elaborate and exhaustive review and citation of constitutional clauses, legislative acts, judicial decisions, and established practices.

The question of the wisdom of the gift of political franchises to the descendants from African ancestors in the United States is one, the discussion of which does not fall within the limits of this article. Practically it is a question of the past; speculatively it is one of the future. It is one in which, at this time, feeling is invested; and needs to await, in order to an analysis which shall be conclusive, not only the lessons of a longer experience, but the absence of the generation now alive. For the present design, it is enough that the enfranchisement is a fact. The black men of the country are, to every legal intent and purpose, political citizens of the United States and of the States in

which they respectively reside. Their rights, in that regard, are formally recognized both in the federal and local constitutions.

Inside of this question, however, there is another, which has practical significance in the present, necessitating as it does a judicial inquiry into the character of the political relations between the State and the federal governments. It involves an examination into the entitlements of colored citizens, in their capacity of State electors, to the protection of the United States through its judicial department. Suits in which this point is at issue, decided by circuit and district judges in several Southern States, have been transferred by writs of error to the highest tribunal of the land, and there argued with a dignity suited to the eminence of the counsel by which the arguments were delivered, if not with a corresponding measure of ability.

It was, without doubt, the intention of the majority of the Congresses by which the enforcement and its supplementary acts were passed, to place the rights of political citizens, both as State and federal electors, under the protection of the United States. Whether they had the authority so to do, is the point to be determined. In other words, the issue includes an inquiry into the constitutionality of those enactments. The question is of a character which courts always, and properly, approach with a degree of reluctance; and, in general, with a disposition to defer, in some degree, to the wisdom of a co-ordinate branch of the government. And, as this is one to which right is more essential than expedition, it has been reserved until, through the processes of judicial digestion and assimilation, a just result shall be evolved.

Political franchises are the gifts of the political corporation in whose behalf they are exercised. Whether they were conceded by mutual agreement at the time when the corporation was formed, or were imparted by direct donation afterward, is not essential. The right of the political state to protect the holders of the franchises it has conferred in their enjoyment, is indisputable. It is not merely a right; it is an obligation: an obligation which it owes, not only to the enfranchised but to itself. No body politic is entitled to regard itself as self-existent, in which this right is, in any respect, diminished or circumscribed. It is scarcely more than a truism, to say that it is an indispensable part of the primacy of every government, the authority to secure to its citizens the full fruition of the privileges it has reposed in their hands.

Reasoning as well from analogous judicial precedents as from the very scope and nature of government itself, it would appear that the

authority of the United States to provide for the protection of federal electors in the exercise of federal franchises is coeval with its origin. Being an inherent attribute of republican corporate life, and implied by the fact of its existence, it was not a thing that needed formal affirmation to give it validity. The reason why this has not been thoroughly understood and given its place as a part of the common law of thought and opinion is that, until recently, there has been no occasion to call the authority into exercise. "Rights," says a famous author, "are never declared until attacked;"* and as, in this instance, there has been no attack, there has been no declaration.

Whether or not it is within the constitutional authority of the United States to protect State electors in the enjoyment of State franchises, is another question. As a general rule the United States can only act as the punisher of offenders against its own peace and dignity. More than this, if the federal authority should obtrude itself into the States; and assume to perform the part of general redresser of public and private wrongs, or vindicator of public and private rights, it would be justly chargeable, and would be universally charged, with usurpation. What is there in the obstruction by one citizen of another in an attempt, by the latter, to give his vote at a State or county election, to take it out of the rule and bring into exercise the power of the United States in order that justice may be done in the premises?

Had the United States assumed the function of enfranchising the colored inhabitants of the States, some semblance of claim to the authority to protect the privileges of the enfranchised, in their capacity of State electors, might have been established. The Constitution as amended only endowed those inhabitants with the potentiality of political citizenship, not its actuality. Even in respect to federal suffrage, the power to enfranchise, while under the sanction of the United States, is exerted immediately by the States. Until the Constitution was amended and the enforcement act passed, the jurisdiction in cases of the infringement of federal-electoral free-agency was exercised by the latter. This jurisdiction, the federal government, by virtue of its inherent authority, was entitled, at any time, to assume; under the rule, however, that the assumption of a dormant jurisdiction by the United States operates as a divestment of the corresponding jurisdiction of the States. Our system of government does not encourage concurrent jurisdictions, State and federal, over the same subject-matter. Hereafter, if this—which is a general rule—shall prevail, the

* Le Maistre, "Generative Principle of Human Constitutions."

domestic judicatories of the States will not be open for the redress of the wrongs of federal electors ; and if the enforcement acts shall be pronounced constitutional, they will not be open for the redress of wrongs of State electors. The voter, obstructed in the enjoyment of his local franchise, in the place of carrying his griefs to the nearest magistrate where the appliances of justice are convenient, will be compelled to appeal to a more distant and less accessible tribunal.

However favorably such a state of legal circumstances may be expected to operate in that comparatively small section of the United States for the correction of which it was especially designed and in behalf of that comparatively small portion of the people for whose advantage it was established, it is evident that, in respect to the not altogether insignificant remainder, its effects will be any thing but acceptable. In innumerable instances, they will be equivalent to a denial of justice ; unless indeed, the United States shall see fit to project its magistracy into every town and village, and pervade the entire Union with minute jurisdictions. It is, perhaps, to be regretted that the authority to enact at its discretion, for the amendment of local conditions, and the removal of special inequalities, is withheld from Congress through the absence of a few words in the Constitution. The necessity which that body is under to give its laws a general applicability is an inconvenience. It is easy to conceive of measures which, to one section of the country or one class of the inhabitants would promise incalculable advantage, while, upon another section or class, they would inflict extreme injustice and injury. Special legislation in general terms is apt to become a two-edged implement, as potent for mischief upon one side as for benefaction on the other.

There is one lesson which humanity has not yet reduced to a rule of conduct : that there is only so much wisdom in the world ; that the supply is ever limited to the present requirement ; and that if it is disproportionately expended in one, there is always a deficiency in some other direction.

It is true that the Constitution (fifteenth amendment) declares that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It is also true that no State stands charged with having denied or abridged the right of citizen of the United States to vote on account of aforesaid. States can only act, in their corporate capacity, through their constituted authorities ; and there is no evidence that any corporate act of denial or abridgment has by any State, been attempted. In order, even

under the fifteenth amendment, to give the United States jurisdiction it would seem as if there should be some act committed, such as that amendment contemplates: the denial or abridgment by a State of the right to vote, on account, etc.

It may be urged as a justification for interference on the part of the United States that the statutes of the States do not provide for the punishment of such as obstruct others in the use of their franchises with proper severity, or that the courts of the States are negligent in the administration of justice under them. Upon this point the United States, in respect to its own electors, has the right to judge and to act in accordance with its conclusions. In respect to the character and adequacy of the protection which the States afford to their own political entities, the United States can have only an opinion, which may be correct or otherwise, but which, under no circumstances carries with it the authority to interpose. The fact that the United States has exclusive jurisdiction in case of its own injuries implies the fact of equally exclusive jurisdiction in the States, in the case of theirs.

It is true that the Constitution (fifteenth amendment) devolves upon Congress the duty to provide for the enforcement of this article by appropriate legislation; but it does not follow that every act of the federal legislature purporting to be in pursuance of the provisions of this article is therefore constitutional. The Constitution is a whole. Every act of Congress must not only conform to the precept of the article upon which it depends for its sanction, but must not be inimical to the general spirit and broad intent of the instrument, nor in discordance with the purpose of any other clause or provision. The delegation to Congress of the authority to do a particular thing implies an obligation on the part of Congress to do the thing contemplated—neither more nor other; and if, under color of compliance with the command, it does either more or other, it transcends its commission, and, in so far, it is not only not an exponent of, but is an offender against the Constitution.

Between a constitutional article enjoining the States from doing aught to abridge the electoral rights of certain of its citizens, and an act of Congress providing to punish criminally one citizen for obstructing another in his attempt to deposit his vote, there is some discrepancy. The Constitution says, No State shall pass a particular form of statute; the act of Congress says, No individual shall commit a particular form of trespass. It would not, in all probability, be easy to find, among recognized canons of interpretation, a rule under

which, through the employment of any amount of judicial acumen, so patent an incongruity can be reconciled.

The difference between the legal condition of a State and of a federal elector is a thing to which not much attention has hitherto been directed. Political citizenship of a State and political citizenship of the United States, although usually coincident, are not so inevitably. Their rights, although jointly inherited or conferred and possessed, spring from different sources and are easily separable in idea. The privation of the one does not necessarily include that of the other; and their violations, respectively, are offenses against two entirely distinct political establishments.

The provision in the fourth section of the fourth article of the Constitution, that the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government, could not but have included among its meanings a pledge on the part of the former not to insidiously undermine or to violently dismantle, or in any respect, directly or indirectly, to diminish the republican integrity of the latter. At the time the constitution was framed, every State had a republican form of government. Then, as now, the opinion that the republican is the only legitimate form of government was universal, and the idea that a body of people free to choose would create any other was not conceived. There was, therefore, no fear that the people of the States would voluntarily cast aside those institutions in which, as they believed, their liberties were implicated. The danger that was apprehended—and not altogether without cause—was from a potent and, it might be, overbearing central polity.

The United States being an union of States, logically as well as historically the States antedate the Union. States have been added to the Union since it was formed; but although to this extent, the historical order has been reversed, such is not the fact with the logical. The States, when they entered into the Union, were in full possession of the rights and in full exercise of the functions of independent self-existence. In the formation of the Union, the States were the principals and the Union the incident—the States the creator and the Union the thing created. It is unimportant whether it is said that the States established the Union, or that the people established it through the States; for it is evident that if both the people and the States had not been in existence, the Union could not have been established. Institutionally, the Union was the handiwork of citizens of, delegated by, the States—persons conscious of, and feeling themselves bound by, their allegiance to the States of their respective

inhabitancy, and only conceiving the Union as a thing whose proportions they could not perfectly foreshadow, to be realized in the future. Of themselves, their States and their fellow-citizens within the States, they had no misgivings. They were republicans; their States were republics, and their fellow-citizens firmly and ardently attached to the principles of republicanism. Their regard for the uncreated Union was speculative merely—a conditional affection, contingent upon the ability which, on trial, it should manifest to perform a service which they believed to be essential to the well-being alike of States and people, and its constancy to refrain from doing that which might be adverse to the interests of both or either.

On account of their feelings of fidelity to the States of which, respectively, they were citizens, they may not have been the best possible persons to be intrusted with the duty of prescribing the organic laws of a federal polity; but they were the best practicable. There were, virtually, no precedents for the formation of such establishments. They were appointed to create a being whose future normal growth they had not the prophetic wisdom to forecast, and whose faculty for abnormal increase, under the impulse of those passions and antagonisms to which human society is subject, was beyond the strength of the most fruitful imagination to depict. No assembly of statesmen, probably, ever sat down to a task with a more oppressive sense of responsibility. Was the product of their labors destined to prove a blessing or a curse to the generations that were to come after them? Would its activities, in time to come, be those of a Prometheus or of a pestilence? Would their names, on its account, be handed down to posterity as patriots or as malefactors?

Upon one thing they were resolved: that in the written instrument which it was their mission to frame, there should, as far as possible, be no equivocations; nothing that would admit of diversities of construction, no loose donations of power, no leaving open of doors for the admission of implications of authority. It was not of the States as political corporations that they were afraid, for they comprehended the length and breadth of their efficiency. It was not of the people of the States, for they knew their attachment to the principles of republican liberty, and knew that no people in the enjoyment of the right of self-government ever laid it down until through degeneracy they had parted with the faculties essential to its maintenance. It was of the thing they were about to call into existence and endow with vitality that they were afraid.

What that might attempt when it had grown so great as to dwarf

the individual States with its magnitude; when it had become the centralizing point of political ambition; when it had created a special caste for itself, whose interests would lie in the enlargement of the sphere of its activities; when, during periods of sectional heat or fanatic fires, the people should become insensible to every thing else in their inordinate exaltation of a single idea—what it might then do to gather into its hands those portions of local rule which, under other circumstances, would be guarded with jealousy, and to absorb the corporate life of the States, reducing them to the condition of inanimate effigies, was beyond the range of their most anxious prescience. They felt that the right of domestic regulation might be imperiled by that greed for power which grows with gratification, and to that feeling they imparted language in the sentence: "The United States shall guarantee to each State in this Union a republican form of government."

What more could they have done? What multiplication of words or amplification of phrases would have made the expression more direct or forcible? Inscribe a record of their apprehensions upon the pages of the Constitution, they could not. To allude distinctly to the thing they were creating as a possible source of danger, they had no warrant. What they might do, they did; they laid down a rule which, whether or not it was immediately contemplated, is as obligatory upon the United States as if the existence of no other unfriendly agency had been even conceived.

The only other construction of this rule that has ever been suggested is to the effect that the United States thereby appointed itself the official guardian or conservator of popular government in the States, so that if, at any time, the States or their peoples should become inclined to depose the republican in favor of some other form of institutions, it would be incumbent upon the United States to interpose for its protection, or, as the case may be, for its restoration. In other words, it is asserted that the States are under a paramount obligation to maintain republican forms; and that if they fail to do this voluntarily, they must be made to do it by compulsion. As the essence of republican government is in the fact that it is created and directed by the spontaneous will of the people who are, at once, the governors and the governed, how an outside authority can enter a State and construct and operate popular institutions, or constrain the people to do so, is not easily to be conceived. Such were not the notions of the formative period of our political history. It was not contemplated to place in the hands of the United States the power

to prescribe forms of State government. The right of the people to create at will such governments as, in their opinion, shall appear most conducive to their safety and happiness—affirmed in the Declaration of Independence—was not limited by a “provided they create no other than republican governments.” In the year 1787 it had not occurred to the statesmen of America that they were endowing the polity they were assisting to establish with an authority so preposterous, or imposing upon it an obligation the discharge of which was so impossible.

Every man has a theory of the government under which he lives, and sees it through the medium of his theory. With the government, as seen through this medium, he is either satisfied or dissatisfied. If the former, he is inclined to attribute to its agency a large share of the prosperity and happiness which the people have enjoyed; if the latter, he is equally liberal in charging upon it the adversity and unhappiness they have experienced. In fact, the country appears to these observers to be fortunate or otherwise, and our history and progress respectable or otherwise, accordingly as the government is in conformity or otherwise with their respective theories. With the one, the desire is that the government shall remain as it was created, and the Constitution be interpreted in accordance with recognized canons of legal interpretation; with the other, it is that the Constitution shall be interpreted to agree with his ideas of political expediency, and the government be made to conform to the interpretation.

There are those who look upon our federative system as the perfection of human government, and applaud the wisdom and forethought of the statesmen by whom it was constructed; there are others who regard it as a stupendous mistake, and lament the circumstances which, at the time, rendered the establishment of any other form of political institutions impracticable. Had the spirit of the federative system been adhered to, says the one, no State would have seceded. Had the government been ordered as it should have been, retorts the other, there would have been no State to secede.

The feelings of these two classes—or rather, these two feelings—pervade the moral atmosphere in a relative state of unstable equilibrium: the one or the other gaining a temporary advantage by the force of particular events or circumstances. They enter, respectively, unperceived into the bosoms of legislators and executives and judges, becoming unrecognized conditions of thought, and making them unwittingly responsive to the waves of temporary popular excitements and fanaticisms. Through the intensification of the mental visions of public as well as of private men, upon one side, and a corresponding

obscurations upon the other, they misdirect their reflections and lead them to conclusions to which, otherwise, they would not have arrived: persuading them into incorrect estimates of the relative values of things committed to them for adjustment and disposition.

As the germs from which has been developed the conflict between the centralizing and the localizing systems of ideas in the United States are original implantations in the nature of man; as they are ingredients of his character as well as parts of his opinions, it is not probable that the end of the strife will speedily arrive. In the meantime, there is but one rule of conduct for such as stand in positions of responsibility, and that is the Constitution. As there is but one truth, all the rest of the field of possible opinion being an anarchy under the dominion of error, so there is, of the United States, but one law, the rest being a limbo given over to loose conceptions of utility, and an inconstant discretion.

In a country where, as in England, government is single, and the unwritten organic law spontaneously conforms itself to the common character, departures are apt to be few, and when they occur motion is imparted to a dormant energy which insensibly brings about the return; but, in the United States, where government is compound, and where deflections from the line of a written instrument immediately become fixed in institutions, there are no restorative forces. The unkindred growth imparts the seeds of decay to the trunk to which it cleaves: it becomes the procreant bed of parasites of its own; and though the cryptogam may expand, and the misletoe flourish, they are, all the more, harbingers of coming dissolution to the trunk to which they are attached.

If the government of the United States is to undergo transformation, there is but one mode through which the change may be properly effected. If the people of the United States are tired of the federal Union, and are bent upon a consolidated nationality, let not the work be done indirectly, through either legislative, or executive, or judicial sedition. The question is a fair one to be referred to the people, and the means for such reference are provided. Opinions upon one side are as legitimate as opinions upon the other; the wrong is in the indulgence of those feelings by which the judgments of men are unbalanced, permitting them to afford their sanction to irregular measures of a revolutionary character, under the delusive belief that the end will prove their justification.

The republican theory of government includes the proposition that the competency of the people to create and conduct such gov-

ernment is perfect, and their authority to do so, absolute. Upon no other predicate than this can the title of such government to exist be for a single moment maintained. To assume that under any calculable force of circumstances a republican State can need the assistance of an instrumentality outside of itself in the regulation of its domestic affairs, is equivalent to a denial to the people of the rights essential to its creation. A people are morally incapable to establish a government, the operations of which they are practically incapable to direct. This doctrine, to the fullest extent is recognized in the Constitution, which provides that even in case of the occurrence of those sudden popular paroxysms of which no form of social organization is a perfect preventive, the United States shall enter the States for no other purpose than to suppress violence, and then only when invoked by the constituted authorities.

The States entered the Union voluntarily. A central government had been formed to which, with their free consent, certain enumerated powers were committed. If there had been no clause of reservation, the powers not delegated would have remained with them and with the people. Whatever else they may be supposed to have reserved, they reserved their republican integrity—their rights of domestic self-regulation. If there had been, among the people, the shadow of suspicion that any of these rights had been conceded away or put in jeopardy through the Constitution, there would have been no union of States under that instrument. Their notions of the purport of the clause of guarantee may not have been very exact; but certainly that clause could not have imparted to them the information that they had concurred in ordaining a power invested with the prerogative, at its discretion to dismantle, under any pretense whatever, their institutions, absorb their jurisdictions, or, in any respect, to diminish or enfeeble their right of local self-government.

If the Union is an entirety, so is the State. If, in theory, the autonomy of the one is an indivisible whole, so, in theory, is that of the other. If the first, within its sphere, is a shapely representative of the republican ideal, so, within its sphere, is the last. The dilapidation of any part or portion of either is a dilapidation of the whole. To throw down the outworks is to expose the citadel. Diminution is degradation—a wrong which the party inflicting imposes upon another and commits against itself. Freedom is a thing that can not be delegated. It is of a constitution so sensitive that it changes its character when it changes its location. That which is liberty to a State, is supremacy when transferred to the United States. The question is

not where a certain power may be best deposited (that is matter of opinion), but where does it belong (that is matter of right).

If the statutes to which reference has been made are constitutional, they should be so pronounced. Of the plain precepts of a constitutional provision, even if its justice be questionable, there should be no evasion. There are certain maxims applicable to the admeasurement of laws by the constitutional standard, to lose sight of which is not judicious. The question is not alone of the direct effect of the conclusion reached as a rule in a particular case or class of cases, but likewise of its indirect effects as a precedent and a basis for analogies. In respect to the first, even if the conclusion be erroneous, little injury may be experienced; in respect to the last, if it be wrong, the result may be expected in an endless train of unwelcome consequences.

State self-government is State liberty. In the construction of written laws, the presumption is always in favor of liberty. Collective right, when it is a subject of inquiry, is entitled to the same consideration as individual right. To diminish the franchises of a State is to impair its corporate significance, and to assail the political dignity of its people. Jurisprudence has a maxim, "*summa jus, summa injuria*," which means that when the ministers of justice, in their inordinate exaltation of positive precept, forget the characteristic qualities of that humanity in whose behalf laws are ordained, they evade the true intent and purpose of their appointment and are guilty of oppression. Exaggeration of a single idea, social, political, or legal, is a species of fanaticism. Intensity of moral vision upon one side is always coordinated with obtuseness upon the other. Multiplied acts of individual malfeasance may excite indignation and beget a desire to take decided steps for their prevention; but to implant permanent decrepitude in the institutions of a free people for that purpose, is, to say the least, one of the most questionable of expedients.

THE INFLUENCE OF STEAM AND ELECTRICITY.

THESE great factors have had an astounding commercial, political, and economical bearing upon life in the nineteenth century.

When, in 1826, George Stephenson proposed to construct a railway from Liverpool to Manchester, and operate it with a locomotive driven by steam at a speed of twelve miles per hour, it was deemed an impossibility. "Twelve miles per hour!" exclaimed the "Quarterly Review," "as well might one be fired off on a congreve rocket!" The same incredulity was manifested as to the success of ships propelled by steam, a member of Parliament and peer of the realm, who was looked upon as a practical man of progressive ideas, offering to eat the first ship that crossed the Atlantic by this agency; and when, ten years later, Professor Morse proposed to instantly convey messages by electricity over miles of space, he was looked upon, to use no stronger term, as a visionary enthusiast. Yet these agencies, which in the first quarter of the present century were comparatively unknown, in the second and third quarters have completely revolutionized commerce, altered our manner and customs of life, and now absorb the attention of statesmen of the day in the adjustment of organic laws to meet the changed conditions of the age in which we live.

In no department of life has the influence of these great factors been greater than in that of commerce. Fifty years ago commerce was a crude, slow, and laborious interchange of products. A few persons controlled the principal staples in the markets of the world, and stored them until the consumer was obliged to pay the price asked for them. Now, the whole world has become producers or traders, and in the event of scarcity at a given place, the news is flashed to the point of supply—under the ocean and around the earth even—and the giant power of steam hurries the products of the world to our doors. In this we see how wonderfully the one power is supplemented and aided by the other; there is nothing

yet discovered in creation so marvelous, and we must turn to fairy land for a parallel: the story of Aladdin and his Lamp is realized; steam is our "genie," and electricity our "slave of the ring"—the one has the power to remove mountains, the other to annihilate time and space.

Commerce has always been dependent upon transportation, and nations are great or insignificant just in proportion to the magnitude of their commerce. We have seen this in the argosies of Venice, the Indiamen of Holland and of England, and within the last forty years in what the locomotive has done for the interior of this country. Forty years ago our commerce was insignificant in amount and limited to a short distance from the seaboard; but the locomotive came upon the scene, and forthwith the prairies of the West began to yield of their abundance; and now, the whole continent is dotted throughout its length and breadth with prosperous cities and villages; and the internal commerce of this country is reckoned by thousands, while that of our foreign trade may be numbered by hundreds of millions.

Lord Bacon has said, "There be three things which make a nation great and prosperous: a fertile soil, busy work-shops, and easy conveyance of men and things from place to place." This was true at the time it was said, and is also true to-day; but with the advent of steam and electricity, and the consequent extension of the geographical limits of commerce, the latter condition has completely overshadowed the former; and at this time, the producing, manufacturing, and consuming interests, together with the mercantile or distributing interest, are all dependent upon and controlled by the transportation interest. The abuses which have crept into the management of our carrying system are among the causes of the present unsatisfactory state of trade throughout the United States, and have given rise to the general demand for some change that will prevent the many from being thus taxed for the benefit of the few. This brings us to

THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE QUESTION,

and in order to properly understand it, we must go back and see how steam and electricity came to have any thing to do with politics.

From time immemorial our highways were owned and kept in order by the people; but when the vastly superior steam roads were invented, the people delegated their powers and duties in this respect to associations of individuals; and being overjoyed at the coming of the great benefactor, they neglected to shut the door against attendant

evils. With but little consideration they granted concessions without proper restrictions and safeguards, which soon made their possessors so powerful that by combination and consolidation they became, in many cases, monopolies, with power sufficient to prevent or crush competition, and to unduly tax and oppress the people who created them.

Let us examine this power. The latest statistics show that we have, in the United States, about 74,000 miles of railway, with a nominal capital of 4,200,000,000 dollars; their gross receipts aggregate over 500,000,000 dollars, amounts greatly in excess of the government debt and revenue; all this sum is capable of being controlled and directed by a very few men; on all questions where railroad interests conflict with the interest of the public, the influence of this wealth is a unit against the people. It employs great armies in operating the various lines of road; it is the best customer of the press; it controls the telegraph lines, has the readiest access to the public ear, and is the all-powerful abettor or terrible foe to political aspirations. Many of our laws are made in its interest, and along every line of railway it keeps in its employ the best legal talent; these men become our judges, and, having been educated to view laws relating to railway matters from a railway stand-point, naturally interpret difficult points in its favor. Members of the legal profession are often in the lobby to serve this interest; and instances are not wanting where representatives of the people, while holding official positions, accept retainers to advocate claims adverse to the rights of the people. A railroad corporation is soulless, and yet immortal; wiser than philosophy, it has found in a perpetual charter the elixir of life. When our fathers abolished the law of primogeniture, they supposed the country was secured against the evils of vast individual wealth accumulating from generation to generation, because the certainty of death would bring the certainty of distribution; but a perpetual charter, granted without consideration, has become a spindle to twist the gossamer thread across the chasm of death. All this vast and constantly increasing wealth is under irresponsible control. A corporation can neither be hung nor sent to the penitentiary; that is to say, there is an entire absence of individual responsibility. Vigorous, alert, all-powerful, and perpetual, it only needs unscrupulous managers to become a worse tyrant than Nero—a more dangerous master than Robespierre. On page 158 of the Report of the United States Senate Committee on Transportation Routes, we find the following:

“In the matter of taxation, there are to-day four men, representing the four great trunk lines between Chicago and New York, who pos-

sess, and not unfrequently exercise, powers which the Congress of the United States would not venture to exert. They may at any time, and for any reason satisfactory to themselves, by a single stroke of the pen, reduce the value of property in this country by hundreds of millions of dollars. An additional charge of five cents per bushel on the transportation of cereals would have been equivalent to a tax of 45,000,000 dollars on the crop of 1873. No Congress would dare to exercise so vast a power, except upon a necessity of the most imperative nature; and yet these gentlemen exercise it whenever it suits their supreme will and pleasure, without explanation or apology. With the rapid and inevitable progress of combination and consolidation, those colossal organizations are daily becoming stronger and more imperious. The day is not distant, if it has not already arrived, when it will be the duty of the statesman to inquire whether there is less danger in leaving the property and industrial interests of the people thus wholly at the mercy of a few men, who recognize no responsibility but to their stockholders and no principle of action but personal and corporate aggrandizement, than in adding somewhat to the power and patronage of a government directly responsible to the people, and entirely under their control."

The preface to "the American Railway Manual" for 1873, in speaking of the railway interest, somewhat ominously alludes to it as "what is destined to be the dominant interest of the United States."

The following will show the number of miles of railroad in operation in the United States at different periods since 1830: In 1830, 23; 1831, 95; 1832, 229; 1833, 380; 1834, 633; 1835, 1,098; 1836, 1,273; 1837, 1,497; 1838, 1,913; 1839, 2,302; 1840, 2,818; 1850, 9,021; 1860, 30,635; 1870, 52,898; 1871, 60,677; 1872, 67,104; 1873, 70,068; and at this time it is estimated that about 74,000 miles of road are in operation.

It is worthy of note that while their construction has extended over a period of forty-five years, about 44,000 miles have been finished within the last fifteen years; many of them were projected and built far in advance of the wants of the country, solely for the subsidies of public lands and money which have been lavishly given, and for the profit of rings known as "construction companies"—the directors in the railroad company letting to themselves, as a construction company, the contract for building the road at one price, then reletting it to *bona fide* contractors at half the price they obtained, the contractors in some instances reletting to sub-contractors. The Union and Central Pacific roads were built in this manner,

and the history of the construction company of the former road, known as the "Crédit mobilier," is familiar to every one; the history of the legislation, however, by which this road was projected and built, may not be so familiar, and we will give a brief summary.

Congress, recognizing the desirability of such a road, passed a law loaning the company a certain sum per mile, varying according to situation, but amounting in the aggregate to 27,237,000 dollars; taking as security therefor a first mortgage upon the road. In consideration of this loan, the company were to pay the annual interest, and also to pay the government, each year, as a sinking fund for the extinction of the debt, a sum equal to five per cent. upon their net earnings; they also agreed to transport munitions of war and other government freight without collection, the amount so earned to be added to the sinking fund above mentioned.

In consideration of this, and as a premium for the building of the road, Congress passed an act granting the company twelve millions of acres of the public lands—an area the size of which can be appreciated when we say that it is one-third larger than the combined States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Having secured this, the company represented that they were unable to finish the road unless they were given the right to issue and dispose of first mortgage bonds; and they introduced and lobbied through Congress an act changing the mortgage held by the government from a first to a second lien, when they immediately proceeded to issue bonds and stock—the proceeds of which the "Crédit mobilier" was formed to divide. Congressional investigations have shown that the directors of the Union Pacific railroad company presented themselves as directors of the "Crédit mobilier" with 94,650,287.24 dollars in cash, stock, and bonds, of which they acknowledge 43,929,328.24 dollars were profits. It is believed by many, that the 27,236,000 dollars received from the Government, would have been sufficient, if honestly expended, to construct the entire work; and yet the commerce of this country can and will be taxed for all time to pay dividends upon the entire mass of obligations thus issued without equivalent. The company also obtained from Congress an act relinquishing one-half of the amount retained for government transportation, and have refused to pay the interest on the government loan of 27,236,000 dollars, and also the five per cent. upon their net earnings, alleging that the term "net earnings" means the amount left after paying interest and dividends on the bonds and stock issued for the benefit of the "Crédit mobilier." The government,

however, has brought suit to recover the sums which it claims are due, and this has elicited from the company the following proposal: "To pay into the treasury of the United States 500,000 dollars each year for the next twenty years, after which, at the rate of 250,000 dollars per year, the amounts so paid to be held as a sinking fund to the credit of the company, to be devoted to the redemption of the second mortgage bonds held by the government, and to the payment of the interest thereon in lawful money at six per cent." This proposal has not been accepted by the Secretary of the Treasury, and as the annual interest upon 27,236,000 dollars, at six per cent., is 1,634,160 dollars, to say nothing of the other obligations of the company, it is not probable that it will be.

The foregoing history is interesting chiefly in showing how great corporations manage to mold and shape legislation to suit their ends, and in this respect the history of the Union Pacific, in its inflation and false statement of cost, finds a counterpart in that of most of the other roads throughout the United States. Nearly every State Legislature has had the same experience; an examination of the legislation of the past twenty years will show that the railroads have had pretty much their own way, and that legislatures, either by sins of omission or commission, have sadly neglected to protect the public interest.

Abuses have also crept into the operation of our modern highways which are even more prejudicial to the public interest than those we have described in their construction. Prominent among these is the capitalization of surplus earnings, commonly known as "stock watering." This is done under a variety of pretexts, but the only one which has a shadow of reason is as follows. It is argued that the roads which have been improved and have increased in value should pay an increased return to their owners, as real estate and other investments do. This looks reasonable upon its face; but it must be borne in mind, that the railroad is unlike any private investment—it is semi-public in its nature, and is given certain privileges, among which is the right to take private property, because it is "for public use," and it therefore owes some duties to the public that a private investor or a manufacturing company does not. Again, a railroad is usually projected and built to develop a section of country, and that object having been attained, it changes hands—often at much less than cost; and the second owners, owing to increased business or higher rates, finding they can pay larger dividends than the public would be likely to view with equanimity, quietly issue more stock,

over which to distribute its earnings. Justice to the public, however, would seem to indicate that when a road has surplus earnings, they should be invested in improving and completing its equipment, in order that it may be safe and efficient; and when so completed, rates should be reduced to a point which will pay a fair interest upon the investment. A railroad, owing to its nature, is inevitably a monopoly; in case of exorbitant charges, capital can not be readily gathered to build a competing road, as in other branches of business; therefore the usual law of supply and demand is inoperative and the public are entitled to a proper protection against abuse of power.

It is well known that the cost of transportation decreases very rapidly as business increases, and that most of the older roads pay largely—not always in regular dividends to *bona fide* stockholders, but in tremendous profits to the managing ring, who organize credit mobillier “bridge companies” which charge the railroad heavy tolls, or “coal companies” which have their products transported at a nominal rate, or “supply companies” which enjoy a monopoly of furnishing supplies at exorbitant prices; and the tremendous development of the country enables the roads, in many cases, to stand these swindles and yet pay dividends to the stockholders. In other cases roads are purposely bankrupted by the managing ring, in order that they may “freeze out” the *bona fide* stockholders and buy in the property at low prices. And it is precisely these abuses in construction and management which have brought so many roads into the hands of receivers, and thrown discredit upon us at home and abroad.

When it becomes the interest of unscrupulous men to perpetuate these abuses they become politicians. And, to our shame be it said, so many of our railway managers are of that class, and so often is political influence in demand to serve their purposes, that in many parts of our country the entire patronage of these powerful organizations is bent to that end, and the political management of railways has become a science.

One great feature, however, of their politics is, that they never quarrel with the party in power. Influential men on both sides are cultivated; free passes are a usual attention to prominent men; editors and legislators all travel on free passes; members of Congress and senators of the United States are favorites; many are avowedly elected in that interest; others, who belong to the legal profession, are retained professionally; influence is brought to bear in a hundred ways which are not directly dishonorable, and when necessary, the

purchasing power of money is freely used. In the report of a committee appointed by the Legislature of the State of New York, in 1872, to investigate the affairs of the Erie railroad, we find the following :

"It is further in evidence that it has been the custom of the managers of the Erie railway, from year to year in the past, to spend large sums to control elections and to influence legislation. In the year 1868 more than 1,000,000 dollars was disbursed from the treasury for 'extra and legal service.'" For interesting items see Mr. Watson's testimony, pages 336 and 337.

"Mr. Gould, when last on the stand and examined in relation to various vouchers shown him, admitted the payment, during the three years prior to 1872, of large sums to Barber, Tweed, and others, and to influence legislation or elections; these amounts were charged in the 'India rubber account.' The memory of this witness was very defective as to details, and he could only remember large transactions, but could distinctly recall that he had been in the habit of sending money into the numerous districts all over the State, either to control nominations or elections for senators and members of Assembly. He considered that, as a rule, such investments paid better than to wait till the men got to Albany; and added the significant remark, when asked a question, that it would be as impossible to specify the numerous instances, as it would to recall to mind the numerous freight cars sent over the Erie road from day to day" (See testimony, p. 556).

"It is not reasonable to suppose the Erie railway has been alone in the corrupt use of money for the purposes named, but the sudden revolution in the direction of this company has laid bare a chapter in the secret history of railroad management such as has not been permitted before. It exposes the reckless and prodigal use of money, wrung from the people to purchase the election of the people's representatives, and to bribe them when in office. According to Mr. Gould, his operations extended into four different States. It was his custom to contribute money to influence nominations and elections."

It is admitted that the elections of 1874 carried into office a very large number of "railroad men," and it is said that a representative of one of the trunk lines—in commenting upon this fact—recently observed that they would "control the next 'presidential election.'"

Certainly this looks as if the prophecy before noted, that it was "destined to become the dominant interest in the United States," is likely to be soon fulfilled.

So much for steam and electricity in their commercial and political bearings. Let us now examine into their

ECONOMICAL FEATURES.

It is generally admitted that all material wealth is the product of labor. From time immemorial those who have controlled the greatest amount of reliable and intelligent labor, have also accumulated the greatest wealth and possessed the greatest power. Steam is the greatest saver of labor; or more correctly, performs the greatest amount of labor, and is therefore the greatest creator of wealth in existence. Within forty years it has quadrupled the producing capacity of all civilized nations; nay, it has done even more, it has created wants for the purpose of consuming its overabundance of supply; furnishing as it does an unlimited supply of cheap, reliable, and never-tiring power, it has stimulated the brain of the inventor to produce cunning methods of applying it; and machinery with its thousand and one combinations produce results which, in massiveness or delicacy, far outstrip the possibilities of human labor. No combination of human muscle can drive a mighty ship across the ocean in eight days, or an express train at the rate of forty miles per hour; yet these have become matters of every-day life; and as this great power is supplemented by its active co-worker, electricity, which is soon destined to veritably "put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes," what may we not expect in the way of material progress during the next forty years?

To realize, however, the benefits of these great factors in modern civilization, they must not be monopolized by any one class to the exclusion of others. Like light, or air, or water, they are God's gifts to the human race, and should be possessed and enjoyed by everyone. Thus far, however, they have been largely monopolized by the moneyed classes, because they have possessed the means of applying them to the wants of the human family. The great middle class has been charged exorbitantly for their use, and the laboring classes have benefited but little by their discovery. Indeed, these tremendous powers have made capital to a great extent independent of human labor. And while in the diffusion and development of industries consequent upon the application of steam and electricity to the wants of the human race, the laboring classes have managed to obtain a living, yet it has been by directing the application of the power which is bringing immense returns to capital. We see this illustrated in the mill operative who tends a spinning machine, or by the engineer who drives a locomotive; and it is evident that the middle and lower classes are not sharing proportionately in the wealth and prosperity which steam and electricity have conferred upon the human family.

This can not go on forever without subverting the principles upon which our government is founded ; it lies at the root of the question of the relations of capital and labor—at the root of every strike and every lock-out.

The wise men who framed the constitution of the United States, knew the selfishness of human nature, and provided for the protection of the weak against the strong ; they knew the power and temptation of great aggregations of wealth in the hands of a few, and the benefit of a diffusion of it in the hands of many ; hence they at one stroke abolished the law of primogeniture—a law which for centuries had been one of the features of government in the principal nations of the earth. But they could not foresee the changes which steam and electricity have wrought. They could not foresee that these agencies would enable capitalists to control the transportation system of a continent, and by taxing every producer and consumer in the land, accumulate in a day fortunes which formerly required the toil of a series of generations. They did not deem it possible for a few individuals to acquire the power to buy up the gold of a nation, and compel every legitimate trader to pay exorbitantly for its use ; and that to perpetuate their power, they would seek to control, either by ownership or patronage, “the press,”—that bulwark of our free institutions. If they could have foreseen these results, can there be a doubt that they would have endeavored to provide against them ?

Let any fair-minded man examine into the spirit of the constitution of the United States of America, and he will be satisfied that the purpose of that instrument was to provide for the greatest good of the greatest number, and that no class privileges were to be tolerated. Yet in the face of this great, all-pervading principle, there are people who will argue that a charter conferring certain privileges granted by the people of one generation, is, amid all the changes of the age—a perpetual, irrevocable, unalterable obligation upon the people of the next generation. If this be so, then our government must be founded upon an abstract theory, and is destined to prove a failure.

We fancy not many American citizens are yet ready to admit this ; and the question of the day then is, how to remedy the evils which have grown up in our midst during the last half century ; how to equalize the benefits and burdens of life for the present and for the future.

This question must be approached with the principles of equal rights and universal justice ever in view, and when a conclusion has

been reached the remedy must be as promptly adopted as was the resolution abolishing the law of primogeniture; a century ago this was without precedent, and in that respect more radical even than the establishment of the Republic. Our Republic has outlived the storms of a hundred years, and if the history of its second century is to be written, it will be recorded that it owed its continued existence to the recognition of these same eternal principles of equal rights and universal justice in shaping the new organic laws which must soon be enacted to meet the changed conditions of the times in which we live—conditions which have been imposed by steam and electricity.

One of the things to be done is to educate the lower classes and qualify them for a higher citizenship; teach them to read and to write, so they may learn the duties of a citizen. The last census shows that there are in this free and enlightened land, 4,528,084 persons who can not read, and 5,658,144 who can not write; many of whom have been toiling from tenderest years, tending at machines, perhaps, driven by steam or electricity; for in many of the subdivisions of modern commerce, these great forces furnish the power, and require but a modicum of either intellectual or physical capacity to serve the purposes of capital. Go into any city or manufacturing center, and you will find numbers of human beings, citizens of the United States, who have been thus dwarfed, sometimes in body, sometimes in mind, men and women, who are thus made the prey of, or who beget vice. This is one part of the problem which the statesmen of the day have to solve, a part which no branch of society can afford to neglect. The nation can not afford it either on moral or financial grounds. Capital even is interested in the education of the masses, for it will both lighten its burdens and increase its revenues.

The middle and higher classes in this country also need education—education in their duties as citizens. Many a man does not prize highly enough his right as a citizen to go to the polls and vote, or having voted, he considers that his whole duty is performed; he knows men for whom he would prefer to vote, but can not, because he, and his like, failed to attend the primary meetings at which the question of nominations is virtually decided; so an inferior or unworthy man is nominated and elected to make laws for the community which he is unfit to represent.

When these facts are presented to busy men, they will tell you that they "have no time to attend to politics"; but this can never be a valid excuse. Every citizen *must*, to some extent, attend to politics,

or the Republic in time will be subverted. There is an alarming amount of carelessness and indifference among the better classes in regard to exercising the right of franchise.

They are apparently so absorbed in the rush and hurry of the age—so engrossed with the cares of business—so intent upon the things which press more immediately upon their attention, that they neglect more important things, which are only a little more remote.

We see this illustrated in the owner of real estate, closely attending to some of the minor details of his business, and thereby saving a small sum; while, perhaps, incompetent and irresponsible legislators are passing laws which he has not the time to oppose, but which levy a tax upon his property perhaps ten times as large as the other amount he saved. We find merchants and manufacturers who pursue their business with great assiduity, invest large amounts of capital, attend closely to details, and yet find that business is dull, and their profits small, who, if the cause be investigated, will find that the abuses of a defective system of transportation prevent them from competing favorably with another community, whose merchants were shrewd enough to invest a portion of their capital in, and thus control, their transportation.

The producing and mercantile classes are suffering at this time because they have had no voice in the legislation of the forty years last past; all that time they have been electing lawyers and professional politicians to office, some of whom were dishonest, and most of whom cared more for the intrigues of party than for the material welfare of their country. Instead of attempting to solve the great questions of the day, statesmanship seems to consist of attempts to prove the one party worse than the other.

But these questions are even now pressing upon us. Steam and electricity are driving us forward at a tremendous pace; each ten years the census reveals facts which make us almost doubt the evidence of our senses.

To some, ten years may seem an insignificant space of time; but ten years ago California scarcely raised enough wheat for home consumption, and now she produces more for export than any other State. Thirteen years since, Minnesota imported her bread-stuffs, while to-day she stands next to California in the quantity of wheat exported. Ten years ago the railway mileage of this country was under 40,000; to-day it is 74,000, and within ten years, notwithstanding the ravages of a civil war, we have added more than seven millions of souls to our population, and have become a great manufacturing

nation. The statesman of to-day must be no laggard if he keeps step to the music of the times.

All this would have been impossible but for the genie, steam, and its agile messenger, electricity, the application of which to the wants of the human family is still in its infancy. Within fifteen years the carrying capacity of ocean steamers has been doubled, their expenses halved, and their speed greatly increased; this has been accomplished by the screw-propeller, the compound engine, and superheated steam. Ten years ago the transportation by rail of grain in bulk was deemed impracticable; last year two-thirds of the surplus grain of the West reached the seaboard by rail. Within a year the "quadruplex" telegraph instrument has been discovered, by which two messages can be sent each way upon the same wire at the same time; and the inventor claims that the same principle can be multiplied indefinitely, and he is now perfecting a "multiplex" instrument; while what is known as the "automatic system" is claimed to be a still greater improvement, and reduces the expense and trouble of telegraphy to the minimum. An experimental locomotive has been built during the past year, and is now running, which, by a new method of making and applying steam, shows a saving of fifty per cent. in fuel besides a great increase in power. In the Guide to the United States Patent Office there is the following commentary upon machinery for the manufacture of paper: "The old hand-process produced about 100 lbs per day; a machine will turn out 2,000 lbs in the same time. A machine will convert a stream of fluid pulp into paper, dry and polish it, and cut it into sheets; the time consumed in converting the pulp is two minutes—the old process was eight days." Novel and ingenious applications of steam and electricity are so frequent that they now scarcely excite more than a passing remark; but when we look back upon the progress made in each decade, we realize the truth that there may be in the song of steam:

"I've no muscle to weary, no breast to decay,
No bones to be laid on the shelf;
And soon I intend you may go and play,
While I manage the world myself."

These lines were written in 1848 by George W. Cutter, and were then considered in the highest degree fanciful and unreal; but in the light of the progress of only twenty-seven years it seems—like Shakespeare's promise to "put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes"—almost prophetic.

INDUSTRIAL ART EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN matters of education, the United States has much to learn; much either to create or to borrow, before it can rank with the leading countries of Europe. Our spread-eagle orators have lauded the common-school system to the skies; yet one of the most important elements of any school system—compulsory education—is just beginning its career with us. It has been adopted in but half a dozen States; in the others, public opinion has not been lifted to the necessary level. Yet this feature has been the pride of the Prussian schools for more than a century, and is found in many other continental countries. But it is in its system of technical or professional education that this country is the most deficient. It is no discredit that our highest institutions of learning do not rival those extensive universities of the old world, such as the university in Vienna with its two hundred instructors and four thousand students, and nearly four hundred distinct courses of lectures, covering the entire realm of science, letters, philosophy, and religion; or those magnificent polytechnic schools which are found in most of the continental countries, such as that at Carlsruhe, Baden, with its more than fifty instructors and five hundred students, and its well-organized schools of mathematics, engineering, machine building, architecture, chemistry, forestry, and agriculture. These are the outgrowth of an older civilization, and are not looked for in new or comparatively new countries. There are also those who may contend that the constitution of American society and character, and the conditions of success here, are not adapted to the longer and more thorough discipline in law, theology, and medicine which is required in many foreign institutions; that we are a money-making people and have not time to spend half our lives within the academic walls; and that the average American must see, not merely culture and intellectual greatness as the reward of study, but financial success, he must be satisfied that his university training will enlarge his facilities for making money.

But it is in this very respect that the American educational system is the most behind that of foreign countries. Europe is full of schools that teach men how to attain the best results in every department of industry: the agriculturist, how to make the soil yield the most and the best; the stock raiser, how to produce the finest types of domestic animals; the forester, how to make the boundless woods contribute the most to the general comfort and happiness; the miner, how to dig from the earth its mineral riches, and the metallurgist, how best to use them; the chemist, how to combine and separate with the most useful results; the mariner, how to protect from storm and wave the rich commerce in his care; the manufacturer, the best and speediest modes of converting raw material into the finished product; the engineer, how to overcome apparently insurmountable obstacles in nature, and give to commerce and travel those magnificent public improvements such as the Suez Canal and the Mont Cenis Tunnel. The governing principle of all these institutions is, that intelligence is the most important element of progress in every department of industry; that agriculture, commerce, manufacturing and mining are based on science, or are sciences in themselves, no less than law, theology, and medicine; and that it is as important to produce intelligent farmers, miners, and manufacturers as it is to have learned preachers, lawyers, and doctors. But how far have these technical or special schools been founded or borrowed by the Americans, who have not the time nor the patience for pure intellectual development, but must see a reasonable financial promise in every undertaking? To what extent have they developed that system of technical education which is most nearly allied with money-making?

The importance of making science subservient to agriculture was recognized more than three-quarters of a century ago in Germany, and now excellent agricultural schools and special schools of chemistry are general throughout Europe. In the United States, a great agricultural country, deriving a large proportion of its wealth from the soil, this important branch of education is in its infancy. Consider the magnificent schools of mines in France, Saxony, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, Russia, and other European countries, with courses of instruction occupying from three to four years—and even eight years in the Imperial School of Mines in St. Petersburg! In the United States, where the earth teems with mineral wealth, schools of this class are of recent origin and generally connected with other institutions. Until within a few years, our young men have been obliged to go to foreign lands, in order to become skilled miners and metal-

lurgists. Schools of commerce of a high grade are common in Europe, both independent of and connected with other institutions; but in the United States the only commercial training is that afforded by the business colleges established and maintained by private enterprise. So also, in most of the maritime countries of Europe, are found schools of navigation, the object of which is to train mariners and masters of merchant vessels. The European schools of forestry, which afford thorough theoretical and practical instruction in silviculture, have contributed largely toward the preservation and better cultivation of the valuable forests which constitute such an important source of national wealth. But no such institution can be found in this country. The United States Commissioner of Education, General John Eaton, has estimated that not less than fifteen million dollars' worth of horses are annually lost in this country for the want of skillful medical treatment. And yet, until recently, there have been no opportunities in the United States for public instruction in veterinary science; or they have been very limited. Since 1857 there has been a veterinary college in the city of New York which claimed to be the only regular public institution of the kind in the United States. The Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst, and Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, have each a professor of veterinary science. What other schools of this kind have we? Yet Europe has not less than twenty-five well-organized veterinary colleges, the best of which are found in Germany. Not only are educated veterinary surgeons thus supplied for the army and the civil service, but "privileged horse-shoers" are graduated. So, too, schools for the training of midwives are common abroad, and in some countries no woman is allowed to practice as such unless she is provided with their certificate. Austria has not less than eight of these schools, in which more than twelve hundred women every year receive practical and theoretical instruction. Special schools of architecture, although of comparatively recent origin, also form a part of the educational system of various continental countries. Most of these technical schools are public institutions under the direction of the government.

The forward movement, however, has been begun in the United States. Under the head of the foremost educator of America, our oldest college has already thrown off its narrow, conservative, academic character, and is rapidly advancing to a place among the grand universities of the old world. Here also the wedge of reform has been entered into the loose system of medical education which has always obtained in this country; and the Harvard Medical School

bears aloft the standard of progress, the forerunner of a better era. Although the importance of creating State colleges of agriculture in the United States was urged by prominent agriculturists as early as the year 1837, the oldest institution of this kind is not yet out of its teens; for it was not till 1857, that the State Agricultural College of Michigan was opened. But under the impulse given by Congress in 1862, when about eight millions of acres of the public lands were granted for the establishment of colleges of agricultural and the mechanic arts in all the States and territories, institutions of this kind have been rapidly multiplied, and are now in successful operation in many of the States. In the important department of industrial education, our institutions are of recent origin. One of the most completely developed, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Boston, is scarcely a dozen years old; but its facilities for instruction in the industrial sciences and arts are already extensive, and will doubtless be greatly augmented in the near future. In the same field, doing good work, are those valuable young technical schools, the Stevens Institute of Technology, in Hoboken, New Jersey; the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, in Troy, New York; the Sheffield Scientific School, New Haven, Connecticut, the Polytechnic College of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia; and Lafayette College, at Easton, Pennsylvania. While in the department of mining, a good beginning has been made by the schools of mines of Harvard University and Yale and Columbia Colleges. And here should be mentioned with honor our youngest school for industrial education, the Worcester (Mass.) Free Institute of Industrial Science, but recently opened, with its vast machine shop, for practical training. The good work, therefore, in many departments of technical education is progressing, and the introduction of the latest feature into our system of public instruction, that of art education, brings us to a consideration of that topic.

Before proceeding further, it may be well to inquire what art education is, how it is imparted, and what are its uses. And here we shall make a distinction between general industrial education and industrial art education, by treating the latter as a branch of the former. Mr. J. Scott Russell, who has read England a valuable lecture on this subject in his "Systematic Technical Education," defines technical or industrial education as "that which shall render an English artillery-man a better artillery-man than a French man; an English soldier a better soldier than a Prussian; an English locomotive builder better than a German; an English ship-builder better than an American ship-builder; an English silk manufacturer supe-

rior to a Lyons silk-manufacturer; an English ribbon-manufacturer superior to a Swiss ribbon manufacturer." It is true that art education, as a branch of general industrial education, will contribute to all these ends, and will have an important influence upon all branches of manufactures; but it relates more directly to what may be termed the industrial fine arts—those industries in which the superiority of the product consists in the excellence of its model or pattern, the taste of its design, or the beauty of its colors. We shall not here consider art education in its æsthetic, but in its industrial relations; not the more advanced branch which has for its object the training of painters, sculptors, fine engravers, etc.; but the more elementary and practical feature which gives us skilled workmen in the ordinary branches of industry. We shall consider, not fine art education, but industrial art education.

The system of industrial art education is based upon a thorough knowledge and skill in drawing. While drawing constitutes an important element in every department of technical education it is the main feature of the branch under consideration. Those who look upon drawing as valuable chiefly to the draughtsman or architect, or as a matter of sentiment, an idle accomplishment; who have derived their views of its utility from the old-fashioned pedagogue who flogged his pupils for idling away precious school hours by covering their slates with bad pictures of houses, or worse of ships, know little of its importance as an element of national prosperity. "Art education," says Mr. Walter Smith, "in the form of industrial drawing, whatever it may cost the country will be repaid to it in the increased value of industrial products; it will develop the intellect of the people in an eminently practical direction." The French imperial commission, appointed in 1863 to consider the best means of advancing the art education of France, with the view of improving its industrial facilities, after pointing out how much French industry was indebted to the drawing schools of that country, reported, in 1865, that "among all the branches of instruction which in different degrees from the highest to the lowest grade can contribute to the technical education of either sex, drawing, in all its forms and applications, has been almost universally regarded as the one which it is most important to make common."

How, then, is this instruction to be imparted to the masses. First, by the public schools, in which drawing should constitute an obligatory exercise, from the primary to the high school; secondly, by night-schools and evening classes for adults; thirdly, by special schools of

drawing for all classes; and lastly, by museums, art galleries, and other public collections, as well as courses of public lectures on art subjects, all of which are important forces in the department of industrial education. The benefits of this instruction are not limited to those apt with the pencil. The long experience of Mr. Smith has taught him that about one hundred per cent. of school children can be taught to draw well, and that there are but four classes of human beings incapable of profiting by this instruction—the blind, the idiotic, the lunatic, and the paralytic.

The less thoughtful may wonder how the industrial prosperity of a nation can be so dependent upon the art education of its people. This inquiry has been well met by Mr. Walter Smith, in his excellent treatise, "Art Education, Scholastic and Industrial," recently published. "Within the last five and twenty years," he says, "we have seen a wonderful change take place in the money value of the manufactures of England. While the cost of producing most of the products of industrial art has decreased by about one-half, through the invention of various machines and the discovery of labor-saving processes, the actual value of the manufactured article, taking one branch of manufacture with another, is nearly doubled; and this difference is not to be accounted for by any alteration in the value of money. How, then, is it to be explained? Simply thus. A manufactured article, whether a garment, a piece of porcelain, an article of furniture, or even a golden chalice, may be said to possess three elements of value. First, the raw material; second, the labor of production; third, the art character. The first two in some few cases are a large proportion of the value of the whole; and, where no art whatever is displayed, it forms the whole value. But in a vast majority of the manufacturing products of every country, the elements of cost of material and cost of labor are insignificant in comparison with the third element, viz., art character. It is that which makes the object attractive and pleasing, or repulsive or uninteresting, to the purchaser, and is consequently of commercial value. In many objects where the material is of little or no intrinsic worth, the taste displayed in their design forms the sole value, or the principal, and it has been the general elevation of that element which has nearly doubled the commercial value of English manufactures. I am not aware of any great improvement of material, or of demand, but have seen with my own eyes an advance in the artistic element in many branches of British industry, from a condition closely bordering upon the barbarism of savage races to the refinement of the greatest art epochs.

And it has not been an exceptional case, or a development in one direction owing to peculiar circumstances. If we take pottery, glass, porcelain, terra cotta, metal work in wrought iron, brass, bronze, silver plate, goldsmith's work, jewelry, paper-hanging, carpets, parquetry, encaustic tiles, furniture, cabinet-making, upholstery, stained glass, mural decoration, wood and stone carving, chasing, enameling, lace-making, embroidery—all show that infusion of taste which has in all cases increased, and in many cases doubled their value in the market in five and twenty years."

Again, in quoting the testimony upon this point of a manufacturer of one of Massachusetts' busy industrial centers, he says: "In one room where I saw an actual preponderance of old men, who were studying the same subject from the same book which I have taught to children eight years old and upward, a manufacturer made the statement that their designs cost them forty-five thousand dollars a year, every dollar of which went to England, France, and Germany. If a school of art had been in operation in that city for ten years the designs would have cost that manufacturer perhaps five thousand dollars a year, and the dollars would have been kept within a mile of the mill—a clear gain of forty thousand dollars a year to the country in one city alone. That forty thousand dollars a year is one of the self-imposed taxes upon our ignorance, which we pay to other countries, and is a sign of our bondage and slavery to them."

The experience of England affords a forcible illustration of the practical value of art education. When the industrial and art products of all nations were gathered in London, in 1851, the English manufacturers were amazed at the beauty and grace of design shown by many articles of continental manufacture, and were especially humiliated by the marked contrast between foreign earthenware and glass, and the English collection, "which," in the language of Mr. Russell, "disgusted the whole nation with its blue earthenware, plates, cups and saucers, borrowed from the two thousand years' tradition of China, and with its huge lumps of glass called decanters and glasses, cut or molded into hideous distortions of form." This inferiority was wisely attributed to the lack of art education, by Prince Albert, whose earnest efforts were at once directed toward the establishment of art schools in the manufacturing districts. So soon did these young institutions bear fruit that at the next Universal Exposition in 1855, England, in the opinion of Mr. Russell, "was no longer outstripped in pottery and glass"; and when, a few years later, a commission came from France to ascertain the cause of this marked progress, they went home and

pointed to the English art schools, and the South Kensington Museum, as a sufficient explanation. The satire which Sir Charles Williams, quoted by Mr. Marryat, had long ago directed against the crude wares of English potters, had now lost its force.

“Such work as this can England do?
It rivals Dresden and outdoes St. Cloud.
For lace let Flanders bear away the bell,
In finest linen let the Dutch excel,
For prettiest stuffs let Ireland first be named,
And for best-fancied silks let France be famed:
Do thou, thrice happy England, still prepare
This clay, and rest thy fame on earthenware!”

The English system of art education which, if not founded by Prince Albert, owes its growth to the efforts made by him after the Exposition of 1851, has continued to develop since that date. In 1852 there were only twenty art schools, no night classes for artisans, and no free instruction in drawing in the public schools. Twenty years later, the nation pointed with pride to one hundred and twenty-two special art schools, with nearly twenty-three thousand students, and five hundred and thirty-eight night classes, with more than seventeen thousand students, while nearly two hundred thousand children were taught drawing in the public schools without charge. That grand educational force, the South Kensington Museum, which has done more for English industrial prosperity than any other institution, was visited in 1872 by upward of a million persons; while its art library was used by twenty thousand students and its educational library by fifteen thousand. Five thousand four hundred of its paintings, objects, diagrams, etc., were circulated throughout the nation, and were visited by three-quarters of a million persons. Numerous objects were also loaned to schools of art for purposes of study. This institution is not merely a museum for the amusement of the public, but is also a valuable training school, “where above a thousand students annually obtain education, fitting them for every branch of art work, whether as designers, public instructors, painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, lithographers, or as connoisseurs.”

Not alone in England, but in France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, and other continental countries has the system of art education experienced rapid progress. In the little kingdom of Würtemberg, with its two million of inhabitants, there are, according to Stetson, four hundred drawing schools.

Now let us see what has been done in this direction by our own

country. In order to ascertain what opportunities are afforded for art training in the United States, the National Bureau of Education, through Mr. I. Edwards Clarke, has recently made very extensive inquiries, the replies to which show that while drawing has been introduced into the public school system of Massachusetts, where also evening schools of drawing and a normal art training school have been established; has been more or less taught in the public schools in many cities and towns of other States; and that mechanical drawing is taught in many schools of science; there are not more than a half dozen schools in the United States for practical training in art as applied to industry and manufactures. The Worcester County (Mass.) Free Institute "offers a three years course of theoretical and practical training in those branches of knowledge that underlie the industrial arts." Drawing is a prominent feature of all the courses of study. The Lowell Free School of Industrial Design, connected with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is "intended to train young men and women in practical designing for manufactures." The Woman's Art School at the Cooper Institute in New York City affords free instruction in drawing, wood engraving, painting, and photography. Here, also, a Free Night School of Science and Art is maintained for instruction in mathematics, chemistry, mechanics, natural philosophy, besides architectural, mechanical, and free-hand drawing from copy, cast, and life, and perspective and modeling in clay. The Philadelphia School of Design for Women is open ten months during the year; it is the only one of those here enumerated in which tuition is not free, the charge being forty dollars per annum. Its aim is "the systematic training of young women in a knowledge of the principles and practice of the art of design, to develop and exercise their talents therein, and to qualify them for the practical application of art to the common uses of daily life, and in the tasteful shaping and adornment of our manufactures." The School of Design of the University of Cincinnati (Ohio) is supported by the fund bequeathed to the city for this purpose by Charles McMicken. The course of study extends through four years.

This, according to the National Bureau, comprises the special institutions for industrial and technical art education provided for forty millions of people. It should be observed that a marked peculiarity of the schools here enumerated is that their existence is due, not to the State, but to individuals. While institutions of this class in Europe are established, and fostered and directed by the govern-

ment, here the government has contributed nothing to their organization or continuance.

Massachusetts, however, has made the first step in this direction, and which in after years will be pointed to as one of her proudest achievements. "The movement in favor of art education in Massachusetts," says Mr. Smith, "is distinctly traceable to the influence of a few men, who, from European experience, saw that their country and State were behind the times in the promotion of art; that this materially affected the commercial prosperity of the nation and its character as an educated people; while the natural progress of manufactures and the accumulation of wealth by the people required increased skill in the workmen, and the varied opportunities of art education generally." It is proper that the beginning should be in this ancient industrial commonwealth; for Massachusetts, with upward of two hundred and fifty million dollars invested in manufactures, yielding annually more than six hundred million dollars, may be regarded as the leader of our industrial States. Here, where three million spindles are busy in five hundred cotton and woolen mills, is the home of the American textile industry.

The law making drawing an obligatory study in all the public schools of the commonwealth, from the primary to the high, and requiring every city or town containing over twenty thousand inhabitants to provide free evening instruction in industrial drawing for all persons over fifteen years old, was passed in 1870. Soon after, Mr. Walter Smith, then head master of the Leeds School of Art and Science, was made the State director of art education. This, as Mr. E. P. Whipple wittily remarked, was the best importation Massachusetts ever made. Rich in experience acquired by years of study and observation, and with a thorough knowledge of the English and continental systems of art education, Mr. Smith has labored to organize a system for Massachusetts with an intelligent zeal and success that have won admiration from all sides. In 1873 the Legislature further provided for the establishment of a State Normal Art School for the training of teachers of industrial drawing. This institution, the first of the kind in the United States, was opened at Boston in November of that year, and has already done much valuable work; but, owing to a lack of funds, its facilities are entirely inadequate to the wants of the State. There is, however, no doubt that it will soon grow into one of the grandest monuments on Massachusetts soil. The plan drawn up by Mr. Smith comprises a thirteen years' course of instruction in drawing, including three years

in the primary, six in the grammar, and four in the high schools. He also urges the legislature to make the establishment of free evening drawing schools for adults, obligatory upon all cities and towns of the commonwealth having five thousand or more inhabitants, thus making sixty-six instead of twenty-three, the whole number of cities and towns supporting schools of this class. Annual exhibitions of the drawings made during the year are held in the various cities and towns. The results of the latest exhibitions astonished the most ardent friends of the enterprise, and demonstrated conclusively the importance of art education and its success in Massachusetts.

It may, perhaps, seem too extravagant to attribute the industrial superiority, or inferiority, of a nation to its system of industrial education. It would be difficult to imagine the Sandwich Islands heading the column in the industrial arts, even though the group were covered with art schools as completely as it is surrounded by water. And yet look at Switzerland! Deprived by nature of nearly every advantage for industrial progress, a country of mountains without mines, of lakes without outlets, with no ports, no navigable rivers, no canals! Yet among her picturesque mountains skilled industry has found a home. Neither the looms of Lyons nor those of St. Etienne can excel her ribbons. Her watches, jewelry, and carved wood are the admiration of the world. Not only are the products of Swiss industry found in every country but Swiss workmen are everywhere in demand. Now, while this little Alpine nation has developed such admirable industrial skill, it has also developed one of the finest systems of industrial education on the continent. The magnificent polytechnic school of Zürich is crowded with students from all parts of Europe. Other conditions or elements of industrial progress than industrial education are doubtless essential. But every government of Europe which has studied this problem as one of great national importance, looks to industrial education as the chief means of advancement in the industrial arts.

It is a fact full of significance to the United States, which has all the natural resources to lead the civilized world in manufactures, that the nation (the United States) which made the poorest exhibition of industrial products at the Universal Expositions of 1851 and 1867, made also the poorest exposition of industrial schools at home; and that the countries which give to the world the richest silks, the costliest carpets, the most valuable woolen fabrics, the best cotton prints, the most artistic productions of the pottery, the glass factory, the bronze foundry, and the marble works, also have built the most

and the best industrial schools. It is true that certain branches of American manufactures have been wrought to a degree of excellence that has won a leading position in the markets of the world. Connecticut clocks mark the time for almost as many nations as does the sun. American rifles have done their deadly work in every civilized country. American sewing machines and pianos have carried happiness to the homes of every land ; and American agricultural implements have gladdened the farmer's heart in every harvest field under the sun. We have even acquired an enviable distinction abroad in the production of certain domestic implements ; for the American rat-traps, pumps, door locks, sausage machines, coffee mills, washing machines, buckets, clothes-pegs, besides notions and gimcracks of various kinds, have so charmed domestics of foreign countries, that similar articles of home manufacture have been driven from the market. But this group of articles showing the excellence of American industry is the result, not of that wide-spread knowledge of chemistry, of drawing, of designing, and of science generally, which, infused into the working classes, has produced those rare silks, laces, carpets, woolen fabrics, cotton prints, ceramic and glass ware, marbles and bronzes, which come to us from the work-shops of Europe ; but they are the outgrowth of that wonderful inventive faculty, that "Yankee ingenuity" which is indigenous to this country. The fleeces of California are dressed by American machinery, beyond the reach of German ingenuity ; but the peasants of Saxony weave that yarn into designs and colors that America can not rival. A Yankee sends to the cotton fields of the South a machine for picking cotton, the value of which can not be estimated in dollars and cents ; but the English mills put that cotton into prints that are beyond our competition.

An important problem, then, not alone for the manufacturers, but also the publicists of the United States, is presented by the inquiries : Why do the merchants of Liverpool glean our cotton fields ? Why does much of our wool go to Saxony, only to return in fabrics that our skill can not equal ? Why do the looms of Lyons weave better silks than those of Connecticut ? What is the secret, the explanation, of this superior industrial skill of foreign lands ? Can this country profit by the experience of Europe ? England has made substantially the same inquiries, and has reached the conclusion that the superiority of continental workmanship is due, not to greater natural advantages, either in materials, surroundings, or workmen ; but to superior systems of technical education. As Americans are much given to dis-

posing of problems by series of resolutions, the probable procedure in a case of this kind, would be the appointment of a political committee whose report would be about as follows: "Whereas the superiority of many articles of English, French, and German manufacture places them beyond American competition; and whereas it is our first duty to encourage American industry—therefore be it resolved that a duty of fifty per cent. be imposed upon all articles of foreign manufacture which may be superior to our own."

Now let us see how this problem has been grappled by foreign nations struggling for the mastery in the industrial arts. It has already been shown how schools of art began to spring up in the glass and pottery districts of England after the lesson of 1851. But that same international contest afforded the French and Germans a lesson of another kind. They entered that industrial arena, not so much to parade their achievements as to study their weaknesses. They saw that in the great objects of constructive skill, especially in the departments of steel and iron, such as machinery for mechanical and transportation purposes, England held a supremacy founded on the experience of half a century. They saw that in raw materials competition was hopeless. But they said: "Against English wealth we will put continental education; against their abundance of raw material, we will set our greater skill in using it. If we lack that skill, our technical schools must produce it. Our ambition shall be to take their unwrought material and return it to them wrought with our superior skill." From here dates that magnificent system of European industrial education, a system which has dotted the continent with technical schools. So marked was the progress of the French and Germans in iron, steel, and metal manufacture, the great staples of English pride, that such Cassandra-like critics as J. Scott Russell pointed out the danger threatening England from foreign rivalry; but the nation, blinded by self-satisfaction, and fortified in the belief that English supremacy was perpetual, was not thoroughly alarmed till the Exposition of 1867. "We then learned," says that same clear-sighted critic, "not that we were equaled, but that we were beaten, not on some points, but by some nation or other on nearly all those points on which we had prided ourselves." The mills of Prussia were already forging Krupp's steel for English railways, on which the magnificent French locomotives of Creusot began to appear. But it had taken fifteen years to teach the average Englishman what others saw in five, viz., that the long undisputed supremacy of England might be trans-

ferred across the channel ; that English mills alone were no match for German and French workshops backed by technical schools.

The English government, at last awakened to a realization of the situation, ordered the manufacturers of the nation to investigate and report upon the causes of this marked improvement in foreign industries. The unanimous answer of all may be given in the report of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce: "In other countries, the work-people are instructed in science and art ; the effect of this is shown in the rapid improvement of their manufactures in beauty of form, excellence of finish, adaptation to the purpose for which they are intended, and cheapness." The government asked the English artisans: "How do foreign dyers paint the silks of Lyons and St. Etienne, the ribbons of Zürich and Basle, the woolen fabrics of Chemnitz, and the worsted goods of Rheims in colors like nature? Why do their goods show a finish which ours can not rival?" The same answer came from the hosiery producers of Nottingham, the shawl makers of Leeds, the silk makers of Coventry, and the Bradford manufacturers of worsted goods. "It is chemistry. France, Switzerland, and Saxony give a thorough knowledge of chemistry, not alone to their professors and scholars, but to their dyers and workingmen. We do not. On the continent, dyers are chemists ; here they are not. Only special and thorough instruction in chemistry will enable our workmen to compete with those of the continent." In the same year the English Council of the Society of Arts sent eighty skilled workmen, representing almost as many industries, to the work-shops of France to find out the secret of French superiority in certain branches of manufacture. Their unanimous reply was: "Their industrial education has caused it." Lord Stanley addressed similar inquiries to the English foreign consuls ; and the reports were the same from France, Switzerland, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and Belgium—"Industrial Education."

Here then is a lesson for the United States.

"Let those be teachers who themselves excel."

The experience of Europe teaches that nations with the poorest natural advantages, by industrial education, may take a front rank in industrial prosperity ; and that wealth of raw material does not necessarily secure industrial supremacy. What prize, then may be within the reach of this country? With an agricultural wealth to which no limits can be assigned, with mineral riches everywhere bursting through the surface, with an abundance of water power that no number of mills can exhaust, with a network of railroads, water channels, and telegraph

lines, that annihilate distance between the field and the factory, the mine and the mill—with all these and more riches, not to advance, not to rival the skilled industry of Europe, is not a loss merely, but a crime. Here is the cotton field of the world; gold and silver mines that supply all nations; beds of coal and iron that can never be exhausted; forests shading every hill-side, and fleeces whitening every valley. What is wanting to secure industrial supremacy? Let Scott Russell answer: "The highest value in the world's markets will be obtained by that nation which has been at most pains to cultivate the intelligence of its people generally, and afterward, to give each the highest education and training in his special calling. In other words, the value of the nation's work will vary with the excellence of the national system of technical education." Let Humboldt answer: "National wealth and the increasing prosperity of nations must be based in an enlightened employment of natural products and forces." Let Justus Liebig answer: "The nation most quickly promoting the intellectual development of its industrial population must advance as surely as the country neglecting it must inevitably retrograde." Let Sir Robert Peel answer: "If we are inferior in knowledge, skill, and intelligence to the manufacturers of other countries, the increased facilities of intercourse will result in transferring the demand from us to others." Let the experience of Europe answer: "Industrial supremacy is the prize of industrial education."

AN ANCIENT ARABIC PRIZE POEM.

THE Arabs appear to have possessed a literature in the earliest ages, for the apocryphal book of Baruch speaks of "the Agarenes that seek wisdom on earth, the merchants of Meran and of Teman, the authors of fables, and searchers out of understanding."

The early literature of the Arabs consists entirely of poems handed down orally by the Rawis or "Reciters," whose office was precisely similar to that of the Rhapsodists of Ancient Greece. Many of these poems perished in the wars that accompanied the first propagation of El Islám in Syria, Persia, and Egypt; but when the convulsion had subsided, and, the power and religion of the Arabs being firmly established, a period of peace succeeded, then learned men began to turn their attention to those ancient monuments of their language.

The civilized Arabs of the Caliphate had not lost their pride in the achievements of their barbaric ancestors, nor their love for the traditions of their desert homes; and accordingly they began to search with avidity for the verses of their old rhymesters and bards. Mohammedan writers speak of the Arabs before Mohammed's time as in a "state of ignorance";—ignorance, that is, not of letters, but of the knowledge of the true God. Their principal sciences were genealogy, astrology, poetry, and oratory. Of their oratory, nothing has, unfortunately, been preserved, although the names of two of their most celebrated speakers, Coss and Sahbán Wail, are known to us. But from the Koran we can form a fair estimate of what the prose style in vogue among them must have been, and it would appear from this that a certain rhythmical elegance and epigrammatic curtness were aimed at, rather than the logical arrangement and philosophic accuracy which distinguished the oratory of the Greeks. The Koran is little better than a collection of popular oratorical phrases, proverbs, and sentences, and it is this national character which commends it so strongly to the Arab taste, and renders it so difficult of translation into another language. The poems which have come down to us from the "times of ignorance," are little more than ballads

relating to petty wars and border raids; to the prowess of individuals, and to the migration and genealogy of tribes: but they are a mine of historical information, and a standing proof of the truth of the Arabic proverb, which says that "the records of the Arabs are the verses of their bards."

The distinguishing feature of the ancient Arabic poetry is its vigor, its freedom from affectation and from all unnatural and strained metaphor; it is nervous and masculine, breathing the free spirit of men whose home was in the desert, and who were not yet corrupted by the effeminate manners of city life. But at the same time it must be confessed that it is too rude and outspoken for modern taste, that its range of subjects is extremely limited, and one soon tires of the incessantly recurring descriptions of petty conflicts and scenes of tent life, and of the stereotyped allusions to timid gazelles, fleet camels, and plaintive doves. When the preposterous claims of the Koran to inspired perfection of expression and style had stereotyped the Arabic language, and the seal of fanaticism had been set upon the Arab character, much of this pristine vigor vanished, and the freshness and originality of the early poetry ceded to a stilted and monotonous tameness. Description of a deserted camp, or of the departure of the poet's mistress with her tribe—scenes, in fact, which had suggested most of the ancient odes, and which therefore formed the most natural exordium—these were now adopted merely as a conventional trick of composition, much in the same way as the invocation of the classic muse was *de rigueur* with the poets of the last century in our own country. But fettered as it was, the national genius would sometimes burst its bonds, and the poets of the Caliphate occasionally uttered thoughts which would have lived and shone in any age.

With the establishment of the Court of the Caliphs at the newly founded city of Bagdad, on the banks of the Tigris, commenced a new era in Arabic literature, and the old Hammásah (or heroic) verses gave place to a more polished style of composition. In speaking of this period we would warn the reader against the too prevalent tendency to give the Arabs more than their due share of credit in the revival of letters, and to ignore the real authors of the movement—the Persians. The Semitic mind is wanting in the inventive faculty, it is apparently incapable of appreciating fine art, and is but ill adapted to the cultivation of science. But it is far from slow to perceive the advantages of all these things, and, when possible, to avail itself of them. Now the propinquity of the new and wealthy court to the confines of Persia naturally attracted to it natives of that coun-

try. When civilized and learned men came among the rude Arabs, they made the latter feel the want of something more intellectual and refined—they taught the Caliphs what was wanting to complete the enjoyment of the wealth which they had amassed, and when the newcomers proffered their services to aid in supplying the deficiency, the offer was eagerly accepted. Persians, and even Greeks, were employed to minister to the luxury of the potentates, and to assist them in the government of their daily increasing kingdom; and works on the various sciences, philosophy, and medicine were translated into the Arabic from the Persian, Greek, and Indian languages.

The reflex action of this revival of letters was soon felt in Europe. Europe has to thank the Arabs for initiating the movement, but the instruments by which it was effected were members of the Hindu-European race. Even in those very things which we are accustomed to regard as purely Saracenic, that is, Semitic, there is little to which the Arab can justly lay a claim. The graceful architecture, the exquisite Arabesque patterns, the rich harmonious coloring of the mosques and palaces of Damascus and Bagdad are all Persian in origin, and their details are Persian even in name. "From the second to the eighth century of the Hejrah may be considered the Golden Age of Arabic literature, and the munificence of the Abbasside Caliphs attracted to their court the most brilliant literary men of the East. Under the enlightened rule of El Mensúr, Harun er Rashíd and El Mamún, the works of Greek and Indian philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, and geographers were translated into the Arabic language and preserved from the oblivion into which they would otherwise have fallen. Then too were founded the celebrated universities of Basra and of Kufa in Mesopotamia, of Damascus in Syria, and of Cairo in Egypt. Later on came the civil and religious revolutions which reduced the power of the Abbasside Caliphs, and the rival dynasty of the Fatemites, claiming descent from Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Mohammed, established themselves in Egypt and succeeded to the position of patrons of Oriental learning. The successes of Saladin the Great in turn humbled the pride of the Fatemites, and the Abbasside Caliph was once more proclaimed Sovereign of the East. The sovereignty was, however, merely nominal, and the jurisdiction of the caliph was confined to spiritual matters, while his conquering vassal remained the real and independent master of the Empire. But Saladin was worthy of the authority of which he had thus obtained possession, and proved himself as munificent a patron of learning as either Abbasside or Fatemite."

The Moors in Spain did much for the revival of literature in Europe, but they borrowed much in return for what they gave. Like the Arabs of the Caliphate of Bagdad, they were sensible that they lacked energy and originality of conception; that they were in danger of keeping too much to one groove; and this defect they remedied by seeking every opportunity of contact with the more vigorous and practical minds of the West. This Occidental influence is most strongly marked in their poetry. Emancipated from the old conventional forms, they introduced those pleasing varieties of rhyme and meter which are still known by the name of Andalusian.

What the ballad was in preserving the memory of the Scottish border wars, such was the eclogue in perpetuating the history and traditions of the various tribes of the Arabian peninsula. The peculiar construction of their language, and the richness of its vocabulary, afforded peculiar facilities for the metrical expression of ideas, and accordingly the art of *Mundzirah*, or poetic disputation, in which two rival chieftains advanced their respective claims to pre-eminence in extemporary verse, was brought to the highest perfection among them. Toward the end of the sixth century after Christ, an annual fair was established at a town called Ocadh, with the special object of encouraging poetical talent, and poets from every part of Arabia were in the habit of attending it and courting the criticism of their fellow-countrymen. The successful compositions were inscribed in letters of gold and suspended, by way of challenge, upon the doors of the Kaabeh, or temple of Mecca, from which circumstance they acquired the name of *Muallacât*, "suspended." Seven of the most celebrated of these prize poems have been handed down to us, a translation of one of which is presented to the reader. It is the composition of 'Antarah, the son of Muawiyeh 'bn Sheddad, who lived shortly before the appearance of Mohammed. His mother was a slave, but the extraordinary valor and ability which he displayed, induced his father to give him his freedom. The imagery of the poem, though vigorous, is, as we might expect, often rude and erratic, passing with sudden transition from a gentle pastoral utterance to the fierce breathings of battle and revenge; at one time dwelling fondly on the image of a beloved maiden, at another conjuring up with grim delight the image of a slaughtered foe. I have given it, as far as possible, in its native simplicity, without seeking by suppression or embellishment to adapt it to modern European taste.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE POEM.

The poet hesitates to begin upon a hackneyed theme. He apostrophizes the spot where his mistress' camp had formerly stood; laments the difficulties in the way of their union, arising from the mutual enmity of their respective tribes. Describes his first meeting her, and the consternation which he then felt at the prospect of her departure. Dwells upon her charms with some quaint and pleasing imagery, and contrasts her life of ease with his own life of danger and toil. At length he determines to follow her upon a fleet she-camel, comparing it for swiftness to an ostrich, of which bird he introduces a humorous description. Reverting to his mistress, he seeks to impress upon her his own virtues and nobility, concluding his self-recommendation with a proud boast of his own valorous exploits. This leads him to describe two single combats, in each of which he had slain a mighty hero. He enlarges upon the bravery and nobility of his antagonists, with a view to enhancing his own warlike prowess. Again remembering his mistress, he alludes briefly to the circumstances of his first inquiry after her, but almost immediately resumes the narrative of his own valorous exploits, glorying in the importance with which his services are regarded by his tribe, of whom he is always the chosen champion. He comes at last to the subject of his poem, which is a vow of dire vengeance against two young men who have offended him, concluding with a cruel exultation over the fate of their father, who had fallen by his hand.

'ANTARAH.

Have then the poets left a theme unsung?
 Canst thou too recognize thy love's abode?
 Home of my Ablah! dear for her dear sake!
 Would that thy stones, Jewá, could speak to me.
 Here have I often made my camel kneel,
 Whose stately bulk, a very tower of strength,
 Shall comfort me in my forlorn estate.
 Ah! Ablah dwells in lone Jewá, our tribe
 In Hazn and far Saman have pitched their tents.
 Hail, prince of deserts! for since she has gone
 Thy solitude is desolate indeed.

She made her dwelling in the foemen's land,
 Who roar against me with a lion's rage.
 And now midst dangers I must seek my love.
 I loved her ere I knew it, and my hand

Was raised the while to shed her kinsmen's blood ! *
I loved thee, Ablah !—By thy father's life
That love has cost me many a bitter pang
That thou, the daughter of a hated race,
Should'st be my heart's most loved and honored !
But thou hast left me, and thy kinsmen's herds
Feed in Oneizah, and in Gheilam mine.

Ere thou didst leave me, I beheld thy steeds
All stalled and saddled through the livelong night ;
Yet never dreamt I that the time drew nigh
Till thy milch camels, lacking other food,
Cropped the unsavory khimkhim grains that grew
In rank luxuriance about the camp.
Full two and forty camels pastured there,
Black as the feathers of a raven's wing.

'Twas then her beauties first enslaved thy heart,
Those glittering pearls and ruby lips, whose kiss
Was sweeter far than honey to the taste.
As when the merchant opes a precious box
Of perfume, such an odor from her breath
Came toward thee, harbinger of her approach.

Or like an untouched meadow where the rain
Hath fallen freshly on the fragrant herbs
That carpet all its pure untrodden soil.
A meadow where the frequent rain-drops fall,
Like coins of silver in the quiet pools,
And irrigate it with perpetual streams ;
A meadow where the sportive insects hum
Like listless toppers singing o'er their cups,
And ply their forelegs like a man that tries,
With maimed hand, to use the flint and steel.

My Ablah sitteth night and day at ease
On downy cushions, while my nightly seat,
Is on the hard back of my bridled steed.
My cushion is the saddle deftly set
Across the withers of a noble horse,
With sturdy legs, plump shoulders, broad of girth.

I have a camel of the Sweddān breed
Shall bear me fleetly to my loved one's side,
A camel which, like some devoted beast,
Has purchased swiftness at the sacrifice
Of half the joys that motherhood doth bring.
With lashing tail she journeys through the night,
With stately gait, and makes the trembling hills
Resound beneath the clattering of her hoofs.

So speeds the crop-eared nimbly-stepping bird,
 Whom other ostriches of smaller growth
 Are trailing after at the evening tide
 As Yemen camels their barbarian hind.
 He leads the troop, and rears aloft his crest
 As men raise canopies o'er new-made brides ;
 He seeks his eggs in Zil Osheira's vale,
 And with his small head, and his scanty plumes,
 Presents the figure of a slave-boy dressed
 In furry tunic, all too short of skirt.
 My camel drinks at Dhuradeina's wells,
 But turns and flees from Dheilam's hostile stream.
 She swerves and sways as though she turned aside
 From some fierce wild-cat clinging to her flank,
 Large-headed, purring, prowling through the night.
 Where'er she turns her head to beat him off
 He straight assails her with his claws and teeth,
 With such redoubled swiftness does she flee.
 And when she kneels by er Ridá, she seems
 To kneel in crackling rushes, such a sound
 The sun-baked mud gives forth beneath the weight.
 The swarthy drops (like treacle or like pitch,
 All bubbling in the cauldron on the fire)
 Start round her ears, as swift she scours the plain,
 Proud as a stallion envied by the herd.

Think not the barrier of a flimsy veil
 Will shield thee, Ablah, from my fond regards,
 When stalwart knights have found a steel cuirass
 Of none effect against my furious thrusts.

Speak only of me as you find me, I
 Am very gentle if I be not wronged,
 But if they wrong me, my revenge is sure ;
 Like gall and wormwood is the taste thereof.

I quaff the wine-cup when the sun goes down,
 Old wine that cost me many a shining coin ;
 And oft replenish from the stoppered jug,
 My crystal goblet curiously wrought.
 In such carousing do I waste my wealth,
 Yet is mine honor an exhaustless store.
 If flushed with wine, I make a liberal gift
 My sober moments ratify the boon,
 For mine, thou knowest, is a generous soul.
 Where'er descending falls my flashing blade,
 Low lies the husband of some noble dame ;
 And like the whistling of a cloven lip

The life-blood gurgles from his ghastly gash
And spurtles round him in a crimson shower.

But if my valor needeth warranty,
Go ask the hero horsemen of my tribe ;
Ask them how fares it when I once bestride
My steed, whom every lance by turns assails,
Now rushing singly to defy the host,
Now plunging headlong where the bowmen crowd.
Each glad survivor of the fierce affray
Will tell thee truly how I love the fight,
How little care I have to share the spoils.

The fiercest warrior arméd cap-à-piè—
No craven coward he, to yield or fly,
But one whose onslaught e'en the bravest dread—
Assails me ; grasping in my quick right hand
A lance, in fashion like a weaver's beam,
I pierce his armor, run him through and through,
And teach this lesson to the wondering hosts :
"That spears respect not birth nor bravery!"
I leave his carcass for the beasts to rend,
To munch his fingers and his comely wrists.

There came a noble champion from the ranks,
To win him glory and defend his right,—
And lo ! I pierced him through his coat of mail ;
For all he was the hero of his clan,
To whose accustomed arm came nought amiss,
The warrior's weapon or the gambler's dice ;
To tear the standard from its bearer's grasp,
Or make the vintner haul his sign-board down—
For such a guest would leave him naught to sell.
Ah ! when he saw me from my horse alight,
And knew 'twas I had taken up his gage,
His lips were parted—but he did not *smile* !
I watched him lying at the close of day,
But 'twas not *henna* made that ruddy stain
Which tinged his fingers and his manly brow.
Poor lad ! His garments had not ill become
A poplar tree ; the sandals which he wore
Were tanned in token of his royal birth ;
I ween his mother had not two such boys !
And yet I speared him, following up the thrust
With keen-edged sword of glittering Indian steel.
Sweet lamb ! how fair a booty wouldst thou be
Were it but given me to call thee mine.
I called a little maiden from our tent's

And bade her run and bring me back the news,
 And thus she spake to me on her return :
 "I saw the foeman lulled with treacherous ease,
 And whoso wills it, his that lamb shall be.
 Her neck is comelier than a graceful fawn's,
 Her form is fairer than a young gazelle's !"

They tell me such an one requites my boons
 With base ingratitude, it may be so :
 Ingratitude will on itself recoil.

I mind the precepts which my uncle gave.
 I mind his counsels when I seek the field
 Where many a lip with quivering terror curls.
 I mind his counsels in the battle whirl,
 Where cries for mercy only seem the more
 To swell the volume of the deafening din.

My comrades placed me in the foremost rank,
 To shield their bodies from the hostile spears ;
 I shrank not then, or if I seemed to pause,
 'Twas but the press of the retiring hosts
 That stopped my courser in his wild career.
 "Ho ! 'Antarah to the rescue !" was the cry,
 While spears were pointed at my charger's breast,
 Like cords that draw a bucket from the well.
 I urged him forward, charging on the spears,
 Till wounds had woven him a bloody vest ;
 Then turned he toward me with his tearful eyes,
 And neighing plaintively bewailed his hurt.
 Poor beast, he well-nigh gave his anguish words ;
 He would have spoken but he knew not how !
 Then came a clamor that revived my soul,
 Our warriors shouting, "On, brave 'Antarah, on !"
 Stern-visaged horsemen o'er the plain careered,
 On prancing chargers of the goodliest breed ;
 And now—A camel bears me where I list
 And turns obsequious at my least command.

I only trembled lest my death befall
 Ere I have wreaked my vengeance on the brood
 Of Dhemdhem, curs who dare asperse my fame,
 While I restrain me from reviling them.
 The pair have vowed that they will have my blood,
 They threaten loudly—when I am not by !
 Well, let them threaten, *but I left their sire*
A feast for vultures and for beasts of prey.

With the foregoing specimen of the ancient poetry of the desert,

the reader may compare the following, the originals of which we wrote down at the dictation of two Bedawin Arabs.

The first is the composition of Selámeh Abn Taimeh, one of the camel-drivers to the Sinai Expedition; it is a lament upon members of his family and tribe who were drowned in a great *seil*, or flood, which visited one of the main *wadies* in the Sinaitic peninsula in the year 1867. The second records an incident in Arab warfare, and was told me by Suleimán ibn 'Amir, sheikh of the Teyáhah Arabs, when passing the spot upon which the battle to which it alludes was fought.

A CAMEL-DRIVER'S ELEGY.

I dreamed a dream which filled my soul with fear.
 Fresh grief came on me, but the wise have said
 When sorrow cometh, joy is hovering near.
 Methought I looked along a forest glade
 And marveled greatly how the trees did rear
 Their heads to heaven; when lo! a whirlwind laid
 Their trunks all prostrate. Then I looked again,
 And what but now like fallen trees had seemed
 Were forms of warriors untimely slain.
 Again my fancy mocked me, and I dreamed
 Of storms and floods, of fierce, resistless rain,
 Of vivid lightnings, that above me gleamed;—
 And yet again dead men around me lay.
 Dead men in myriads around me slept,
 Like the Great Gathering of the Judgment Day.
 I woke—a torrent through the wády leapt—
 Nile had his ancient barriers washed away
 And over Teirán's peaceful desert swept;
 Nor spared he any in his angry mood
 Save one—to be the river-monster's food.

A TEYA'HAH BALLAD.

Like Israel's hosts in days of yore
 The trackless waste of Tih* we crossed;
 Both men and beasts were grieving sore,
 Both men and guides the way had lost.

Yet still our stolen herds we sought
 And wandered on in fruitless quest;
 With maddening sorrow all distraught
 We rent the robe and beat the breast.

* Badiet et Tih, the Wilderness of the Wandering—the Desert north of Sinai.

But lo ! another path we took
And shouts of triumph rent the air.
The wády, it was Du 'l Burúk
The robber and his spoil were there.

Zewáïd rushed upon the foe
And chased them o'er the open plain ;
Zewáïd struck the foremost blow
And cleft the leader's head in twain.

A comrade to avenge him flew,
Zewáïd made the foremost thrust,
And pierced his body through and through
And laid the hero in the dust.

And to Zewáïd in the fight
The timid for protection went,
Like men who on a windy night
Seek shelter in a friendly tent.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE.*

GREAT occasions develop great men. In the world's progress the good constantly comes in conflict with the evil; and, when this evil is a great one, surrounded and defended by those whose pride, interests, and passions have made them its devotees, the conflict gives birth to herculean labors on either side, and brings forth and educates for it those who are equal to its demands.

Such a conflict, perhaps second to no other in the world's history was that between Freedom and Slavery in their struggles for supremacy and existence in the United States: and which has finally culminated in the complete overthrow of slavery and triumph of freedom.

In this conflict Salmon P. Chase was to act a conspicuous and influential part. Born in New Hampshire in 1808, he grew up at the right time to devote his manhood to it. His ancestors on his father's side were among the early settlers of Massachusetts, as early as 1640; and were physically and intellectually far above the ordinary standard. Many of them, his father included (who was a farmer), had occupied important and honorable public positions. His mother was of Scottish descent, a beautiful woman, and evidently not inferior in intellect and worth to her husband. The product of such an union could hardly fail of possessing natural qualities fitted to labor in such a cause. Mr. Chase did possess them, physically, mentally, and morally. His person, when fully developed, was impressive, even commanding. He was six feet two inches high, with a form and figure proportioned to his height. He was capable of great and protracted labor. He had a broad and massive forehead which, when a child, attracted the attention of as great a judge of men as Jeremiah Mason, and called forth from him the remark, "A boy with a head like that will certainly make his mark in the world." His puritanic Scotch will was on a par with his intellect, and never failed him whatever the occasion.

* THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF SALMON PORTLAND CHASE, United States Senator and Governor of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief-Justice of the United States. By J. W. Shuckers. D. Appleton & Co. New York.

He had also a good memory. Referring to it at the time he was a school-boy, he says, "I had at this time a very good memory, and, on one occasion, when with Colonel Dunham" (his teacher), "committed the whole Gospel of St. Matthew for a single Sunday school recitation;" but adds, "I will not however vouch for the accuracy of the recital." Thus it will be seen that nature had done much to fit him for the work he was called to perform. What nature had thus planted had to be properly nursed and cultivated in order to bring forth good fruit. What was this nursing and cultivation?

Soon after he was eight years old his father died, leaving his affairs, much embarrassed, to the management of his mother. Upon settlement of the estate she found herself possessed of nothing except a small house with a little farm attached, and with ten children to provide for. Brave woman, who not only provided for the physical wants of these children, but aided Mr. Chase materially in his college education by pecuniary assistance!

Before his father died, Mr. Chase had acquired some of the rudiments of education. Referring to this he says:

"My earliest recollections are of the farm and of the district school. Books were scarce, and I learned my letters from a birch-bark alphabet made by my father. I believe I was a pretty good scholar, and generally at the head of my class, though not unfrequently displaced from that position by the pretty daughter of one of our neighbors."

After his father's death he continued attending such schools as were usually provided in the country at that time, for such boys, in one of which he commenced the study of Latin and Greek. His progress in his studies appears to have been satisfactory but not extraordinary. One of his teachers represents that,

"so soon as he could read, reading became a passion. To get away into some unnoticed corner of the house, or under a clump of trees with a book and Bessie (our neighbor's pretty daughter) by his side, reading aloud to her, was his chief happiness and occupation. The book thus read was 'Rollin's Ancient History.'"

How much of this came from a love of reading, or how much from the pleasure of a *tête-à-tête* with pretty Bessie, for whom he seems to have formed a strong boyish attachment, it may be difficult to determine. It is well to notice this little incident, as also the manner in which Mr. Chase refers to this little girl in after years, as it shows he had a heart susceptible of lasting impressions. It is also another evidence of the endurance of attachments formed in our childhood, and the sweetness of their remembrance in after years.

We dwell thus on the early period of Mr. Chase's life, not so much to discover the progress he made in book learning as the character he formed and the influences contributing thereto, while under the direction and tutelage of his mother.

When twelve years old he went to live with his uncle, Bishop Chase, at Worthington, Ohio. Educated, not in the lap of luxury, but in adversity, the best of schools when a child is guided by the hand of a wise and loving parent, he learned to be resolute and self-reliant. We see these traits exhibited by him when on his way to Ohio. While at Buffalo, waiting for the lake to become clear of ice, his brother and Mr. Schoolcraft, under whose charge he was traveling, went to Niagara Falls, leaving him behind, though he wished very much to accompany them. Not to be balked, he arranged with a boy of about his own age to walk down to the Falls. And this they accomplished, very much to the surprise of his brother and Mr. Schoolcraft. Let it be remembered that at this time he was only twelve years old. The same resolution and self-reliance accompanied him all through life.

He had been imbued with a love of truth, and an abhorrence of falsehood. While yet with his uncle, the bishop, pursuing his studies, a school-mate set fire to one of the desks. Mr. Chase attempted to put out the fire, but was prevented by superior strength. Presently the tutor came in, and the flames were soon extinguished. Inquiries were made of each boy if he set fire to the desk, or knew who did; and each one, the culprit among the rest, answered, "No." At last the tutor came to Mr. Chase, and asked if he kindled the fire. He answered, "No." "Do you know who did?" asked the tutor. Mr. Chase answered, "Yes, sir." "Who was it?" asked the tutor. "I shall not tell, sir," replied Mr. Chase. Referring to this circumstance, Mr. Chase says, "I expected a summons before the faculty, but never heard any thing more of the affair. *I had been impressed by my teaching from infancy up with a horror of lying.* I thought it dishonorable to inform against a companion, however much in the wrong he might be." All will approve of his refusal to lie. Whether it would have been dishonorable to expose a criminal wrong-doer, though a school companion, is another question. In this matter he showed his firm adherence to truth and what *he* considered honorable. This *love of truth*, impressed upon him in infancy and childhood, to be followed under all circumstances, was the polar star of his life. On it his eye was ever fixed, and by its light he was ever guided. He practiced no chicanery in word or deed. The discovery of

truth was the life-labor of his great intellect ; choosing and living it, the work of his indomitable will.

Mr. Chase was ambitious from childhood. The teacher already referred to speaks of him, when eight years old, as a "resolute, hard-headed, ambitious little fellow." He himself, referring to this period, says :

"I was ambitious to be at the head of my class, and without much other ambition, not grudging that place even to any one who fairly earned it, and least of all to pretty Bessie Marble."

In other words, he did not suffer his ambition then to make him jealous or unjust ; nor did he ever after intend to. This ambition was instilled into him by his mother. Writing of his father, Mr. Chase says :

"He was a noted man in the little community in which he lived, and honorably known in the State ; a leading member of the Masonic fraternity ; the friend of Jeremiah Mason, and Daniel Webster, then a rising young lawyer and member of Congress ; and, in the elaborate style of the times, was addressed as the 'Honorable Ithaman Chase, Esq,' *titles in which my mother took an innocent pleasure, mixed perhaps with a little pride.*"

And the little boy also, sitting by his mother's side, observing the pleasure which these titles gave her—titles which were bestowed for *public* services only—naturally felt an inspiration to gain them for himself. The ambition thus awakened in him never forsook him ; but it does not appear that in any act of his life it ever led him knowingly to swerve from principle. Undoubtedly it sometimes influenced and misled his judgment.

Religion, or the want of it, more or less influences the formation of the character of every individual. Of his, Mr. Chase writes, "I was religiously educated, but not under any very severe restraint. I was baptized into the Episcopal Church." Early religious impressions, and a sense of accountability and the necessity of divine assistance, accompanied him at all times. When he went out into the world, after his college education was completed, he writes :

"Well do I remember with what earnestness I lifted my heart to God, that I might find employment and relief from my embarrassments."

Prayer was with him a daily resort, and, in its observance, and in his family when he had one, and at other places, he was as simple and humble as a little child. To him God was a reality ; a person ; for he writes, not long before his death :

"I can not confide in an impersonal idea, but in a personal God, whose touch I feel, and whose love I know ; the Good Shepherd, whose rod and staff comfort me, and whose smile will light up the valley."

It must not be thought that Mr. Chase had no frailties in his youth. After referring to some commendations his teachers and others bestowed upon him, he remarks :

"I might put upon the other side many faults, but I prefer to content myself with the general confession that my demerits greatly outnumbered and outweighed their opposites."

When Mr. Chase was fifteen years old, he returned from Ohio to the bosom of his family in New Hampshire. It does not appear that his character was much changed while living with the bishop. As formed in the family circle, it remained to his dying hour. While in Ohio, he lived with the bishop, a part of the time at Worthington and a part of the time at Cincinnati. When at Worthington he was a *chores* boy—made gardens, milked cows, went to mill, etc. The bishop was very strict with him, especially while in Cincinnati. Of this Mr. Chase writes, "At one time I remember going, on Sunday, to the Rev. Samuel Johnston's without permission, and how well I was flogged for it." We will set this down as one of the relics of barbarism, and of a by-gone age !

Soon after reaching home, he recommenced his studies. By teaching school, and by the aid of such means as the family were able to render him, and his share of the small patrimony left by his father, he was enabled to prepare for, and enter Dartmouth College, and eventually graduate. Of his college life he writes :

"It was not marked by any extraordinary diligence. I had no friend to advise me, and was only sixteen. I stood in a class of about thirty-six, the last among the first eight. This was a rank I could obtain and keep without labor, and I was satisfied with it. I feel ashamed to say so ; but such was the fact. . . . My experience at school and in college satisfies me of the vast importance to a boy of a wise and practical adviser. I had lost my father. I was separated from my mother, and I had no one to point out to me the necessity of earnest study and practical aims, and how this study would avail me in the after business and intercourse of life."

This experience, so forcibly, sadly, and regretfully told, should be pondered well by those who have children to educate, and by children who are to be educated.

Having finished his collegiate education, it was his purpose to go South and teach school for a time, and then pursue whatever profession might seem to be best.

"His dear mother," he says, "gave him the little money she could provide rather than spare, and he left home with a mother's blessing, and a sad, yet hopeful heart, for the world."

He stopped at several places on the journey vainly trying to find an opening for a school, and finally reached Washington. Here, after considerable delay and much effort, he succeeded in obtaining a school, the income of which, together with a small amount he acquired by literary labor, enabled him to commence the study of a profession. Accordingly he became a student-at-law in the office of William Wirt, at that time Attorney-General of the United States. He formed a strong attachment for Mr. Wirt, and in his family found much social enjoyment. Mr. Wirt appreciated the talents of his student, and predicted for him future usefulness and distinction. Among others who sent their children to his school were Mr. Clay, Mr. Wirt, Mr. Southard, and General Bernard, a distinguished officer under Napoleon, who returned to France after the revolution of 1830, and became head of the military department under Louis Philippe. The General showed him many favors, for which he ever after expresses much gratitude.

In the winter of 1829-'30 he was admitted to the bar in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, and, soon after, took his departure for Cincinnati, in which "flourishing young town" he had determined to make his future home. A few months after reaching there he was admitted to practice in the courts of Ohio, and opened a law office, with the usual results at first attending one who begins a professional career in a large town among strangers. But industry, perseverance, integrity, and close attention to business, won, in his case as it does in all others, success.

In 1832 he formed the design of editing and issuing a new edition of the statutes of Ohio. The first volume appeared in 1833, the second in 1834, and the third in 1835. This was a work of great labor, and was executed with such accuracy that it is recognized as authority in the courts of Ohio to this day, and was highly approved even by such judges as Chancellor Kent and Justice Story. He commenced this work when only twenty-two years old. It exhibits wonderful industry, intellect, and accuracy. His success in his profession was thenceforth no longer a question; it was fully solved.

In 1836 happened in Cincinnati what is historically known as the Birney mob. It resulted in the destruction of the types and press of the "Philanthropist," an anti-slavery paper published in the city by James G. Birney—a paper firm in advocating its principles, but moderate in tone, and edited with great ability. The biographer of Mr. Chase says:

"In these events Mr. Chase had no other participation than that of any other citizen seeing some part of them; but they filled his mind with a profound indignation, and he denounced them with the bitterness of deep feeling."

This is far from doing Mr. Chase justice ; and, as this event gave birth and shape to his political principles and political action in subsequent life, let us see what he himself says of it in his own words :

"I viewed," he says, "with disgust and horror the mob violence directed against the anti-slavery press and anti-slavery men. My own sister was the wife of one of the most worthy and respectable of these anti-slavery men, Dr. Isaac Colby. Through them I had become personally acquainted with most of them, though I did not at this time know Mr. Birney, the editor of the paper. I knew them to be as pure, upright, and worthy citizens as Cincinnati contained. Yet against these men and their families the fury of the mob, stirred up by politicians and emissaries from slave States, was directed. My own sister left her house and took refuge in mine. I was opposed, at this time, to the views of the Abolitionists ; but I now recognized the slave power as the great enemy of freedom of speech, of freedom of the press, and freedom of the person. *I took an open part against the mob.* Of the prominent citizens very few stood decidedly on that side. Charles Hammond, a man who had some faults and many virtues, among which last were true greatness of soul and intense scorn of cowardice and meanness, was chief among the few. I drafted, and he, with others, signed, a call for a meeting of those opposed to mobs. He and I drafted the resolutions intended to be presented in the meeting ; but when the hour came, and we repaired to the court-house, we found the mob there and the meeting organized. A committee was appointed, and I was named upon it. In the committee I read the resolutions we had prepared, but they were voted down, and resolutions adopted in their place which, under the circumstance, were justly regarded as approving rather than censuring the mob. Shortly after the meeting adjourned I was, for a time, in a good deal of personal danger in consequence of a declaration that I would sooner give ten thousand dollars than see the press destroyed by a mob, but my assailants contented themselves with demonstrations without proceeding to a personal attack. On the night of one of those days a mob gathered around the door of the Franklin House, determined to enter and make search for Birney. I stood in the doorway and told them calmly, but resolutely, that no one could pass. They paused. One of them asked who I was. I gave my name. One, who seemed a ringleader, said I should answer for this. I told him I could be found at any time. The mob did not choose to attack me in my position, and, after awhile, to my great relief, the mayor, who had been in the house, came out and declared to the mob that Mr. Birney was not there ; after which they drew off.

"From this time on, though not technically an abolitionist, I became a decided opponent of slavery and the slave power ; and if any chose to call me an abolitionist on that account, I was at no trouble to disclaim the name. I differed from Mr. Garrison as to the means by which the slave power could be overthrown, and slavery most safely and fitly abolished under our American Constitution, not in the conviction that these objects were of paramount importance."

Mr. Chase dwelt but little in his speeches or writings upon the wrongfulness of slavery or the miseries of the enslaved. The task he took upon himself was a political one. The slave power was a political power, and the warfare he made upon it was a political warfare ;

but his political sentiments all grew out of his regard for human rights. The brotherhood of the human family was a cardinal principle of his politics as it was of his religion. From this principle it followed that every individual member of the community, in virtue of his manhood, is entitled to every original right enjoyed by any other member. In a word, he believed in the equal rights of all men, civil, religious, and political, secured by just and equal laws, regardless of color, birth, or property, and this belief was founded upon the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of mankind.

Mr. Chase did not propose to deprive the owners of slaves of any legal or constitutional right. At the same time, he proposed that they should be limited to the use of such powers only as legitimately belonged to them. He believed, after a careful and conscientious examination of the question, that slavery was entirely a State institution, supported wholly by State laws which could have no effect beyond the bounds of the State which enacted them, and that the General Government had no right by legislation either to abolish or establish it;

"that Congress had no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; and that the Federal Government therefore should relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of that institution."

He believed that Congress had the right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and prevent its extension in any of its territories; and that it should exercise this right.

It will be seen that he did not coincide with those abolitionists that made war upon the constitution. He was never a destructionist. While reforming, he believed in holding fast to that which was good.

The two great political parties that then existed each embraced in its ranks these owners of slaves, and were both under the dominion of the slave power. With rare exceptions, neither would appoint or elect to office anti-slavery men. Only two ways were open before him. First, to unite with one or the other of these parties, and labor to bring its members over to his views. Or second, to organize those who agreed with him into a separate political party, and gather into it converts as they could be made, and wait results until the new party should be sufficiently strong to assume the reins of government. . He chose the latter, and devoted himself to organizing the Liberty party. For many years he labored with great ability, wisdom, industry, and self-denial, to build up this organization. Its resolutions, drawn by him; its addresses, the work of his hand; the speeches he made and the

letters he wrote, all in its behalf, are models of their kind in substance and in form, full of wisdom, foresight, and statesmanship, exhibiting a clear and comprehensive view of the rights and duties of the General and State Governments, and of each individual living under them. The extracts from these, published in this Biography, are a mine of wealth which no one can examine and not be profited thereby.

It is evident, however, that the result of these efforts to create and build up the Liberty party were unsatisfactory. The party did not grow in numbers, or in favor of the people with the rapidity expected. It was based on one idea only, viz., Opposition to slavery and the slave power. It ignored all other political questions. It is very doubtful whether a party thus organized can ever command the support of a majority of the people. Few regard any one measure of such transcendent importance as to make it their duty to neglect all other interests, even temporarily, in order to its success. Many in the Whig party and some in the Democratic party, entertaining the same views in regard to slavery as those promulgated by the Liberty party, believed they could be more influential in upholding these views in the party to which they belonged, than by uniting with the new organization; and could at the same time, join in the efforts of their party friends in establishing other measures important to their interests and the welfare of their country. The Liberty party, therefore, failed to unite in one political organization all those who held common views on the subject of slavery. The principal good it produced came from the agitation to which it gave rise of the idea upon which it was based. In looking back upon this history, it is well for those who think of organizing a new party based on one idea, to consider whether a greater moral effect would not have been produced by directing in other channels the same amount of labor, money, intellect, perseverance, and self-denial, which were required to organize and sustain this party.

After the war with Mexico, the apparent determination of slaveholders to establish the institution of slavery in all the territories we had acquired from that country, to the practical exclusion of free laboring men, and the certain creation of many new slave States, gave rise to much anxiety and alarm among the people of the free States of all parties. Many therefore, without regard to party, resolved to resist.

The presidential campaign of 1848 was approaching, and all observing men foresaw that this question of slavery extension, and increase of slave States would be one of paramount importance in the

contest. In 1847, Mr. Chase foresaw that it would probably lead to new political combinations, which would most likely render unnecessary the further continuance of the Liberty party. In the National Convention of that party, held in that year, he accordingly opposed the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president for the approaching presidential election.

In the spring of 1848, he joined in a call for a State convention to be held in Columbus, Ohio, of all those citizens of the State opposed to slavery extension. One of the objects of this convention was to take the initiatory steps for calling a national convention of the same character. The State convention was large and enthusiastic. It passed resolutions in favor of freedom in the territories, and recommended a national convention to be held in Buffalo on the 9th of August then following.

Accordingly, a national convention of Free-soilers, as those were called who opposed slavery extension, was held at Buffalo, August 9, 1848. The attendance was unexpectedly great, numbering many thousand persons. A platform, drawn up mostly by Mr. Chase, was adopted, declaring it the duty of Congress to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever the Federal government possessed constitutional authority to legislate on the subject; to prevent the extension of slavery into territory then free; and opposing the admission of any more slave States. It also declared in favor of cheap postage; retrenchment in Federal expenditures; the abolition of all unnecessary officers and salaries; the election of all officers by the people, as far as practicable; in favor of river and harbor improvements, of the grant of public lands to actual settlers; and a tariff of duties for revenue to pay the expenses of the National government, and pay off the public debt. Martin Van Buren was nominated for president, and Charles Francis Adams for vice-president.

Mr. Chase was now confessedly at the head of this new party, with a platform broad enough to cover all important measures upon which Congress would be called to act. From this time on we hear little of the Liberty party. Its members were mostly absorbed in this new party, and the organization itself soon passed out of existence.

The political campaign of 1848 was carried on with great vigor by all parties. The question of slavery was the theme of discussion in all political papers and political gatherings. The Free-soilers were vigilant, active, aggressive. They cast nearly one-eighth of all the votes given for president and vice-president. Of these, Ohio gave

35,500; but, what was of more importance as affecting Mr. Chase personally, was the fact that two Independent Democrats or Free-soilers were elected members of the Legislature of Ohio; and that the votes of these two determined the political character of the legislature, and, by acting together with either party, determined also the majority on joint ballot.

An important question arose in organizing the House. The county of Hamilton, in which is the city of Cincinnati, was Democratic, and, prior to this election, had constituted one electoral district. It was entitled to two senators and five representatives. At the prior session of the Legislature, the Whigs had passed an act, so dividing the county into election districts as to secure the election of two Whig representatives. The question to be settled was this, Was that division legal? If so, then the two Whig claimants were entitled to their seats. If not, then the two Democrats must be admitted. The political complexion of the Legislature depended upon the decision of this question, and the decision itself depended on the votes of the two Independent Free-soil members. One of these was of Democratic proclivities, the other of Whig. One had a decided opinion on the subject; the other had formed no opinion upon it. The Democrats were finally admitted.

It has been charged that the vote deciding their admission was the result of an arrangement by which Mr. Chase was elected to the United States Senate. But this was not so. Mr. Chase and the Free-soilers considered this question of membership as entirely a judicial question, to be decided wholly upon legal ground, without regard to its effect upon the election of any officer. At the time of this vote, no arrangement was made, nor any proposition for one considered, by which the election of any one was secured, either to the United States Senate, or to any other position.

The Independent Democrats were anxious to accomplish two objects. First, the repeal of the "Black Laws;" second, the election of an United States senator agreeing with them on the subject of slavery. The "Black Laws" repealed, they would be satisfied with the election of either Mr. Giddings or Mr. Chase to the United States Senate. The repeal of these laws soon followed the organization of the House; many Whigs, many Democrats, and all the Free-soilers, voting for their repeal. They required colored people to give bonds for good behavior. They excluded colored people from schools denied them the right of testifying in courts where a white man was party on either side, and subjected them to other disabilities. Their repeal was the first substantial legislative fruit of anti-slavery agitation

The Free-soilers next bent their efforts to secure the election of an United States senator. They proposed to the Whigs that, if they would unite with them and elect Mr. Giddings to the Senate, they would join them in electing Whigs to certain State offices. On the same day they proposed to the Democrats that, if they would unite with them and elect Mr. Chase to the Senate, they would join them in electing Democrats to certain State offices, giving both parties to understand that they would act with the party that should first signify acceptance of this offer. The Democrats accepted it, and Mr. Chase was elected. The other offices were filled with Democrats and Free-soilers. It is a remarkable fact that, though this arrangement was bitterly denounced by the Whigs, no word of complaint has ever been uttered that any officer, elected in pursuance of it, failed to discharge faithfully his official duties. It is also a remarkable fact that afterward, at the People's Convention, composed mostly of Whigs and Free-soilers, Mr. Chase, by a similar arrangement, was nominated for governor, and nearly every other nominee was a Whig. It sometimes makes a wonderful difference whose ox is gored.

Thus we see that the young man who, a few years before, in defense of freedom of speech and of the press, so firmly resisted a pro-slavery mob, was, at the age of forty-one, elevated to the United States Senate by reason of his adherence to, and defense of, the same principles.

Mr. Chase was elected to the United States Senate on the 22d of February, 1849; and took his seat as a member of that body on the 6th of March ensuing. On his advent into the Senate he found there Benton, Calhoun, Clay, Webster, Cass, Corwin, Bell, Berrien, Douglass, Jefferson Davis, Mason, Hamlin, and Seward, men of great talents, and great renown as statesmen. To gain and maintain an influential position among such men required abilities of a high order.

Reference has already been made to the recent territorial acquisitions from Mexico, and to the determination of slaveholders to transplant slavery into them; also to the strong and growing sentiment in the free States to preserve them from that institution. The discussions of this question formed the chief topic of consideration in Congress and out of it.

Mr. Webster, among others, comprehended the fearful signs of the times, and did not exaggerate when he said, "that we live in the midst of strong agitations, and are surrounded by dangers to our government. The imprisoned winds are let loose. The East, the West, the North, and the stormy South, all combine to throw the whole

ocean into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and to disclose its profoundest depths."

Mr. Clay undertook to calm the storm, and introduced into the Senate resolutions covering the whole ground of controversy, and proposing measures for their settlement. A committee was appointed, and reported what they regarded a comprehensive plan of adjustment, accompanied by a bill for the admission of California, for the organization of territorial government in New Mexico and Utah, and establishing the boundaries of Texas; also a bill making further provision for the return of fugitive slaves, and another abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

The people of California had formed a constitution defining the boundaries of their State, and excluding slavery therefrom. While Mr. Chase advocated the admission of this State, and the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, he strenuously opposed these measures of compromise. By them slavery was not excluded from the new territories, the Wilmot proviso prohibiting slavery in them, which the people of the free States demanded with great unanimity, was sacrificed, and the territories were opened to the ingress of slavery. By them slavery was continued in the District of Columbia; and a new law was proposed for the capture of fugitive slaves, containing many unjust provisions of doubtful constitutionality.

The debate on these measures called forth the full mental strength of the great men of the Senate. It was able, courteous, and dignified. In it Mr. Chase showed to great advantage. The field was familiar to him. In every highway and by-way over it he had traveled. The questions involved in them are now all settled. They have become matters of history never more to be resumed. Those who engaged in their discussion, and to whom the eyes of the people turned with so much anxiety, have mostly passed away. But whoever will read those debates will see that, for moral grandeur, correct views of constitutional law, true statesmanship, keen foresight of coming events, firm adherence to principle, and confidence in the final triumph of truth and justice, the speeches of Mr. Chase will not suffer by comparison with those of the greatest and most renowned members of the Senate. All of these measures at last became laws.

Surely slavery should have been content with the victory over freedom it had gained in the passage of the compromise measures of Mr. Clay; and the subserviency of the two great national parties to its behests in demanding the entire suppression of its discussion. Far from it. In the Thirty-third Congress it took another step—as

it proved, a fatal one. This was no less than declaring inoperative and void the Missouri Compromise!

Mr. Chase stood, if not the first, among the first, of those in the Senate who opposed this measure. The speeches he and others made in opposition to it were unanswerable. All their efforts were fruitless. Its victory was complete, but it was the death-knell of slavery. It cut asunder the cord that bound together the great Whig party, and made an impassable gulf between northern and southern Whigs. It in fact not only disrupted but dissolved that party.

The dissolution of the Whig party, and the dissatisfaction of many northern Democrats with the action of their party in repealing the Missouri Compromise, and the willingness of many of these to forsake their party and act politically with those condemning that repeal, and resolved to preserve the territories free, made it manifest that the time had come for the formation of a new political party opposed to slavery extension, with fair prospects of its being supported by a majority of the people.

Before we examine the part Mr. Chase took in the formation of this party, it is well to examine the political principles he entertained. He remarks that "He was a Democrat because democracy embodied, as he thought, the perfect equality of man before the law, the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of mankind." As early as 1846, he wrote, "I think that the political views of the Democrats are in the main sound; and the chief fault I have to accuse them of is, that they do not carry out their principles in reference to the question of slavery. I do not believe in a high tariff, in a bank of the United States, or a system of corporate banking." The platform he drew up, and which was adopted by the Free-soil Convention at Buffalo, was in harmony with these views.

While, at one time, many anti-slavery men, like Giddings and Seward, believed that the Whig party would become so far anti-slavery as to perform the political work they were laboring to accomplish, Mr. Chase believed that the Democratic party would become so far anti-slavery as to do the same. This belief was strengthened when the Democracy of Ohio, in State convention in 1848, passed a resolution declaring

"That the people of Ohio, now, as they have always done, look upon the institution of slavery in any part of the Union as an evil, and unfavorable to the full development of the spirit and practical benefits of free institutions; and that, entertaining these sentiments, they will at the same time feel it to be their duty to use all the power clearly given by the National Compact, to prevent its increase and and finally eradicate the evil."

This belief was further strengthened when the Democratic members of the Legislature cast a solid vote for his election to the United States Senate, well understanding his anti-slavery views. He could not believe that, in the passage of the above resolution, and the vote thus given, they were influenced by a mere selfish desire for party advancement. In 1849 he wrote :

" Heretofore the slave power has been content with retaining slave territory ; now it seeks to subject free territory to the blight of slavery. This enormous pretension has led to a more general examination of the constitutional relations of the General Government to the slave system, and that examination has fastened the conviction in the minds of thousands and hundreds of thousands that the Government of the Union is bound to prohibit slavery in the territories, and to exert all its legitimate and constitutional powers to limit, to localize, and discourage it, and especially to prohibit its existence in all places within the sphere of its exclusive jurisdiction. *This is the conviction of the Democracy.* They have announced it over and over again, and are pledged to govern their political action by it. *This pledge they will undoubtedly redeem.*"

Mr. Chase continued in this faith until the National Democratic Convention in 1852, resolved to resist even the discussion of slavery in Congress or out of it. He went even so far as to vote the Democratic tickets in the State elections from 1848 until that time. He strongly desired to be identified with that party and be recognized by it as one of its members ; and, in pursuance of that desire, went as far as he could, and not sacrifice his principles. He did not attend the conventions of the Free-soilers nor support their candidates. Many of his old political friends and co-laborers felt keenly this desertion. But the action of the National Democratic Convention referred to, and the unanimity with which even the Democrats of Ohio abandoned their State platform and hastened to place themselves on that of the National Convention, dispelled all of his cherished views of that party ever becoming an anti-slavery party and doing anti-slavery work. He returned again to the ranks of the Free Democracy, was the author of the platform adopted by them in their National convention at Pittsburgh in 1852, and gave to it, and the candidates nominated, a hearty support.

Though Mr. Chase continued thenceforth acting with the Free-soil party, he held himself ready at all times to join in political action with any and all who would subordinate all other political questions to that of opposition to slavery. He had learned, what all experience proves to be true, that there can be but two great political parties in a free government : one a conservative, and the other a progressive party. Any new political organization, to be successful, must absorb,

and be mostly composed of those belonging to one or the other of these parties. As already stated, after the backward somersault taken by the Democracy of Ohio, he lost all confidence in the Democratic party. The only course left him was to labor on in the Free-soil organization, and abide his opportunity. That opportunity came with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

On the introduction of that measure in the United States Senate, the Free Democrats in Congress issued an address to the people, setting forth the dangerous character of the propositions, truly characterizing it,

“as a gross violation of a sacred pledge, as a criminal betrayal of precious rights; as part and parcel of an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast, unoccupied region immigrants from the Old World and free laborers from our own States, and convert it into a dreary region of despotism, inhabited by masters and slaves.”

It entreated the people to be mindful of that fundamental maxim of Democracy, *Equal and exact justice for all men*. It implored Christians and Christian ministers to interpose their divine religion, requiring them to behold in every man a brother, and to labor for the advancement and regeneration of the human race. The address concluded by declaring that they

“should resist this measure by speech and votes, and with all the abilities that God had given them; and that, if overcome in the impending struggle, they would not submit, but would go home to their constituents, erect anew the standard of freedom and call upon the people to come to the rescue of the country from the domination of slavery. We will not despair,” said they, “for the cause of human freedom is the cause of God.”

This appeal, the joint production of Mr. Chase and Mr. Giddings, and one of the ablest documents issued on behalf of freedom during its struggle with slavery, created an instant and intense excitement. Opposition to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was manifested everywhere at the North, and was confined to no party. The Whig party, as already stated, was dissolved, and its members at the North were prepared to enter into a new organization. Many Democrats also abandoned their party, and were ready to unite with others to preserve the territories for free labor.

Thus the opportunity had at last come, so long desired by Mr. Chase. He very well knew that the majority of the new party would be composed of those who had formerly been Whigs, with whose policy he did not generally agree, and who had strong prejudices against him personally; but, so devoted was he to the cause of free-

dom, that he unhesitatingly united with them in calling a people's convention at Columbus, Ohio.

The Convention met on the 13th of July, 1854. An old line Democrat was chosen President; an old line Whig vice-president; and a Free-soiler, secretary. A State ticket was nominated and elected in the following October by average majorities of nearly eighty thousand.

The term of service of Mr. Chase, as senator, terminated in March, 1855. He was not so absorbed by the slavery question that he neglected other measures. On the contrary, he was attentive to all the interests of his constituents. He supported the Homestead Law, the devotion of public lands to the support of the indigent insane, the abolition of the franking privilege, the improvement of navigation on inland seas and rivers, the abolition of cruel and unusual punishment in the navy, and advocated and voted for cheap postage. He moved and carried an amendment to an appropriation bill, making the first appropriation of money for the survey of a route for a railroad from Missouri to California.

That his career as senator was satisfactory to his constituents, is manifest from the fact that they elected him Governor of the State by a large majority at the first State election after his retiring from the Senate. The Governor of Ohio is exclusively an executive officer. He takes no part in the making of laws. He has no veto power, and neither signs, approves, nor disapproves them. His duty as Governor is to see that these laws are faithfully executed, acquaint the Legislature from time to time with the condition of the State, its finances, etc., and recommend such measures for its adoption as he thinks the welfare of the people requires. Mr. Chase performed these duties with such wisdom, firmness, and integrity, that the people re-elected him on the expiration of his first term; and, on the expiration of his second term, elected him to the United States Senate. This was the spontaneous work of the Republican party, a party born of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, hostile to slavery extension, and destined to reap immortal honors in its contests with that institution. All these high honors were conferred upon Mr. Chase because of his inflexible adherence and firm support of the principles that led him to oppose the pro-slavery mob in Cincinnati.

Mr. Chase took his seat in the Senate on the 4th of March, 1861. He was now in a position where he could successfully exert all his abilities in the service of his country; and establish in its government the cherished principles of his life. In this position his talents were

greatly needed. Most of the able men of the South had retired from Congress and joined, either secretly or openly, in the initiation of the rebellion. The war clouds, dark and portentous, were gathering in the South, and already the mutterings of distant thunder were heard. The bloody conflict was sure, inevitable. The war, on the part of the North, was waged for the preservation of the Union yet; it was evident from the beginning that it could be made successful in no other way than by giving freedom to the enslaved. To this struggle it was of vast importance that there should be at the helm, to guide the legislation of Congress, men of tried statesmanship, thorough masters of constitutional law, able at a glance to comprehend the great questions involved in the struggle, and to see and procure the adoption of, the legal means by which they were to be solved. Mr. Chase was one of the men pre-eminently fitted for this position by natural endowments, and familiarity with these questions and the laws applicable to their solution. With him in the Senate guiding national legislation, and Lincoln in the executive chair, by his wisdom, knowledge of men, firmness and perseverance, executing the laws of Congress, and properly applying the means furnished for carrying on the war—the one hastening emancipation by legislation, the other by the exercise of the war powers—the duration of the war might have been shortened, and these two great men always have labored together in harmony, and for the best interests of the country.

Slavery was sure to perish. Then must follow reconstruction, and the necessary legislation and amendments of the Constitution to protect the rights of the emancipated, and, at the same time, establish and maintain wise governments in those States. Ten years have now nearly passed since the war ceased, and yet those States can hardly be said to have made any moral or material progress. In some of them, instead of advancement in these respects, there has been retrogradation. Their condition is a sad comment upon the demoralization of war, and the folly and evil of party legislation.

The will of the governed, legally expressed and embodied in laws, forms the basis of our republican institutions of government. But that governments may be maintained, and the people living under them may prosper, this will must be intelligent and virtuous. Ignorance and vice can not make wise and just laws, nor properly enforce them. Washington, in his Farewell Address, declares "that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government, that it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." Have these fundamental principles been sufficiently considered in the reconstruction of the

Southern States? Was it not a mistake to exclude so many, indeed any, of the enlightened portion of the people in those States from taking part in the reconstruction, and forming their new constitutions and governments? Ought not the bounds of legislation, within which these States might act, to have been fixed by amendments to the National Constitution, and then all the citizens of each State invited to reorganize their government so as to revolve harmoniously within these bounds? The work of reconstruction was a great work, not much, if any, less than the suppression of the civil war, and requiring even more wisdom; for the one was in a great measure the result of physical force; the other must of necessity be the work of intelligence, patriotism, and statesmanship. In the work of reconstruction, the talents, the moral influence, the experience, the political principles, and constitutional views of Mr. Chase, had he been in the Senate, would have been of transcendent value. His moral views are expressed in these words:

"True patriotism requires that the close of a great civil war should be marked, not by *proscription* or *disfranchisement*, but by manifestations of sincere good-will, especially from the successful to the unsuccessful."

His views of the legal, constitutional status of the rebel States, he expressed as follows:

"These States have never been other than States within the Union since they became parties to the Federal Government; and the failure to maintain their assertions of independence in the conflict of arms left them States still within the Union."

He expressed his plan of reconstruction as follows:

"Take universal suffrage and universal amnesty, and all will be well."

While the reconstruction measures adopted by Congress, especially the amendments of the Constitution originated and submitted by it to the people, and sanctioned by them, show wisdom, and patriotism, and humanity on the part of those who initiated and adopted them, which entitles them to the favorable judgment of the people, it can not be doubted that more humane views of the condition of those who had been in rebellion, stronger desires for the welfare of *all* the people of the Southern States, clearer views of their constitutional rights and closer adherence to the fundamental principles of republican government, would have prevented many errors of legislation, arrested the growth of much of the ill feeling there now exists between the colored and white population of those States, restored harmony and good-will between different sections of the Union, revived business and prosperity especially in the South, reduced the army, lessened

the expenses of the General Government, and relieved the people of much of the taxation which now cripples business, disturbs currency, fluctuates values, and adheres a remorseless lien upon all property. How to protect the freedmen, and at the same time maintain local self-government, was the great difficulty of reconstruction. Surely the refusal to permit the most enlightened portion of the Southern people to take part in it did not lessen the difficulty. Ten years of congressional legislation and interference with State government by the National Government have not solved it. And yet this question must be solved before peace, order, and prosperity can bless all parts of the country and all classes of the people. To its peaceful and speedy solution, the good and wise of all parties should contribute their efforts, regardless of all considerations except those of right, patriotism, and humanity.

When Mr. Chase stepped down from the Senate to take the position of Secretary of the Treasury, he seems to have left the field where his labors would have been most useful to the country, and where he could have reaped most honor for himself. His instincts were right when he replied to Mr. Lincoln's first intimation of a desire to appoint him Secretary of the Treasury, "that he could not easily reconcile himself to the acceptance of a subordinate position." His confidence in his own judgment was too great for him gracefully to perform official acts at the behest of another, of which he did not approve. Much less was he fitted to hold a position under Mr. Lincoln; for they had no tastes in common. He was far in advance of the President on the slavery question. His views of it, and the measures to be adopted in reference to it, were better considered and more mature. He chafed at the slow progress of the President toward emancipation. For a subordinate, he criticised too freely many of his acts and omissions. The result was as might have been expected. Their official relations were not pleasant, and had to be dissolved.

Mr. Chase entered upon the duties of his office as Secretary of the Treasury, March 7, 1861, and resigned, June 29, 1864. The apparent cause of the resignation grew out of a difference of opinion as to the individual who should be appointed sub-treasurer in the city of New York! It would be melancholy to think that these two great men, patriots and statesmen, in the midst of the war and in the midst of Mr. Chase's success as Secretary of the Treasury (a position which he accepted against his better judgment because Mr. Lincoln declared that his refusal would cause him great embarrassment), should sep-

arate officially on account of a difference of opinion as to the person who should be appointed to fill a subordinate office in the Treasury Department. But the truth is, this difference was only the *occasion*, not the *cause* of this separation. In his letter accepting the resignation, the President says, "that they had reached that point of mutual embarrassment in their official relations, which, it seemed, could not be overcome consistently with the public service." There is more meant by these words than difference of opinion as to an appointment.

It has already been remarked that Mr. Chase was ambitious from childhood. He began to cherish, early in his political life, a desire for the office of President of the United States. In the Republican National Convention of 1856, which nominated Fremont for president, he desired to be a candidate for that office; but his friends in the convention declined to present his name, having ascertained that his support would be so limited, that his future prospects of nomination for that office would be injured by it. In 1860 he was disappointed in not receiving the nomination given to Mr. Lincoln by the same party. He carried this same ambition with him into the Cabinet, and, while yet a member of it, if he did not labor in 1864 to secure the nomination of president for himself as against Mr. Lincoln, he knowingly and approvingly permitted his friends to do so, until the Republican members of the Legislature of his own State expressed a preference for Mr. Lincoln's renomination. Undoubtedly this had some effect in producing "a mutual embarrassment in their official relations."

This ambition to be President accompanied Mr. Chase on his elevation to the Chief-Justiceship of the Supreme Court of the United States, and staid with him while he occupied that position. Thus, in 1868, he was willing to receive a nomination for President from the National Democratic Convention. This willingness was the cause of much criticism by some of his former friends, as being a departure from principles before avowed by him. But whoever will read the letters written by him in view of his name being brought before that convention, must admit that he did not swerve the breadth of a hair from his principles, to obtain the nomination. In them he steadily avowed his adherence to the doctrine of universal suffrage and general amnesty. The slavery question was now settled, the only question on which he differed from the Democratic party before the war. He had always avowed that, "upon questions of finance, commerce, and administration generally, the old Democratic principles

afforded the best guidance." He now agreed with them also in opposing the establishment of military governments in the rebel States, and authorizing military commissions for the trial of civilians in time of peace.

If the Democratic party, thus informed of his position, had seen fit to tender him the nomination, it is difficult to see wherein his former principles forbade its acceptance. In all sincerity and truthfulness he declared at this time :

" I believe I could refuse the throne of the world if it were offered me at the price of abandoning the cause of equal rights and exact justice to all men. Indeed, what should it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul ? "

And in this declaration we have the measure of his ambition ; for, strong and continuous as it was, it never got the better of his *principles*. But it can not be doubted that it often dimmed his intellectual vision, swayed his judgment, and determined his action ; and whoever neglects this trait in his character, can not form a true estimate of him as an individual, or of his public career.

Mr. Chase had none of the arts of the politician. The ladder he climbed toward the heaven of his ambition was that of principles only. He was a good judge of men in the mass. He knew that they love and respect virtue in others, even when not possessed of it themselves ; and therefore that, in adhering to principle, he would meet with their approval. But he was a poor judge of individual men, and did not realize that, while men in general love virtue, that this love, in individual men, is often not strong enough to preserve them from being moved by selfishness to depart from it in action. He was often therefore deceived in the motives of those who approached him and professed to be his political friends. Knowing that he was qualified for the presidency, and believing that his faithful and triumphant advocacy of the principles of freedom entitled him to the favorable regard of the people, and that the time had come when they could properly elevate him to that high position, he believed that all those who professed the same views of his qualifications and deserts were sincere, and he gave to them his confidence and took them into his favor. The result was that his political advisers and co-operators, who had become his professed friends after he had attained power and wielded patronage, were many of them weak, selfish, and unprincipled. And yet these were consulted instead of those who had co-operated with him when he had little political influence, and no patronage to bestow. In this way he was led into many blunders like that of being a candi-

date as against Mr. Lincoln while still a member of his cabinet. The truth is, he had one great physical defect: he was very near-sighted, and never could judge men by facial expression. He judged them therefore by their words—their professions. He never knew his standing with the politicians; nor, of them, in whom he could confide. While the *people* elect, the *politicians* nominate. He never could get the nomination!

Mr. Chase's only chance for the presidency lay in his continuing to advocate *in a prominent position* the cause of freedom. His seat in the Senate gave him this position, and had he remained in it, and by his labors there advanced the cause of emancipation, assisted in reconstruction upon a just and wise basis, and abided his time, it is more than probable that, at the expiration of Mr. Lincoln's second term, he would have been the choice of the masses of the Republican party for President, and been nominated and elected by it. By thus doing, that party would have rendered justice to one who had done more than any other to organize and establish it, and he would have been properly rewarded for all his labors.

When Mr. Chase entered upon the duties of his office as Secretary of the Treasury, the financial condition of the general Government was far from being satisfactory. Loans had to be effected, and could not be, except on terms much below par. He brought to the discharge of his new duties very little financial knowledge or experience; but, so great was the confidence of the community in his ability and integrity, and so important was it to the property interests, that the Union should be preserved, and so great was the enthusiasm to put down the rebellion, that he was able, in a short time, to establish the credit of the Government upon a firm and permanent basis.

It was his intention and determination at first that the war should be carried on upon a specie basis; but its increasing dimensions and enormous expenses rendered this soon impossible, and in December, 1861, the banks all suspended specie payments, and the Government was compelled to pay its expenses in an inconvertible currency. What should be that currency? It must be either the notes of suspended State banks, or the Government must issue its own notes and thus create a currency of its own. He wisely chose the latter. The result was the issue of legal tenders, or what is now known as the greenback currency—a currency that became immediately popular, and still remains so. At the same time Mr. Chase recommended the passage of a law creating national banks of issue, their notes to be secured by a deposit of National Government bonds, and to levy such

a tax upon the issue of State banks as should compel them to withdraw their circulation, and induce them to change from State to National institutions under this law. This recommendation was finally adopted by Congress. The State banks ceased to issue currency notes, and most of them changed to National banks. This legal tender currency and that of the National banks, together with the issue of Government bonds, and increased taxation, furnished the necessary pecuniary means for prosecuting the war to a successful termination.

It is unnecessary to refer in detail to the various laws and measures relating to finance recommended by Secretary Chase and sanctioned by Congress. Most of them grew out of the necessities of the country produced by the war, and were of mere temporary interest. But the suppression of the State bank issue, the organization of the National banks, and the issue of a Government currency, were measures of a more permanent nature. The State bank issue, which had been the cause of so much political strife, and from which the people had suffered so many losses on account of its frequent depreciation and its want of uniform value in different parts of the country, disappeared under the measures and influence of Mr. Chase as easily as a child is put to sleep, never more to be revived. However great the opposition at first, this result is now regarded by all with satisfaction.

The National banks furnished a currency of uniform value throughout the country, reasonably secure of redemption by the deposit of Government bonds. In this respect they have been, and still are, of great benefit to the people. But, organized under one law, and possessed of the same special privileges, they are jointly interested in maintaining their existence and these privileges. And should they ever combine to control elections, or control legislation for the purpose of increasing these privileges, or for any other purpose, there are many who think that they would be found to be a power little less dangerous, if any, than the slave power itself. For several years they have had a monopoly of banking, but this monopoly feature has been taken away by the law passed at the last session of Congress, making free the privilege of banking to all who desire to engage in it, and will comply with the provisions of the law creating National banks. The abolition of this monopoly feature is one of the good results of the present great depression in business. Still the right to issue bank notes is a *privilege* which can be enjoyed only by a few, and the question whether it shall be continued is one which will probably enter

largely into the politics of the future. It may even control the next presidential election. The greenback currency is still very popular, and there are many who think that it should form the only paper money in use, and that the general Government should derive the sole benefit from furnishing a circulating medium.

Mr. Chase performed the duties of Secretary of the Treasury for more than three years, and during that time so developed the resources of the country, and marshaled them in support of the war, that at no time did the armies suffer for want of supplies, or the officers or soldiers, or creditors of the Government, for want of prompt payment. His administration gave great satisfaction at home, and the results were the wonder and admiration of the world. When he left the Department, it was so wisely and thoroughly organized, and its policy so settled, that it was comparatively easy for his successor to administer it successfully.

On the 6th day of December, 1864, a little more than four months after the official relations between Mr. Chase and the President had been dissolved, Mr. Lincoln nominated him to be Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the place of Roger B. Taney, deceased. The Senate at once, and without a reference, unanimously confirmed the nomination. On the same evening Mr. Chase wrote to the President as follows :

“ WASHINGTON, December 6, 1864.

“. . . . On reaching home to-night I was saluted with the intelligence that you have this day nominated me to the Senate for the office of Chief-Justice.

“ Before I sleep I must thank you for this mark of your confidence, and especially for the manner in which the nomination was made. I will never forget either, and trust that you will never regret either. Be assured that I prize your confidence and good-will more than nomination to office.”

Thus the *amende honorable* was made between these two great and good men; and during the few months after this that Mr. Lincoln lived, they appear to have been on terms of intimacy and confidence. He was among the first to congratulate the President on the surrender of General Lee, and the virtual close of the war, and soon after wrote him a long letter embodying his views of reconstruction, of which Mr. Lincoln spoke approvingly.

Mr. Chase was almost fifty years old when made Chief-Justice. For many years he had ceased altogether the practice of his profession. Though never regarded the first lawyer in the State of Ohio, still he was ranked among the first, and his elevation was satisfactory to the bar and the community generally. To the discharge of his new duties he carried with him a thorough knowledge of legal prin-

ciples, clear and matured views of constitutional and public law, complete knowledge of the history of the country and of its institutions and wants, untiring industry, a comprehensive and discerning mind, habits of thorough investigation, and a love of justice that forbade all partiality. With these qualities, all tested and perfected by years of experience, he took his seat upon a bench filled with men of judicial fame and enjoying public confidence. During the eight years of his service there he not only maintained the high reputation of the position he occupied, but increased its renown. One of his associate justices says :

“ Appointed, as it were, by common consent, he seated himself easily and naturally in the chair of justice, and gracefully answered every demand upon the station, whether it had respect to the dignity of the office, or to the elevation of the individual character of the incumbent, or to his firmness, purity, or vigor of mind. From the first moment he drew the judicial robes around him he viewed all questions submitted to him as a judge in the calm atmosphere of the bench, and with the deliberate consideration of one who feels that he is determining issues for the remote and unknown future of a great people.”

During his services on the bench, two of his judicial acts have subjected him to much censure. One was his decision pronouncing unconstitutional the legal tender clause of the statute authorizing the issue of the greenback currency, so far, at least, as it applied to contracts existing at the time of its passage. When Secretary of the Treasury he had recommended the passage of this law, though reluctantly consenting to the legal tender clause. He doubted its constitutionality then. It ran counter to all his formerly entertained and expressed views of the uses of paper money ; and afterward, when sitting as judge, and reviewing the subject in the light of argument by counsel and of experience, his former doubts ripened into convictions, and he felt constrained to declare his own action to have been erroneous, and that he could find no provision in the Constitution to make paper money a legal tender in payment of debts, nor could he see that it was necessary and proper to do so to carry into effect any express power in the Constitution. Whether right or wrong in his views of the Constitution, the decision itself will stand an everlasting monument of his integrity as a judge.

The other occasion on which he incurred censure was during his presiding over the Senate when trying the impeachment of President Johnson. In this trial he had to tread, as it were, an untrodden path. It was the first political impeachment in our constitutional history. From its inception to its end it was marked by great political acri-

mony. Many of the senators, who were to sit upon this trial as judges, had, as *senators*, expressed their opinion upon the legality of the acts out of which the impeachment arose. Among these senators the President had few friends and many enemies. One of them voted him guilty, when, if convicted, that senator would become president himself, and wield all the vast patronage of that office! Thousands were clamoring for conviction, in hopes of being profited thereby, and thousands more, out of the bitterness of party hatred. All over the country could be heard the mutterings of the storm; and in Washington, where it concentrated, it howled portentously. Over this trial, in the midst of this storm, the Chief-Justice was required to preside. The reconstruction policy of the President had not met with his approbation, but he knew that the trial ought to be a judicial and not a political one, and he determined that it should be. In hearing and determining the case, the senators should act, not as politicians, not as statesmen, not as senators even, but as judges under the sanction of a judicial oath. The powers belonging to the Chief-Justice when presiding over such a trial were undefined, but he fully and truly comprehended them as part and parcel of the trial itself, and maintained them to the last, exerting them all, not to influence the result, but to preserve the judicial character of the proceedings.

The President was acquitted. Mr. Chase was denounced with great vehemence even by many of his former friends. At this time, when the storm has passed away and it is found that the nation still lives and prospers, notwithstanding President Johnson was not removed, and his alleged unfitness for the office he filled, it is difficult to understand why this wrath was poured out upon the head of the Chief-Justice. That in such a tempest he stood upon the waves calm and unmoved, and, amid all their surgings and tossings, held the scales of justice even, will be regarded in future ages as the crowning honor of his judicial labors.

Mr. Chase's family were not long-lived. He remarked to a friend in 1853 that he did not expect to live to be more than sixty-five years old; that few of his family ever lived beyond that age. That period was rapidly approaching when his calculations were to prove too true. In 1869 he lost much flesh, and in 1870 began to realize approaching danger. In the spring of that year he went West to find mental rest and physical exercise. On returning home in August, while on a train of cars, he was attacked by paralysis—a disease of which many of his family had died. The change wrought in his personal appearance by this malady was rapid and extensive. His hair grew white, his figure

became much attenuated, and his step lost its firmness. Still he recovered sufficiently to occupy his seat in the Supreme Court during the whole of the term of 1871 and 1872, and also that of 1872 and 1873; and during those terms he delivered a number of legal opinions clear and vigorous. But in March and April, 1873, toward the close of the term, his strength manifestly diminished. "On the last day the court was in session," writes one who was present, "he relinquished his place to his venerable friend and associate, Justice Clifford, and remained seated at his side, for the first and last time of his life resting his head all day upon his hand." Alas! the tree was girdled, its leaves were withering, and it began to sway to and fro, prophetic of a speedy fall.

A few days after this, on Saturday, the 3d of May, 1873, he left Washington for New York, to visit his daughter there, intending to go from thence to New England to visit another daughter and some friends; and from thence to Colorado to spend a part of the summer. He reached New York the same evening. On Sunday he attended church, and on Monday walked out and made some brief visits, and some friends spent the evening of that day with him. At about half-past nine o'clock he retired to his chamber, quite cheerful and apparently well. Before going to bed he wrote two letters. In one to a friend he said:

"It seems odd to be so entirely out of the world in this great Babylon; but I am too much of an invalid to be more than a cipher. Sometimes I feel as if I were dead, though alive. I am on my way to Boston to try a treatment from which great results are promised; but I expect little. The lapse of *sixty-five* years is hard to cure."

In the other, addressed to a niece in Boston, he writes:

" . . . I came here on Saturday, and will come on to Boston Wednesday or Thursday next, if you write me you can receive me without the slightest inconvenience. Mind, I insist that you do not disturb yourselves in the least. If you have a spare room I will occupy it—nothing more. *All I want from you is love. I crave affection and its manifestations*, but I do not want to have my ease consulted while those who consult it change any of their arrangements for that purpose: Do I make myself understood? *Will you love me* and take no trouble about me?"

Having written these letters he sat down in his lone chamber to read. It is not the world's history he reads now with "little pretty Bessie" sitting by his side. He feels no ambition to be at the head of his class, or head of the nation. *He craves nothing but love and its manifestations*. Ambition has clean gone out of him. He is dead to the world, and the world is dead to him. The book he now reads

treats of another world which he is soon to enter—a book that “brings immortality to light.” He reads, as was his custom before retiring, a chapter in the Bible, and some comments; and then kneels in prayer. There, in the stillness of the night, he holds communion with his Maker, and his craving heart is filled with divine love. He retires to his bed, lays his head upon his pillow, and falls asleep. All this time the Angel Death, who has followed close upon his footsteps for more than three years, is standing by watching his opportunity. That opportunity has now come, and he stretches forth his spear to do its fatal work. There is no power to stay his hand. He cuts asunder the cord of life, and, unconscious of pain, the great soul leaves its tenement of clay, in which it had done so many mighty works, and enters within the gates of Paradise.

EXTRACT FROM MR. CHASE'S DIARY.

The following extract from Mr. Chase's diary of April 14, 1865, is well worthy of insertion here :

“At home morning; afternoon rode out with Nettie,” (his youngest daughter), “intending to have myself left at President's, and talk with him about universal suffrage in reorganization; felt reluctant to call, lest my talk might annoy him, and do harm rather than good; home a little after dark, having postponed my intended call. Retired to bed about ten. Some time after a servant came up and said a gentleman, who said the President had been shot, wished to see me.” I directed that he should be shown into my room. He came in, (an employé of the Treasury Department), and said he had just come from the theatre, that the President had been shot in his box by a man who leaped from the stage and escaped by the rear. He could give no particulars, and I hoped he might be mistaken; but soon after Mr. Mellen, Mr. Walker (the fifth auditor), and Mr. Plants came in and confirmed what had been told me; and said that Secretary Seward had also been assassinated, and that guards were being placed around all the houses of all the prominent officials, under the apprehension that the plot had a wide range.

“My first impulse was to rise immediately and go to the President, whom I could not yet believe to have been fatally wounded; but, reflecting that I could not possibly be of any service, and should probably be in the way of those who could, I resolved to wait for morning and further intelligence. In a little while the guard came (for it was supposed that I was one of the destined victims), and their heavy tramp, tramp, was heard under my window all night. Mr. Mellen slept in the house. It was a night of horrors.

“*April 15, Saturday.*—Up with the light. A heavy rain was falling, and the sky was black. Walked up with Mr. Mellen to Mr. Seward's, crossing the street on which is Ford's theatre, and, opposite the house to which the President had been conveyed. Was informed that the President was already dead. Continued on to Mr. Seward's, and found guards before the house and in the streets denying access; but the officers allowed me and Mr. Mellen to pass. . . . Soon after leaving Mr.

Seward's, I went to see the Vice-President and found him at his hotel; calm, apparently, but very grave. Soon after, Secretary McCulloch and Attorney-General Speed came in; they said they were on their way to ask my attendance for the administration of the oath of office as President to the Vice-President. Some conversation followed as to time and place, and it was agreed it should be in the parlor where we then were, and at ten o'clock. I then went with the Attorney-General to his office to look into the precedents in the cases of Vice-Presidents Tyler and Fillmore, and to examine the Constitution and laws. On our way the topic of conversation was the late President. Mr. Speed said he had never seen him in better spirits than yesterday. He met the Cabinet very cheerfully, and talked with them freely on the subject of reorganization. He never seemed so near our views, said Mr. Speed. Before the meeting of the Cabinet, he had shown me your letter from Baltimore. At the meeting he said he thought he had made a mistake at Richmond in the assembling of the Virginia Legislature; and had perhaps been too fast in his desire for early reconstruction. All Mr. Speed said deepened my sorrow for the country. After examining the precedents and the Constitution, we returned to the hotel, where, at the entrance, I encountered old Mr. Blair and his son Montgomery. I had determined to bury all resentments, and greeted both kindly. We entered the room together—the parlor of the hotel—where were assembled some twelve or fourteen gentlemen: Mr. McCulloch, Mr. Speed, the Messrs. Blair, Mr. Hale, and others. I repeated the oath, which the Vice-President repeated after me. He was now the successor of Mr. Lincoln. I said to him, 'May God guide, support, and bless you in your arduous labors!' The others came forward and extended their sad congratulations."

THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Written by himself. Now first edited from Original Manuscripts and from his printed Correspondence and other Writings. By John Bigelow. In three volumes. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

THE problem, how to describe a life, seems to be less complex and less difficult than the problem, how to live; and yet a good biography is even rarer than a well-spent life. Mr. Bigelow's method of constructing "the Life of Franklin" is new. He has collected from the voluminous writings and correspondence of Franklin himself passages which, together, give a very full account of the man and of his achievements; and, arranging these in the order of events, he has connected and illustrated them by brief comments. Thus the subject of the work is always in the foreground, telling his own story. The reader enters into Franklin's habits of thought, learns to see his aims and circumstances with his own eyes, forms his personal acquaintance as he does that of Socrates or of Johnson, in the pages of Xenophon or Boswell. The editor modestly hides behind his hero, and becomes the most impersonal of biographers. He takes no side in most of the controversies depicted; thrusts neither his name nor his views upon our notice, but assumes the duty of patiently searching for evidence, and of impartially setting forth the facts, when ascertained. True, he can not conceal the positiveness of his own opinions, nor indeed the strength of some of his prejudices; but these are mostly not formally asserted and sustained by argument; they are often, with more effect, quietly suggested and enforced by the selection and arrangement of the text. We call the method new, although nothing has been more common than to make the substance of a biographical work out of the writings of the subject; because the plan has never been so rigidly carried out before, in framing a complete story of a long and memorable life, in which the framer resolutely restricts himself to the work of a compiler. Mr. Bigelow, in his own name, says no more than is indispensable to make Franklin's words understood; sometimes, we think, not enough for this purpose; but such singular reticence, as a contrast to the tedious garrulity common among biographers, is too precious as an example not to cover some

defects. This will be the more readily granted when it is observed how full the book is of marks of honest work; so that any lack of communicativeness on the editor's part can not be ascribed to indolence or haste.

As a whole, the book is a remarkable success. That is to say, there is no other biography which can be compared with this in the acquaintance it gives the reader with Franklin's mind and character. Even as a record of events it is much less defective than might be expected. The "Autobiography" comes down to the fifty-second year of his age; and after that time his activity in public affairs was so great and so unremitting that it has been found possible, from his correspondence, to compile an almost unbroken narrative. The diligence and skill with which this has been done leave little to be desired. It is rather in the earlier part of the work that the reader will lament the excessive self-restraint of the editor. The autobiography itself is by far the most precious and important book in the first century of American literature. Few books have been more widely read by three generations of men, in all civilized nations; yet it remained for Mr. Bigelow to publish it for the first time in a complete and accurate form. His "Historical Sketch of the fortunes and misfortunes" of Franklin's autograph manuscript is of extreme interest; and the critical restoration of Franklin's own text is a service to letters which, if this edition had attempted nothing more, would suffice to give it standard value. Yet there are objects of legitimate curiosity in Franklin's history on which the autobiography, left a fragment, yields no satisfaction; and we turn for information to the biographer. For an instance, the later years of Franklin's life were embittered by his "son," William Franklin, who forgot what was due to his country and to his father, and gave himself to their enemies. As late as 1784, the old man wrote to William: "Nothing has ever hurt me so much, and affected me with such keen sensations, as to find myself deserted in my old age by my only son; and not only deserted, but to find him taking up arms against me in a cause wherein my good fame, fortune, and life, were all at stake." * Even in his last will, prepared with the utmost deliberation in 1788, after making a bequest "to my son, William Franklin, late Governor of the Jerseys," he adds: "The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of." † Again, after this estrangement from his son, Franklin attached himself closely to that son's son, William Temple Franklin; made him a constant

* Vol. iii. p. 279.

† Vol. iii. p. 470.

companion, and strove, with more zeal than he ever exercised in seeking any other personal end of the kind, for his advancement in public life. Though evidently disappointed in the young man's abilities, he confided in him to the last, and left him all his papers and manuscripts, thus constituting him the trustee and guardian of his fame. The grandson betrayed his trust. That he sold it out to the British government—that, for seven thousand pounds in money, he contracted to suppress the truth confided to him, to the injury of his grandfather's fame and of his country's honor, is suspected, not proved;* but if acquitted of this crime, it can only be by pleading guilty to incapacity and negligence unparalleled in administering such a charge. The children and the grandchildren of great and good men do not commonly thus imitate the viper; and most students of Franklin's life will think it a significant circumstance, which ought to be known to all who read of the ingratitude of this son and grandson, that neither of them was born in wedlock. It was not necessary that Mr. Bigelow, in order to avoid the appearance of cheap moralizing, should suppress this fact, and leave the reader, until he meets a casual hint in the last volume, to suppose that William was his father's rightful heir, the son of Benjamin and Deborah Franklin. Few, perhaps, will be misled in a matter so notorious as this; but it is surely an imperfection in a biography to omit the most widely known facts concerning its subject; and this omission is but one of several which add emphasis to the modest words of Mr. Bigelow's preface, "These volumes are not intended to displace or replace any other of the many biographies of Franklin with which our literature has been enriched." We do not hesitate to say that these volumes are not only, as they now stand, a far closer approach to the needed and satisfactory "Life of Franklin" than any of the biographies referred to; but that, with a little greater fullness of illustration and comment in the editor's notes, they would be well worthy to "displace" and "replace" them all.

For the test of merit in a biography is the degree of acquaintance it gives us with the man; not with the events of his period. The ambition to write history has been the bane and ruin of biographers, and the most successful among them have been the few who, like Carlyle, are too great to be spoiled by this ambition, or, like Boswell, too little to feel it. Our knowledge of the people with whom we live is one; our knowledge of the great characters of history is another. What would not the scholar give to reach as clear a mental view of Pericles, of Cicero, of Charlemagne, of Bacon, as he has even of the

* Vol. i. p. 59.

casual associates of his business life? To know their thoughts and motives as well? Yet not of one of these associates, not even of his most intimate and oldest friends, could he probably write a biographical sketch, giving the principal facts of his outer life, as accurately and completely as he could of any one of the great names foremost in history. It is the biographer's art to bring the man into converse with us; to show him in the garb, occupation, and associations of his daily life; to awaken our personal interest in his perils, struggles, sufferings, and triumphs; to stir in us the passions under which he acted, and to lead us to adopt in sympathy the very prejudices, ignorances, and errors which wrought him evil. It is only thus that we can be prepared to enter with him upon those supreme moments of life which reveal the whole man in one deed or word—but only to those who have known him well already; to see Cæsar at the Rubicon, Luther at Worms, Washington when told of Burgoyne's surrender, or Chase when required, as Chief-Justice, to try his own "greenbacks" by the constitution. Franklin's life is one of the most attractive subjects for biography that can be found, not because it abounds in stirring incidents, but because of the wonderful richness and variety in his mind and character. He touched the world on many sides; he lived very near his fellow men; he took a conspicuous part in the largest questions which were solved or decided in his time; and through all we know of him, from childhood to extreme age, he was so peculiarly himself that no course of conduct, no page of writing, which is recorded of him, could be mistaken for the work of any other man. Add to this the fact that his character, as a whole, is singularly representative—that nearly all that is noteworthy in the American people as a nation is found in Franklin at its best, and in full development—and we perceive something of the sources of interest which lie in such a life.

The same considerations may suggest to us, also, the extreme difficulty, in this case, of the task which the biographer commonly assumes, of "summing up" the character of his subject. This has been attempted for Franklin by many writers, but never with tolerable success. Many assertions concerning him, indeed, may be made without dispute. He had great self-reliance, indomitable perseverance; was not precocious, was, indeed, rather slow in his early mental growth, but distinguished from the first by caution in reaching conclusions, by ingenuity in devices, and by a prodigious appetite for knowledge; and he retained the freshness of his youthful intellect even in old age, to a degree hardly equaled, learning to converse in French after he

was three-score and ten. He looked further than other men into the likely results of opinions and actions ; and carefully disciplined himself in the habit of weighing them by their consequences, and of judging all things by utility to the exclusion of passion. His practical sagacity looked upon every inconvenience, from a smoky chimney to an oppressive government, as a difficulty to be removed, and neither his patience nor his ingenuity in devising remedies was ever exhausted. Easy and familiar in manner, absolute in self-control, always tolerant and courteous when most persistently seeking his ends, he was one of the ablest diplomatists of his age ; and the charm of his conversation made him for many years the first idol in the Pantheon of Conversation, the court circles of France. Though almost isolated from the world of scientific activity, he greatly advanced the methods of experimental research, and made the largest single contribution to physical science which it received in his generation. His benevolence was broad and active ; his patriotism, as soon as he had a country or " the hope of a country " to love, sprang into full being, and remained till death a master passion. Industrious, temperate, frugal, fond of acquiring, regarding wealth with the eye of a man of the world, rather than of a philosopher, he was yet so far above the capacity for mean motives in great actions, that the tory historian of Europe, in glorifying the reign of George III., enumerates among the characters which adorned it, " the incorruptible integrity of Franklin," * with reason, for had it been less than incorruptible, that reign, on this side of the Atlantic, would have been longer and more disastrous. And in future ages, when the two great curses of the civilization of the last century reach their proper place in the scorn of mankind, the glory of his public character will be greater than now ; for it will be understood how great a thing it was to be the first advocate in America of the abolition both of personal and of commercial serfdom—of African slavery and of protective taxation.

All these traits will be admitted, and might be illustrated at length from the volumes before us. But there are other questions concerning Franklin's character, on which rash judgments, on both sides, are daily uttered, but on which every judgment is worthless, unless carefully formed, and upon full knowledge. For instance, to John Adams, who, though nearly thirty years younger than Franklin, was on several occasions closely associated with him, the old statesman was always an object of dislike and suspicion. He regarded Franklin as cunning, malicious, deceitful, and selfish. This view seems to be hereditary ; it has certainly survived, in the Adams family,

* Alison chap. lx.

the animosities of a century ago ; for Mr. C. F. Adams, in his life of his grandfather,* makes an elaborate attack upon Franklin's morals, in more moderate language than old John Adams would have used, but of much the same import. "A defective early education," he tells us, "made his morality superficial even to laxness, and undermined his religious faith. . . . That nice sense which revolts at wrong for its own sake, and that generosity of spirit which shrinks from participating in the advantages of indirection, however naturally obtained, were not his." And this belief in the insincerity of the man will be found to be more than hinted again and again in the voluminous writings of the three great statesmen named Adams. On the other hand, we have such estimates of his character as that given by Mr. Parton in his life of Franklin : "I have ventured to call Franklin the consummate Christian of his time. Indeed, I know not who, of any time, has exhibited more of the spirit of Christ."† It is impossible to reconcile such a difference. It is equally impossible to compromise it. But if a reader is confused by finding such inconsistent judgments abroad in the world, he may turn to Mr. Bigelow's work for the best and final evidence on the subject ; for it gives him the facts—the deeds and words of Franklin himself, which he may read with a vision unperverted, either by an old hurt to family pride, or by a modern passion for rhetorical paradox.

All questions as to the relation of Franklin's life to Christian morals will be settled at once by reading his scheme of virtues,‡ thirteen in number. The last is, "13. HUMILITY. Imitate Jesus and Socrates." This is the only mention made of the founder of Christianity in his autobiography, with all its detailed discussions of virtue. What Franklin understood by imitating Jesus is made clear by his own words, "My list of virtues contained at first but twelve ; but a Quaker friend having kindly informed me that I was generally thought proud ; that my pride showed itself frequently in conversation ; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent, of which he convinced me by mentioning several instances ; I determined endeavoring to cure myself, if I could, of this vice or folly among the rest, and I added *Humility* to my list. . . .

"I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the *reality* of this virtue, but I had a good deal with regard to the appearance of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own. I even forbid myself

* Vol. i. p. 450, sq.

† Vol. ii. p. 646.

‡ Vol. i. p. 229, sq.

. . . the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fixed opinion, such as *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, etc., and I adopted instead of them *I conceive*, *I apprehend*, or *I imagine* a thing to be so or so; or it *so appears to me at present*. . . . And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence to natural inclination, became at length so easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for these fifty years past no one has ever heard a dogmatical expression escape me. And to this habit (after my character of integrity) I think it principally owing that I had early so much weight with my fellow-citizens, . . . and so much influence in public councils when I became a member." *

It would be unfair to illustrate this passage by the stanza from "The Devil's Thoughts" of Coleridge, upon "pride that apes humility"; but even this would be less absurd than to give to the system of morality, of which it is a fragment, the name of Christian. To Christ, duty means the subjection of the will in love to a superior being, the subordination of every motive to the pleasure of his infinite benevolence. To Franklin, duty is but prudence, made respectable by breadth of view. His scheme of morality is far inferior to that of the modern utilitarian school of Austin, Bain, and Mill, because it is far less complete; but it bears nearly such a relation to theirs as the fragmentary precepts of virtue in the Talmud bear to the Sermon on the Mount. With Christianity it has scarce anything in common. We do not compare their merits; we do not now insist that one is better than the other; but simply that they are different, that between Franklin's moral teachings and those of the New Testament there is a gulf which can not be bridged. While yielding to none in our sense of his great services to our country and to mankind, we must protest that to call Franklin a Christian is as misleading and inaccurate as to call Louis XIV. a republican, or Jeremy Bentham a poet.

On the other hand, the impartial student of Franklin's life will be slow to accept the harsh judgment of the Messrs. Adams upon his sincerity. John Adams was a man of blunt and aggressive honesty, always harsh in judging motives, and especially rash to condemn those whom he could not control. Franklin's facile, winning manners were to him proof that the man was hollow and untrue. He never could understand how a mind that was fixed in its convictions and faithful to its aims might still wait long and patiently for the time of loud assertion and of violent struggling. But the ultimate difference between them was of manners rather than of morals; Adams's were direct,

* Vol. i. p. 242, *sq.*

impatient, outspoken ; Franklin's finished, courteous, diplomatic. In substantial fidelity to every trust, it will be hard, indeed, to find a real difference between them, and a comparison with John Adams in this respect is the severest test that can be applied to any man. It is true that, on a single occasion, if Mr. C. F. Adams's inference is correct, Dr. Franklin confesses that he was a party to "a falsehood," to whose "audacity" it is not easy to find a parallel.* On Monday, May 9, 1792, in a conversation between Mr. Thomas Grenville and the Count de Vergennes, the former "remarked that the war had been provoked by the encouragement given by France to the Americans to revolt. On which the Count de Vergennes grew a little warm, and declared firmly that the breach was made, and our independence declared, long before we received the least encouragement from France ; and he defied the world to give the smallest proof of the contrary. 'There sits,' said he, 'Mr. Franklin, who knows the fact, and can contradict me if I do not speak the truth.' "† Mr. Adams is surprised that Franklin gives this story "without a word of comment," and remarks that "even his silence was equivalent to an affirmation of the fraud." That the irritable and restless integrity of John Adams would have protested at once, under such circumstances, and in protesting would have violated a most sacred confidence, and possibly imperiled the existence of his country, may be admitted, without blaming Franklin for his wise and honorable silence ; never more honorable than when he thus exposed himself even to unjust reproach of the most intolerable character for the sake of the cause he served. Here was an instance in which the perfect standard of truth did not require the silence to be broken ; and while the man of sensitive honor would feel an impulse to break it, and did feel the impulse, as the fact that he recorded the incident shows, yet the man of wise self-control would sacrifice it as a personal impulse, and confine his protest, for the time, to his own mind, where it could do no harm.

We earnestly commend this invaluable work to the study of young Americans as one of the best hand-books of practical life within their reach. It is too admirable in plan and in its general execution not to become a standard, upon its subject, in all American libraries. The selection of the matter, indeed, and the manner of the editorial illustration, show the hand of a master, and may be substantially accepted as final. There are a few defects, which may easily be removed ; the chief of which is the want of some pages of narrative "filling," to make the story consecutive. The Index ought to be constructed anew, as

* Life of John Adams, i. 434.

† Bigelow, vol. iii. p. 102.

the one given is nearly worthless, being filled with typographical errors beyond precedent, and still further marred with errors of gross ignorance, which stamp it as the work of one who has not even read the book with attention. For instance, what could be worse than constantly to confound Thomas Grenville, the unimportant youth who opened negotiations with the American commissioners in 1782, with his father, George Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act, who had then been dead twelve years?

A HISTORY OF THE HOLY EASTERN CHURCH.

The Patriarchate of Antioch. By the Rev. John Mason Neale, D.D., late Warden of Sackville College, East Grimsted. (A Posthumous Fragment.) Together with the Memoirs of the Patriarchs of Antioch, by Constantius, Patriarch of Constantinople, translated from the Greek; and three Appendices, edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood. 8vo, pp. 289. London: Rivingtons.

WE give in full the title-page of this interesting volume, and regret to say that, like all posthumous works, which rarely add to the reputation of their authors, so this present contribution does but scant justice to the learned and accomplished Dr. Neale's high standing as a historian of the Eastern Church. And yet the volume is not without its interest and value. The period covered by Dr. Neale's fragment of 150 pages extends from the foundation of the patriarchate of Antioch by St. Peter, A.D. 33, to the middle of the eleventh century, when Sapoe, the Persian king, invaded the Roman empire. St. Ignatius, the heretic Paul of Samosata, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Eustathius, Cyril of Jerusalem, and other characters of note, are brought before the reader with considerable fullness, and their position in the Church, and the influence of their teaching and characters, are treated of by the author with his usual skill and ability. The editorial services of Mr. Williams deserve high commendation. They have been performed with a spirit of affectionate reverence for the lamented author, and add not a little to the value of the present volume. Mr. Williams's introduction of sixty pages is well worth reading for its own sake, and the three appendices he has added furnish interesting and important information respecting the sees of Antioch and Aleppo, and the more recent history of the patriarchate of Antioch, derived from Russian sources.

QUEEN MARY:

A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co.

THE public are evidently glad to meet Mr. Tennyson in a new department of poetic art, and on all hands are giving him a cordial welcome. It was worth his while to attempt the drama; and he could hardly have chosen a theme better suited to his genius, or more likely to enlist the sympathy of the greater number of his readers. The period which he has undertaken to represent was altogether a very notable one in English history, whether considered in relation to the great political and religious questions that were at issue, or the men that were the conspicuous actors on the stage. It offered him ample material for his work.

In the treatment of his subject he seems to us to have exhibited many of his best characteristics as a poet. The drama, as a whole, bears on its face the impress of intellectual power. The author has clearly conceived and sharply outlined the facts of history on which his piece is founded, and has comprehended the spirit and action required for their effective representation. His characters are freely and boldly drawn, and live to the mind of the reader. The diction is Mr. Tennyson's best—chaste, clear, and at the same time rich and strong. It is all the better for the absence of a certain dazzling brilliancy which marked many of the author's early poems, and sometimes obscured the sense. The unfolding of the plot is such as to give the requisite unity, and the interest is well sustained from first to last. In the reading at least, whatever might be true in the acting, no part seems diffuse or overloaded. The very common fault of dramatic writers, of introducing long and declamatory passages, wholly foreign to the ordinary, or even the ideally possible style of conversation, is well avoided. Language, on the stage, must be, to a great extent, subordinate to action, which not only supplements it, but in a measure takes its place. But few of the highest specimens of dramatic composition can be brought upon the stage successfully without material curtailment.

Great as Mr. Tennyson's reputation is, he is not, after all, in the usual meaning of the language, a popular poet. His force of intellect and exquisite culture place him above the level of the many. Neither his range of thinking, nor his language and style, are those of average people even in good society. They are such as result from the most scholarly discipline and the utmost refinement of taste. Not

many of his poems, therefore, touch the universal heart. His "In Memoriam," which we place among the very highest on the list of his productions, clearly reveals a heart susceptible of the most tender and profound emotions. But even of this poem, it must be owned, that the intellectual depth and elaboration are so great that only the comparatively small number, who sit down to the patient study of it, really find out how wonderfully rich it is. While in the present volume there is character, life, and action, and situations that in themselves are in a high degree affecting, the impression of the whole may be diminished by the sustained dignity and polish of the style, which somewhat detracts from the ease and naturalness of the dialogue. Shakespeare—almost alone—has seemed master of the art of so accommodating the language and cast of thought, and the entire tone of conversation to his various characters, that the reader shall not be reminded of the *one writer*, losing all thought of him in the manifold variations of idiom and expression. Mr. Tennyson in "Mary" has certainly approached very near to the great master, in power of delineation and in the higher graces of dramatic art; but it is not quite easy to forget, the while, that it is Mr. Tennyson you are reading. While, however, we do not think that he has reached the flexibility, and the strong contrasts and endless variety of Shakespeare, we are bound to add that neither has any body else. It is high praise of any writer to say that he has been able to provoke comparison with the prince of dramatists. That this volume is far in advance of Mr. Tennyson's latest antecedent publications, as a work of literary art, and will add to his reputation, we have no doubt will be the universal verdict.

STATISTICAL ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Part I. Physical Features. Francis A. Walker.

THE second and third parts of this Atlas appeared some months since, and have been noticed in our January number. The first part, now issued, completes this most invaluable work, for which the most unstinted praise is due to Professor Walker and his collaborators. The topics selected for treatment in this part, have reference to the topography, geological structure, mineral resources, and meteorological and climatic conditions of the United States. The facility with which these subjects can be studied by means of the charts, affords a striking illustration of the capabilities of the graphical method of

presenting statistics of which we have fully spoken in our previous notice. This method, although not new, has never before been so fully developed or so advantageously applied; and the present publication may fairly claim to be essentially original in its plan. In the prosecution of the work, Professor Walker has secured the co-operation of various scientists, all eminent in their special departments, whose contributions give it an assured character of undoubted authority. In addition to the information collected by the Census Bureau, the Smithsonian Institution, the Signal Service and the Coast Survey have furnished valuable material.

The first memoir, following the introduction by the editor, is by Professor W. D. Whitney, on the Physical Features of the United States, and contains an elaborate description of the various systems of mountain ranges which form, as it were, the framework of the country; of the regions they inclose; and also of the lake and river systems. Viewing our territory in the most general way possible, four great natural divisions are pointed out. 1st, the eastern seaboard and the Appalachian ranges which press closely upon it. The nearness to Europe, the abundance of its water power, the variety and value of its forests, the inexhaustible resources in coal and iron, its excellent harbors—naturally determine this as the leading commercial and manufacturing region. 2d, the Great Central Valley, which, with its wonderful richness of soil, forms pre-eminently the agricultural region; while its facilities for internal communication will enable it to vie with the east in commerce. 3d, the pastoral, or region of the plains. 4th, the mining region, or the Cordilleras.

The paper of Professor William H. Brewer accompanying the chart of the woodlands and forest systems of the United States, possesses peculiar interest and significance at this time, when the rapid diminution of our forests in value and acreage, resulting from the enormous consumption and waste, considered with reference to the future supply, and also in its bearing on climatology, is attracting so much attention not only here but in the timber-producing countries on the other side of the Atlantic.

There is no question that our larger timber, suitable for sawing, is diminishing; nor that this diminution is to a considerable extent due to prodigal use and needless waste. Legislation may assist in the preservation and replacement of our forests. But unless interfered with, the present rate of diminution must continue until the price rises so much that new timber will be planted as the old is cut, or until it shall be supplanted in many of its uses by the metals.

Professors Charles H. Hitchcock and William P. Blake contribute a geological map of the United States and Territories, a work of great difficulty, owing to the imperfect, disconnected, and conflicting data at present available for this purpose. Professor Hitchcock also furnishes two charts and a memoir on the Coal Measures of the United States, and Professor R. W. Raymond a paper on the Gold and Silver Mines of the West.

A series of six meteorological charts, exhibiting the annual rain-fall, the relative frequency of storms, the temperature and barometric pressure, together with a hypsometric sketch, complete this part of the atlas.

No American is more competent to deal with subjects pertaining to population and mortality than Mr. E. B. Elliott. His acknowledged position in this respect has accustomed us to accept results from his hands without questioning them. We feel it necessary, on this account, to caution readers attaching undue weight to the numerical results in the paper on "An Approximate Life Table," or investing them with an authority which Mr. Elliott himself would be the first to deprecate. We do not think the attempt has repaid the labor expended on it. The gross deficiency in the recorded deaths,—admitted to be two-thirds of their entire number—and the uncertainty of any assumption as to the distribution of the defective deaths among the different ages, invalidate the use of the census returns for any such purpose. The construction of a life table upon such a basis is mere guess-work, and no ingenuity or manipulation, not even the skill of so accomplished a statistician as Mr. Elliott, can lead us to place any confidence in results derived from material so defective. The author, of course, calls attention to the imperfections we have spoken of, but hardly with sufficient emphasis, we think, to prevent many intelligent readers, not experts in the subject, from being misled as to the trustworthiness of the figures presented. To such persons the elaborateness of the processes gives an affected appearance of accuracy to the results, obscures their dubious character, and tempts them to make comparisons and to draw inferences which may be entirely unwarranted and illusory.

The fact must be admitted that the absolute death rate, as well as the relative death rate at different ages, among the general population in this country, are unknown quantities, and must so remain until we have very greatly improved our modes of collecting the facts bearing on them.

In conclusion, we have only space to congratulate Professor Walker

on the successful completion of his undertaking, which may be pronounced, unhesitatingly, to be the most valuable contribution to the study of the comparative statistics of the country that has ever been made.

THE OLD REGIME IN CANADA.

Under Louis XIV. By Francis Parkman. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

THE present work can but serve to extend a reputation already well established. The merits that signalized "The History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac" and "The Jesuits in North America" reappear with even enhanced luster in "The Conquest of Canada." We find the same patient accuracy of research, the same vigor in the grouping of details, the same freshness of diction, and a breadth of reflection that grows with the author's advancing years.

The subject here treated embraces the period from 1653 to 1753. At least, the formative influences at work shaping the character and institutions of the Canadian colony, are brought down as late as 1763, although what might be termed the foreign policy of the colony—its movements of defense and offense—subsequent to about 1673, is reserved for a future volume. In this future volume, to borrow the concluding phrase of Mr. Parkman's preface, we are to "see the machine in action."

Canada, we have learned from "The Jesuits in North America," was founded as a trading and missionary enterprise, rather than as a colony proper. It retained this character until 1665, when Tracy was sent over by Louis XIV. as lieutenant-general of all the Franco-American territories, and Courcelle and Talon were duly installed as governor and intendant of Canada. Bringing with them a full regiment of veterans, their advent marked the turning of the tide. Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec, that had hitherto been barely able to hold their own against the aggressions of the Iroquois, now carried the war into the enemy's country, and humbled him effectually. At the head of 1,300 men, soldiers and Canadian auxiliaries, Tracy reached the Mohawk towns, after a desperate march through the woods, burned all the forts and stores of grain, and retired with the loss of scarcely a man. Not a little significant was it that Courcelle, who had attempted the same thing a few months before, but had lost his way and strayed to the Dutch settlement of Corlaer (Schenectady), should be met by envoys from Albany, protesting in the name of the Duke

of York against this invasion of the territories of his Royal Highness. The French "learned for the first time that the New Netherlands had passed into English hands." The first effort of aggression put forth by the newly constituted French colony made it acquainted with its future conquerors.

Yet the reconstruction of Canada into a province à la Louis Quatorze, interesting and important as it is, should not beguile us into neglecting the preceding chapters (i.-ix.), which treat of the Period of Transition, from 1653 to 1665. For it is during this period that there rose to eminence the man who, more than all others, more even than his royal master, impressed his own image upon the nascent Canadian character. We mean of course François Xavier de Laval-Montmorency, Apostolic Vicar and Bishop of Petræa, spiritual autocrat of the Laurentian valley. Laval was a Jesuit, if not in form, at least in substance, an ardent ultramontane, a man born to rule. Under his sway Canada became, and remained until its conquest by the English, a submissive fief of the Pope, the colonists were purged of the last lingering traces of Huguenot heresy, the missionary priests were prevented from attaining to the comparative independence of a parochial clergy. So effectually was Laval's work done that, a century later, when France itself was hurrying on to the abyss of the Revolution, Canada remained the same tranquil abode of unreflecting, faithful disciples. But those who wish to learn how Laval fought and planned, intrigued, blessed, and excommunicated, must consult Mr. Parkman's pages.

Not less interesting than the description of Laval's character and labor is the account of the well-meant but abortive efforts of Louis XIV. and Colbert to infuse life and commercial enterprise into the colony, the method of increasing its population by importing marriageable young girls from France by the ship load, and by setting a premium upon marriage and large families. The king and his minister seem to have treated Canada as a stock-farm. With rare clearness and impartiality, Mr. Parkman has contrasted, in outline at least, the overpatronized, hot-house growth of Canada, that was taught to look up to its monarch as the source of all strength and wealth, with the hardy self-reliance, the thrifty prudence of New England. We are made to feel in advance which of the two civilizations, when the shock does come, must go to the wall.

The temperance question, the trade in beaver-skins, and the depopulation threatened to the colony through the conversion of its more enterprising young men into *coureurs de bois*, have been to Mr. Parkman themes fruitful of brilliant description. The passages relat-

ing to life in the woods border almost on the romantic. They place before our eyes in vivid coloring, the primeval forest of those days, the drunken revelry of Indian and degenerate pale-face, the weird jostling of aborigine cunning and Gallic levity. The chapters that treat of land-tenures, the cultivation of the soil, Canadian feudalism, and the mode of government, will be less attractive perhaps to the ordinary reader, but they commend themselves to the attention of the thoughtful by masterly precision of statement. Seldom indeed does one have so good an opportunity of seeing how an otherwise jejune subject may be made attractive through the writer's skill and earnest purpose.

It is not for the reviewer to outdo the author. Mr. Parkman himself would be the first to resent any attempt to invest his subject with fictitious charm. The events that he has narrated are meager and halting, the characters that he has drawn, Laval excepted, are unpretending. But those events and those characters are fraught with unutterable significance to us, for upon the success or the failure of the policy that they embodied hung the destiny of our country. As such, they demand our most careful heed. We can be only thankful that they have found so conscientious an historian, to the continuance of whose labors we look forward with renewed confidence.

CHRISTIANITY AND SCIENCE.

By Andrew P. Peabody, DD., LL.D. New York: Carter & Brothers.

It is perhaps as needful to the cause of Christian truth, that such admirable lectures should be written to meet the doubts of intelligent minds in society around us, as more elaborate works for the professional scholar. The books of Renan probably charm and unsettle ten of our half-cultivated readers, when hardly one would grapple with the "Leben Jesu" of Strauss. The author, although well known as a man of deep learning, has aimed in addressing a popular audience to meet this want of the time; and he has done it nobly. His argument is strong, and his material rich, yet there is no cumbrous scholarship; and there is a clearness, often a high eloquence of style just suited to his task. He attempts to show that Christianity is as truly based on inductive proof as any branch of science; and in accordance with this he examines three sources of evidence, *testimony*, *experiment*, and *intuition*. The introductory pages are, we are glad to say, instructive in pointing

out the right method of defense to many unwise champions; for our author does not confound the trustworthiness of scripture with any theories of inspiration, or encumber Christian evidences with questions as to Jewish history. Under the head of testimony, he now shows that the New Testament has in the early citations from them, in the character of the Hellenistic Greek, in the coincidence of the Gospels with history, a proof of genuine authorship as strong as that of Virgil's *Æneid*. The theory of Bauer as to the later date of St. John's Gospel is well refuted. In the third list he passes to the internal evidence, as given in the character of Jesus Christ. There is a handling of this sublime subject quite equal to the chapter in Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural," which we have always thought one of the most striking in our language. The humanity, yet the absolute, super-human perfection; the personality, yet the universality of his moral and social features, are drawn in living colors: and the utter failure of Renan to prove him the pure being he admits, save by the denial of his own theory, is most clearly shown. Our author is nominally a Unitarian; but we know few believers in the divinity of Christ who teach more fully the real truth of the Incarnate Son of God. The following argument for miracles is perhaps less satisfactory. It is good so far as it goes, but the main strength of it is in urging their possibility; and the special assault of our positive science on their credibility as inconsistent with all known fact, is only casually answered. Had he insisted on the great supernatural part of Christ's Person as involving the whole proof of the incidental wonders, his view would have been at once deeper and more convincing. The treatment of the greatest of them all, the Resurrection, is, however, a masterly refutation of Renan. The second part of the Lectures on Experiment is as clear as the first. Christianity as the divine power in the formation of character, and as the renovator of society, is nobly presented: nor is there any line of reasoning which need be more forcibly urged to-day against the sophistry of historians like Buckle, who parade the social vices mingled with the Church, in order to deny its true influence on Civilization. But we can only glance at this and the closing portion on Intuition. To our mind the last is a topic so profound, so large, as to deserve far more than the brief handling of these lectures, excellent as is that handling. Most heartily do we accept his maxim that "there is not a truth of Christianity, which is not of such a nature that it may in some form or measure enter into the Consciousness, and thus rest on the same evidence on which we believe in our own existence." When our champions of Revelation, as well

as its deniers, have learned the meaning of that sentence, they will have learned the philosophy of Christian evidence, as a science that begins with the relation of divine truth to the nature of man, and finds there the law of its whole structure.

LIFE OF H. T. COLEBROOKE.

By his Son, Sir T. E. Colebrooke. London: Trübner & Co.

INDIAN literature and language have been opened with such marvelous research during the last fifty years, that their pioneers are almost forgotten. Even the brilliant volumes of one like Sir William Jones have faded in the clearer science of the Lassens, Webers, and Wilsons. It is thus the noblest proof of the ability of Colebrooke, that he remains so great an authority in regard to many of the most obscure riddles of Hindu philosophy; and this well-written life, by his son, is a valuable addition to literary annals. We have here the personal portrait of an Englishman, who, in a day when many of his countrymen sought in India a selfish fortune, filled the highest public offices with a pure integrity, and amidst wearing labors found leisure for profound study into its law and philosophy. The years which Colebrooke passed were during the martial administration of Lord Wellesley and his successor, when England was beginning to see the need of a truer policy than that of Warren Hastings. We have the most accurate sketches from his own pen; of the mercenary style of that age under John Company; and of the inauguration of better morals. Yet to the last he was compelled to fight against the corruptions of the Board, and his efforts only drew on him bitter, and partly successful hostility. He rose to the highest posts in the courts of law, as professor in the study of Indian codes, and as one of the council. It is impossible to read without reverence the unselfish career of the man, who cared so little for the emoluments of office, and devoted himself so heartily to the pursuits of the scholar. His variety of talent was remarkable. A mathematician, a lover of natural science, yet at the same time a jurist and a student of Hindu theology, he was alike distinguished in each for the solidity and breadth of his learning. It is somewhat singular to find that at first he paid slight attention to those more recondite studies, but gave himself to the statistics of agriculture and social life in India. Indeed he grew weary at one time of his residence, and dreamed of emigration to America. But in a few years he

found his sphere ; and his life was ever after a wonder of indefatigable study. It was through him that " Asiatic Researches " became the vehicle of the most accurate learning in the Sanskrit, and in the archæology of the Hindus. The speculative theories of Bailly had turned the heads of Oriental scholars ; and even Sir William Jones, with all his research, was led into the most fantastic notions in regard to the connection of Hindu religion with some supposed primitive civilization. Mosaic and Indian chronologies were thought quite consistent ; Menu was Adam ; and the Buddhist architecture bore the mark of the people who built the pyramids. Never was a more astounding cheat in literary history than the documents which a Pundit palmed on Wilford, showing that Noah and the curse of Ham were confirmed by this story of a Hindu patriarch. The more accurate learning and soberness of Colebrooke guided Oriental scholars into a truer path.

We have no space here to speak of his varied works, and can only allude, in closing, to the weightiest in its influence on later researches—his " Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindus," written after his return to England in his ripest years. Whatever the difference of opinion as to some points of history, we are indebted to him for the clear analysis of the speculative systems which reveal the genius of that wonderful race ; for our knowledge of the way in which the early religion of nature passed through its transformations into the Brahmin worship, and thence into opposing schools of mystic pantheism and dialectic scepticism ; and while we acknowledge the riper thought of the Greek, we can not ignore, with Ritter, the marvelous power of this older Aryan brain, in the world of philosophic ideas. Indeed, several of the best scholars of our time have confirmed the pregnant hint which Colebrooke gave, touching the relation of the doctrines of Buddhism with the Sāṅkhya system, as opening to us not only the Hindu view, but the growth of that remarkable religion, which was only expelled from its native soil to found an empire over the whole Eastern world. Such is the interest of this biography ; and we know of none more worthy to be read to the close. The name of Colebrooke is a nobler British possession in India than the conquests of a Wellesley

HISTORY OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RELIGION AND SCIENCE.

By John William Draper, M.D., LL.D. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

IT is difficult to speak of this work as we ought ; for it is difficult to speak of it honestly and yet employ those terms of courtesy and external respect which are due to one occupying the position of the author, but, unhappily, not to this extraordinary production. It is evident that the true history of the conflict between Religion and Science can only be written by a man of large and accurate scholarship, of comprehensive mental grasp, of acute critical intellect, of rare spiritual discernment, and of intellectual candor and catholicity. He should also be master of a clear English, and skilled in the art of rhetorical generalization. This verbal qualification is the only one which Prof. Draper gives evidence of possessing. His scholarship is partial and inaccurate, he lacks the power to comprehend either the nature or the result of great intellectual movements, he is easily imposed on by the glowing figures in which oriental writers have described an oriental civilization, he does not even know what spiritual insight means, and he has neither the catholicity to comprehend, nor the candor to acknowledge any defects in a system of thought which secures his admiration, or any merit in one which does not.

The title of his book is a misnomer. It should be entitled the Conflict between Romanism and Arabism. He frankly tells us in his preface that in "speaking of Christianity reference is generally made to the Roman Church." Equal frankness would have required that he should have stated : In speaking of science reference is generally made to Mohammedanism. It is almost needless to say, after reading the first avowal, that Dr. Draper has not even a remote conception of what religion is. Happily for his reputation, he does not attempt to define it. We look in vain in this volume to trace the history of the development of the religious idea, or its effect on the human race. What is the meaning of "ought" and "ought not"? What is the meaning of "love"? What is the effect on the human race of the Christian conception of one God, the Father of the whole human family? and one law of universal love, transcending all family, tribal, and national bonds, and binding all peoples together in one family of man? Sir Henry Maine has shown that the idea of the moral brotherhood of man is due to religious development. Mrs. Jamieson has pointed out that to the Benedictine monks the world owes the pres-

ervation of literature from the vandalism of the sword during the middle ages. It has again and again been shown that the very word home has no existence in any but Christian languages, and that the institution was unknown in the ancient world beyond Judaism, and is unknown in the modern world beyond Christendom; that the inspiration of chivalry is the love which the stronger owe to the weaker, and that, outside of Christendom, chivalry is scarcely a recognized virtue; that the right of every individual to personal freedom is rooted in the great religious truth that every one of us shall give account of himself to God, and hence that civil liberty has never extended beyond the bounds of an already established religious liberty. The very foundation of scientific development is itself laid in the religious idea of God and of creation. For the essence of all heathenism is a deification of nature; and not until mankind learned that nature is not their god, but their servant, did they aspire to harness the before dreaded giant and set him to do the world's drudgery. Of all this Dr. Draper is singularly oblivious. He is apparently not even conscious that life needs such realities as love, law, liberty, justice, truth, fidelity, or that any thing more or other is needed for the development and orderly conduct of society, or the well-being of the individual, than a correct knowledge of the laws of matter and the forces of nature. In short, he is as good as his word: from first to last confounding Christianity with the superstitions which have clogged it—Romanism is religion; the pope is God; the Inquisition is the Gospel.

He is not more successful in depicting Arabism than in portraying Christianity. According to Dr. Draper, Arabia is the world's Bethlehem; Mohammed is the world's saviour; and Christianity is the Herod who has been persistently seeking to take the young child's life.

"In letters, the Saracens embraced every topic that can amuse or edify the mind. In later times it was their boast that they had produced more poets than all the nations combined. In science their great merit consists in this, that they cultivated it after the manner of the Alexandrian Greeks, not after the manner of the European Greeks. They perceived that it can never be advanced by mere speculation; its only sure progress is by the practical interrogation of nature. The essential characteristics of their method are experiment and observation."

The inventors of the inductive system, they are the creators of all modern science. They originated chemistry, invented algebra, founded astronomy, created medicine, improved agriculture, cultivated literature, established libraries and colleges.

"Meanwhile, such was the benighted condition of Christendom, such its deplorable

ignorance, that it cared nothing about the matter. Its attention was engrossed by image worship, transubstantiation, the merits of the saints' miracles, shrine-cures."

In short, according to Dr. Draper, the incursion of Arabia into Europe brought to it the little leaven that leavened the whole lump. If it had not been repelled, the nineteenth century would have come several centuries sooner.

This whole picture of Arabism is marvelously false, both in its outlines and in its details.

The sciences of Arabia were astrology and alchemy. The three objects of their pursuits were the knowledge of the future through the stars, the elixir of life to perpetuate youth, and the philosopher's stone, to convert baser metals into gold. Their natural descendants are the gypsies of England and the astrologers who still advertise for dupes in the columns of the *New York Herald*. The scientists of Arabia have, we believe, abandoned the search for the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone; but they profoundly believe, to the present day, that a devout study of the stars will enable them to prognosticate the future, and their wise men are still sanguine of inventing a perpetual-motion machine. Of practically useful literature, Arabian civilization is absolutely barren. Palestine has given the world a David and an Isaiah, Greece a Homer, Rome a Virgil and a Horace, later Italy a Dante, Germany a Goethe and a Schiller, England a Shakespeare and a Milton. Can Dr. Draper point us to a single poet produced by that civilization whose boast it was that it "had produced more poets than all other nations combined?" Of practically useful invention, Arabism is equally barren. It has not given the world a single useful invention. The microscope, the telescope, the spectroscope, the telegraph, the railway, the steam-power engine, the printing press—not one of these instruments of modern civilization is due to Arabism. Dr. Draper, in his blind idolatry of theoretic science, is as indifferent to the claims of mechanic arts as to those of religion. He forgets that to ship-building we owe geographical discovery; to paper making and the printing press, a diffused and practically useful literature; to the steam-engine, facilities of intercommunication that have made the whole world kin; and to the telegraph, a unity and facility of speech that promises more for peace than all treaties and solemn guarantees. The science of Arabism was the instrument of a hopeless pursuit of an imaginary blessing. Its mechanisms were child's toys. In neither the one department nor the other has it added any thing to the world's real and enduring wealth.

Even in that domain in which its pre-eminence is often acknowl-

in support of materialism. The most noteworthy of all the Mohammedan philosophic writers studied to-day, he is the most intense believer in a personal God ; and the citation is a composite, produced by mingling in one paragraph, without asterisks or indications of its fragmentary character, sentences and parts of sentences taken from Al Ghazzali on "Happiness." * He cites Hengstenberg † as an authority for the doctrine that the Pentateuch is spurious. The surprised reader, turning to the author, finds imputed to him an objection which Hengstenberg has embodied in his treatise only for the purpose of confuting it. In defiance of all philology and all historical criticism, he attributes the first chapter of Genesis to the Babylonish captivity. In a charmingly innocent ignorance of modern philosophy he puts the false dilemma,

"Two interpretations may be given of the mode of government of the world. It may be by incessant Divine interventions, or by the operation of unvarying law."

He beheads Lord Bacon with a single blow of his imperial axe :

"His fanciful philosophical suggestions have never been of the slightest practical use."

He modestly sweeps away all historians who have ever attempted to occupy the field before him :

"The Christian writers of Europe, on all manner of subjects, whether of history, religion, or science, have followed a similar course against their conquering antagonists. It has been their constant practice to hide what they could not depreciate, and depreciate what they could not hide."

He illustrates the dullness of his moral perceptions by his declaration that

"history teaches us only too plainly that fanaticism is stimulated by religion" ;

and by his faint condemnation and hearty encomium of the infamous origin of Mohammedan polygamy :

"It was the institution of polygamy, based upon the confiscation of the women in the vanquished countries, that secured forever the Mohammedan rule. The children of these unions gloried in their descent from their conquering fathers."

It is not pleasant to write thus of one whom we would wish to honor, and who has done honorable work in his day in his own peculiar department of science. But crude philosophy, inaccurate scholarship, and a resolute partisanship, are more culpable in men of eminence than in those of lesser talent and lesser opportunity ; and it is

* Pp. 39, 76, 77, Hone's translation.

† P. 221.

the first duty of the critic to expose, to condemn, and so to neutralize the false, and often mischievously false, pretense of a seeming but not real learning. Glad to be through with a disagreeable task, we lay down the book concerning which we have written with regret but with candor. This latest incursion of Arabism will not be likely to prove any more successful than that which it at once celebrates and attempts to revive.

THEODORE PARKER.

A Biography. By Octavius Brooks Frothingham. 12mo. pp. 596. Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.

SOME men rust out, others wear out. Mr. Parker belonged to the latter class. He began life in 1810, and died at the early age of forty-nine. Within this time it is speaking the truth to say that he did as much work as any other ten hard toilers in America. He was thoroughly German in his ability to study, but vastly un-German in his apprehension of thought, and in his energetic work. His name became unfortunately so linked with theological prejudice which he did not care much to dissipate while living, that it was impossible for him to be judged fairly on his own merits, and it has taken fifteen years and two elaborate biographies, and the clarifying effect of time, to make the public see the greatness of the man, and appreciate the important service he did his country.

Theodore Parker was the product of Massachusetts. He came of the Plymouth stock, and was a Puritan in rebellion against Puritans. The relic of which he was perhaps proudest, was the musket which his grandfather had used at the battle of Lexington; and the act which was equally characteristic of the grandson, was his interference, in the famous kidnapping case, to prevent the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law in Boston. He knew not what fear was, if he felt that his convictions were right. He grew up an independent, self-made man; and developed, without restraint, a strong original tendency to think for himself. He never learned to call any man master. Everything without him had to range itself in accordance with this energetic individuality of mind and conscience. What he said of Margaret Fuller, "She has nothing to do with God out of her," was true of himself. He always believed in the philosophy of intuition. "As a boy he was a transcendentalist without knowing it. When he became a man, he was a transcendentalist on conviction. Then reason legit-

imated what he had always felt ; the piety of the heart became the philosophy of the intellect." His religion as he taught and practiced it, was not destructive like his theology, and had he been brought up where his independence of thought would have been curbed by reverence for the past and respect for authority, he might have become, even in theology, one of the most useful men of his age. Mr. Frothingham says truly that "his reform of theology meant, at bottom, reform of society ; and if society raised the loudest cry, his ear was open to hear it." His theology, in fact, never went, beyond his opinions, into a well-developed system of religious thought, and was too largely tinctured with antagonism to Calvinism to be healthy. Mr. Frothingham finely compares him with the great Unitarian leader, Dr. Channing. "He was greater than Channing in range of thought, in learning, in breadth of human sympathy, in vitality of interest in common affairs, in wealth of imagination, and in the racy flavor of his spoken or written speech. Channing had an equal moral earnestness ; an equal depth of spiritual sentiment ; a superior gift of look, voice, expression, manner ; perhaps a more finely endowed speculative apprehension, a subtler insight ; but, as a preacher, he addressed a smaller class of his fellow men. His was an aristocratic, Parker's a democratic, mind." The latter held his audiences by the spell of earnest thought alone, and used language so simple and transparent that a plain man, hearing him for the first time, said, "Is that Theodore Parker? You told me he was a remarkable man ; but I understood every word he said."

He felt himself, in his connection with the Unitarian body, called to be a reformer, but he simply carried out their principles to their logical conclusion, and his thought grew to be too broad in its range, and too subversive of established truth, to make it pleasant for them to have him within their fold. It was when he stood out alone, when he reached all classes in Boston, when he pleaded strongly for humanity, when he reached down, as he of all men knew best how to do, to the masses, and threw his whole soul into the reforms of the age, that he was most at home. In this sense, he was a reformer. His theology reflected strongly the passing movement of the age ; and the whole statement of it, in this volume, is of the deepest and truest interest. He was too much a scholar to be entirely a reformer, and his studies took too great range for him to be a theologian. In no one point does his life have more charm than in its exhibition of him as an all-hungering, universal scholar, with immense human sympathies. He had a wonderful power of mastering the contents of books, and

yet "wore all his weight of learning lightly like a flower." Among all the biographies of recent days, none reveals a man of more scholarly tastes, or greater range of study, or perhaps of more real accomplishment. He had the poet Percival's power to range the whole world over; and, literally, not the meanest flower that grows was beneath his knowledge and notice.

We are not too partial to his memory, for his teachings must always be received with exceptions by thoughtful men. He accomplished a work in hastening the liberation of the slave and in precipitating the Rebellion, perhaps greater than that of any other man. He lectured up and down the country every winter for many years, and these lectures, like those of Phillips, and Greeley, and Garrison, and others, always went straight at the evils and corruptions of the day. He was a leader in the realm of affairs no less than in the more quiet kingdom of ideas; and, up to the hour when he was compelled to lay down his pen, he was the most active man at the North, except John Brown, in stirring up the feeling which carried the country with triumph to the final destruction of slavery. He did here a great work, the full extent of which Mr. Frothingham has faithfully unfolded in these pages. He was preacher, reformer, agitator, statesman, scholar, all in one. His discourses on Webster and Adams, and the book on "Historic Americans," reveal great powers of comprehensive thought. He was like Choate, in the library, and in the mastery of language. No one excelled him in invective language, and yet he had the gentleness of a woman. On the other hand, no man showed himself more at home in the discussion of great questions which were familiar to Webster, and Adams, and Jefferson. Altogether, Mr. Parker was a very great man, and we gladly forget his theological utterances in tracing the manliness, strength, and purity of his great, strong, discursive mind and heart. He was a noble specimen of the independent American, and the genuine product of our institutions, and it may be many days before we shall see his like again—a man of the people, in sympathy with humanity everywhere, whose heart was too great for his brain, and whose brain was too busy to obey the behests of his heart.

Mr. Frothingham is in strong sympathy with his subject, and has made his labor evidently the work of love. Few biographical works have appeared among us which bear the marks of more conscientious preparation, of more culture and excellence, and freedom from customary faults, than this biography of Theodore Parker.

MOHAMMED AND MOHAMMEDANISM.

By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A., Assistant Master in Harrow School, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New York: Harper & Bros.

THESE four lectures, delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain in 1874, are the product of one who is an original thinker, but who lacks either the clearness of vision to perceive, or the intellectual courage to avow, the logical results of his positions. He undertakes—what has before, but as yet never successfully, been undertaken—to redeem the memory of Mohammed from obloquy, and compel for the religion of Mohammed the respect of Christian people. He apparently accepts, in its entirety, the modern science of comparative religion; asserts that, “for the purpose of scientific investigation, religions must be regarded as differing from one another in degree rather than in kind;” and so apparently regards them throughout these lectures, implies that Christianity was not, and is not, adapted for the conquest of the Oriental mind, while Mohammedism is; exalts Mohammedan, and depreciates Christian, missions in India and Africa; and declares, on the one hand, that it is difficult to believe “that Islamism will ever give way to Christianity in the East, however much we may desire it, and whatever good would result to the world;” and, on the other, that “Mohammedanism, if it can never become actually one with Christianity, may yet, by a process of mutual approximation and mutual understanding, prove its best ally.” Yet he asserts his own “paramount allegiance to Christianity,” and presents at the opening of the first lecture, an admirable contrast between the Koran and the Bible; and at the close of the last lecture, an equally admirable contrast between Mohammedanism and Christianity. In his preface, he expresses a fear of “misconstruction;” and it is possibly this fear which has caused him to leave unexpressed his opinions on a fundamental question: namely, Does he regard Christianity as a universal and divine religion intended for, or at least adapted to, all peoples, and Mohammedanism simply a means in the divine economy for the education of a large population in certain fundamental and preliminary truths? or, Does he regard Christianity as that form of religion which is adapted to the Western mind, and Mohammedanism as the best practicable system of faith and morals for the Oriental mind? In the one case, he would simply recommend to Christian missionaries the adoption of a conciliatory rather than a combative spirit; and this has been both urged and adopted by the greatest missionaries of every denomination, from

the days of Paul to those of Dr. Livingstone. In the other, he would abandon missionary enterprises in Mohammedan countries, and for labors toward conversion substitute endeavors for a religious alliance. As an estimate of Mohammed, Mr. Smith's portraiture lacks the clearness and precision of Gibbon's famous characterization, and appears to us to be on the whole less severely just. As an estimate of Mohammedanism as a religious system, his sketch falls into the common error of those who measure a religion by its precepts, not by its power; by what it says, not by what it has done; by the ideals it presents in isolated writings, not by what it has achieved in the permanent development of character, national or individual. To those who conceive of Mohammed as alternately a hypocrite and a fanatic, the Koran as a deliberate fraud, and Mohammedanism as a form of paganism, these lectures will afford certainly a useful corrective; but they will need to be read in connection with other works by any one who goes to them for a correct idea of either Mohammed or the faith of which he was the founder.

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NO. VI.

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW AND HIS WRITINGS.

WE place before us the titles * of the complete editions—complete to the date of publication—of the writings, both in prose and verse, which Mr. Longfellow has given to his countrymen and the world. We do this because it is our purpose to occupy ourselves and our readers for a little with this popular author and his writings. Of the volumes of prose, indeed, we do not propose to take particular notice. It is sufficient to say that they are in keeping with the poetical works which have been the chief labor of his life, and are worthy of their author. It is of the poet and the poetry that we design specially to speak. Familiar as his successive volumes must be to most persons under whose eyes this article may fall, we yet deem it by no means a useless service, even to them, to indicate some of the distinguishing characteristics of the man and the writer. It is rare that any author, of eminent merit, is so thoroughly understood by the majority of his readers that closer study of his genius and its fruits will not be well repaid.

Let us, however, at the outset, be distinctly understood. In the history of one who attains a high place in literature there are commonly three stages, or periods. The first is the period of intellectual

* THE POETICAL WORKS OF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Household Edition. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co.

CHRISTUS : A MYSTERY. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. In three parts. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co.

THE DIVINE COMEDY OF DANTE ALIGHIERI. Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co.

PROSE WORKS OF HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. Complete in two volumes. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co.

germination and the awaking consciousness of power—the period of aspiration and desire, of tentative experiments, of rebuffs, struggles, and successes; the result of all, being development, experience, and self-knowledge. The second is the period of well-balanced faculties, of fertile imagination, of affluent thought, of mature self-culture, of artistic skill and quiet self-reliance, with a secure place in popular favor. Lastly, the third period is that in which the highest laurels have been won, and the man has reached his pedestal; has begun to stand idealized, and invested with a certain divine halo—like figures of Christ and the saints in the paintings of the old masters—while his best works are becoming set, like gems, in the memories of men. This last is the position now occupied by Mr. Longfellow and his writings. He has fairly and honorably won a place among the first poets of his time, and at last, in his ripened years, wears his honors unchallenged and in peace. He has only to publish a volume and the public at once buy and read it.

It would be little better than an impertinence to sit down to a minutely critical estimate of the particular pieces of an author whose success is so unquestioned. Mr. Longfellow has well run the critical gauntlet. He has had his share of praise, but has apparently owed less to this than the majority of successful writers. He has been handled severely in several instances; but the voice of unfavorable criticism has speedily died into silence. Unchanged alike by praise or censure he has calmly held on his way, and the music of his numbers has flowed unchecked through tens of thousands of hearts in which it has awakened echoes. His literary life has been a natural growth. There has been in it nothing abnormal, nothing forced; but its unfolding has been eminently healthful. This has given it unity and strength. Such a literary life is worthy to be studied. It has lessons for the younger devotees of letters—lessons for the head and the heart alike. It furnishes principles and illustrations, by the right apprehension of which the public taste may be directed and refined. It has about it an atmosphere, to breathe which is itself a refreshing and salutary thing. What we intend in the present article, therefore, is something higher than mere minute criticism. We would, if we may, comprehend the man and his life-work, and share with our readers the pleasure and the profit which a thoughtful survey of both must, we are very sure, afford.

We do not propose a full biographical sketch. The chief incidents in Mr. Longfellow's life are given quite fully in various publications that are easily accessible. A few facts are all we have need to state.

He was born at Portland, Maine, on the 27th of February, 1807. His father was the Hon. Stephen Longfellow, a well-known lawyer of that city. His earliest ancestor in this country was William Longfellow, who was born in 1651, in York-shire, England, and settled, on coming to America, in Newbury, Massachusetts. His mother was a direct descendant from John Alden, of Mayflower memory. Portland—in his boyhood already a considerable city—has much that is attractive in its surroundings. On the east of it lies the broad Casco Bay, with its placid waters and beautiful islands. Immediately behind it spreads a tract of country not eminently picturesque, yet offering varied and pleasing rural scenery, while in the distance a wide panorama presents itself, terminated some eighty miles away by the White Mountains, with Mount Washington quite distinct in outline. If there were nothing in the aspects of nature with which, in his childhood, Mr. Longfellow was familiar that seemed specially fitted to create poetic sensibility, there was certainly no want of objects to stimulate a naturally poetic temperament and develop the poetic spirit. It would seem, however, that his earliest attempts at poetic composition were to be traced rather to the overflowing of the hidden fountains that were in him than to the influence of any external causes. He wrote verses in his youthful days because he could not help it, and in obedience to an inborn instinct.

Mr. Longfellow entered Bowdoin College when he was not yet fifteen years of age, and graduated in course when he was under nineteen. On leaving college he entered his father's office; but, as might have been foreseen, the law had no strong attractions for him. Something more congenial awaited him. In the course of the year after his graduation he was appointed Professor of the Modern Languages and Literature in his Alma Mater, with permission to spend as much time in Europe as might be necessary to fit him for his work. He accepted the appointment, and in 1826 went abroad, where he remained till 1829, studying the modern languages and literature in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, Holland, and England. On his return he discharged successfully the duties of his professorship for the succeeding five years. In 1835 he was transferred to Harvard College, Cambridge, to fill the Professorship of Modern Languages and Belles-Lettres, made vacant by the resignation of Mr. George Ticknor. Before entering on his duties at Harvard, he passed two years more abroad, visiting the Scandinavian countries and renewing his acquaintance with Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. During these two long residences in Europe, he had ample time to make himself in a good degree familiar with the best writers

of the several countries visited, and with their national legends and the spirit of their literature. For seventeen years he performed the duties of his office at Harvard, with steadily growing reputation as a scholar and a poet. In 1854 he resigned his professorship, and has since resided quietly in the old historic house at Cambridge, associated with the venerable name of Washington, and has devoted himself exclusively to literature. On a recent visit to England he was received with great enthusiasm by his many admirers and literary acquaintances. It was the hearty greeting of affection paid to a long-loved and honored friend.

Mr. Longfellow began to publish early, and the catalogue of his publications is now long. His volumes severally have not been large, yet taken altogether they embody a great amount of literary labor. We shall not have occasion to notice each particularly, but shall only refer to them as we have need for the purpose of illustration; and we barely mention, therefore, their titles, with the dates of publication, in their order. Besides occasional articles he gave to the public—

In 1833, a translation of the "Coplas de Manrique"; 1835, "Outré Mer, a Pilgrimage beyond the Sea"; 1839, "Hyperion, a Prose Romance; the same year, "Voices of the Night"; 1841, "Ballads and other Poems"; 1842, "Poems on Slavery"; 1843, "The Spanish Student"; 1845, "Poets and Poetry of Europe"; 1846, "The Belfry of Bruges, and other Poems"; 1847, "Evangeline"; 1849, "Kavanagh, a Novel"; 1850, "Seaside and Fireside"; 1851, "The Golden Legend"; 1855, "The Song of Hiawatha"; 1858, "The Courtship of Miles Standish"; 1863, "Tales of a Wayside Inn. Part I."; 1866, "Flower de Luce"; 1868, "The New England Tragedies"; same year, "Translation of the Divine Comedy of Dante"; 1872, "Three Books of Song: containing Tales of a Wayside Inn. Part II., Judas Maccabæus, and a Handful of Translations"; same year, "The Divine Tragedy"; 1873, "Christus, a Mystery; containing The Divine Tragedy, The Golden Legend, and The New England Tragedies, with Introits and Interludes"; same year, "Aftermath: containing Tales of a Wayside Inn. Part III."; 1874, "The Hanging of the Crane"; 1875, "The Masque of Pandora, and other Poems," including "Morituri Salutamus," delivered before the Alumni Association of Bowdoin College.

No one can doubt that a life which has yielded fruits so abundant and so rich has been one of patient literary labor. It has not, however, been labor without reward. The circulation of some of the volumes mentioned above has been very great. So long ago as 1857, it was announced that of "The Belfry of Bruges and other Poems," thirty-eight thousand copies had been sold, and of "Evangeline," thirty-seven thousand. Up to the present time more than fifty thousand of "The Songs of Hiawatha," have found purchasers. In America alone, of the prose volumes, thirty-two thousand copies

have been sold, and of the poems two hundred and ninety-three thousand! A friend who had been spending some time in England recently told us, that in the families he visited, it was almost as much a matter of course to see the writings of Mr. Longfellow as the Bible itself. At home and abroad alike, his strains have reached and moved a multitude of hearts.

It is by no means an uncommon thing to hear even intelligent people speak disparagingly of poetry and poets. The poetic temperament is regarded by many as indicating a lack of intellectual strength—of capacity for profound thought and solid reasoning. The writer of verse is assumed by such to want practical wisdom and force of will; to be a mere sentimentalist and dreamer, unlikely to achieve any thing great or eminently useful in the ordinary business of life. Poetry is treated as something of interest chiefly to young ladies and gentlemen at the most impressible and emotional age. But in spite of this unfavorable popular opinion, whenever a true poet arises, one who really possesses the divine afflatus—one who has the skill and courage, in the face of prejudice, to give fit expression to the inspiration he feels, he is sure to seize and hold the attention and affection of the many; and his readers, forgetful of the adverse theories and common-places, assign him a high position in literature, and render him a hearty and enduring homage.

It is not difficult to explain this apparent inconsistency. Almost any well educated person, with a little pains, may write in measure; and the most prosaic matter, the multiplication table itself, may be wrought into rhyme. The writing of sufficiently harmonious verses requires merely a little intellectual cleverness, and does not necessarily imply the possession of any thing of the poetic faculty. To this cleverness may, however, be added such an ordinary measure of susceptibility, fancy, and imagination, as may enable one to combine with the power of versifying some very moderate degree of poetic feeling. This is especially likely to happen in early life, when, for want of knowledge of the real world, there is apt to be a propensity to romantic thought and the building of castles in the air. In this way it has come to pass that many who have not the poetic gift to any such degree as fitted them to produce works of high poetic art, have been led to make the attempt.

The result has been a flood of unpoetic, or but feebly poetic verse—the vexation of editors and the weariness of those who read. It may also further be admitted that eminent poetic genius has, in some instances, been connected with an emotional nature so exquisitely

susceptible as to dispose its possessor to certain erratic courses, and even to positive vice; so that extraordinary poetic power has sometimes been associated with corrupt and debasing sentiments, to the debauching of the public taste and morals. There are, also, thoroughly prosaic natures, that are as incapable of enjoying the noblest lay, as a deaf person is of appreciating the richest harmonies of Beethoven or Mozart. Of course such persons will have but light esteem for the sons of song. To such causes as these doubtless, the popular prejudice in relation to poetry and poets may in large measure be attributed. But when the lyre is so struck by a master hand that the tones awaken responses in thousands of quickened hearts, the divine art of poesy vindicates her right to be, and receives the homage she deserves.

We do not hesitate to assert that a true poet, who is also a true man—a lover of the pure and good—may justly be ranked among the greatest benefactors of mankind. He stands among his fellows who are toiling, struggling, tempted, sinning, sorrowing, yearning; and whose daily experiences are made up of mingled hopes and disappointments; transient pleasures and recurring pains; aspirations and dejections; visions of the beautiful and good, and contacts with the deformed and evil. He stands there invested with a power to soothe, or stimulate, as the case may be; to beguile of weariness and grief, to pour the oil of sympathy into the suffering heart; to heighten the exhilaration of joy; to lift the thoughts from the imperfect actual to the perfect ideal; to refine the taste, enrich the imagination, and elevate the whole being. If occupying such a position and possessing such a gift, he faithfully fulfills his function, his influence is far-reaching, and falls on vast numbers as a precious benediction. His pen becomes a more wonderful instrument than the magician's wand. It blesses and delights all classes, from the cottage to the throne. If it were possible to measure, or to estimate, the amount of the instruction, the comfort, the incitement, and the quiet and cheerful happiness, which the hundreds of thousands of copies of Mr. Longfellow's writings have carried to human hearts, we should surely be constrained to place him high on the list of those who have contributed largely to the well-being of the world.

If, then, we ask what are the elements of his power, how it is that his writings have so won their way to popular favor, the answer must be sought first of all in the man himself. True poetry has its foundation, or primary conditions, in an extraordinary susceptibility to impression from certain things that are fitted to quicken the intuitional, the imaginative, and the emotional natures into the highest

and best activity. It finds these things in the objects, innumerable and infinitely varied, of the great system of nature. It finds them in the ever-changing and endlessly diversified phenomena of human experience, as exhibited in the passions and activities of the restless soul of man. It finds them in the memories, the records, and the mythical stories of the past; in the joys and sorrows of the present, and in the opening prospects and possibilities of the future. A poetic sensibility exquisitely delicate was manifestly inborn and constitutional in the case of Mr. Longfellow. This was revealed in the fact that even in his boyhood he began to recognize, and to find pleasure in putting himself in thoughtful contact with, the various classes of objects to which we have just referred, as naturally correlated to such a sensibility. That he was very early alive to the influence of nature exerted through her admirable forms and her perpetual changes of mood and aspect, is shown by the character of his earliest published pieces. "An April Day," "Autumn," "Woods in Winter," "Sunrise on the Hills"—such were the themes on which he first gave expression to his poetic impulses. How intensely he was affected by the scenes of nature, how under their spell the depths of his æsthetic consciousness were stirred to the production of a pleasure the most ethereal and refined, the following stanzas from the "Prelude" to the volume entitled "Voices of the Night," very clearly indicate :

"Beneath some patriarchal tree
 I lay upon the ground ;
 His hoary arms uplifted he,
 And all the broad leaves over me,
 Clapped their little hands in glee,
 With one continuous sound ;—

A slumberous sound, a sound that brings
 The feelings of a dream,
 As of innumerable wings,
 As when a bell no longer swings,
 Faint the hollow murmur rings
 O'er meadow, lake, and stream.

And dreams of that which can not die,
 Bright visions came to me,
 As lapped in thought I used to lie,
 And gaze into the summer sky,
 Where the sailing clouds went by,
 Like ships upon the sea ;

Dreams that the soul of youth engage
 Ere Fancy has been quelled;
 Old legends of the monkish page,
 Traditions of the saint and sage,
 Tales that have the rime of age,
 And chronicles of Eld."

One who writes thus must have a heart full of sympathy with nature—a heart that in her presence feels an inspiration in the ecstasy of which Fancy revels without restraint amid her own fond dreams and in the region of the legendary and mythical, with a luxury of enjoyment which those differently constituted can not comprehend. This is very commonly the first stage of the manifestation and development of a poetic genius. But as life opens a little further, and its more somber aspects begin to appear, and its graver experiences to be tasted, to the same kind of sensibility there comes a deeper tone of feeling, a deeper sense both of the meaning and the mystery of this earthly scene of things, and an appetite for the higher themes which it offers to the imagination. That Mr. Longfellow became distinctly conscious of this profounder view of life and of the emotions it is fitted to call forth, appears from the closing part of the piece already quoted :

"Learn that henceforth thy song shall be
 Not mountains capped with snow,
 Not forests sounding like the sea,
 Nor rivers flowing ceaselessly,
 Where the woodlands bend to see,
 The bending heavens below."

"Look then into thine heart and write!
 Yes, into Life's deep stream!
 All forms of sorrow and delight—
 All solemn Voices of the Night,
 That can soothe thee or affright,—
 Be these henceforth thy theme."

Accordingly, in this mood was written that notable "Psalm of Life," which, notwithstanding its simplicity and the marked inequality of the stanzas artistically considered, has been for years on the lips of all lovers of the poetry of the heart, and quoted alike by boys at college and grave statesmen in the halls of Congress and in the British Parliament. Most of the pieces published for the first time in the "Voices of the Night" are conceived in the same spirit. They are the fresh outgushing of newly opened fountains of sympathy in a heart keenly

sensitive to the perils and manifold ills that are inseparable from the lot of mortals. They strike the key-note of a series of pieces and passages scattered through the entire poems of the author, which, while admirable as works of art, are yet more admirable for the tenderness with which they touch the finest sensibilities of the common humanity. All these impress the reader with the conviction that they are the genuine expressions of the writer's own inward life; and it is very much to this that they owe their power. A poem, however highly-wrought and perfect in its form, that is brilliantly cold or passionless, may awaken a transient admiration; but it can no more seize and hold the affections of the heart than the famed palace of ice erected on the Neva could attract inhabitants, and become a sweet and genial home. We are satisfied that his own intense *humanity* has been a grand element of Mr. Longfellow's power to interest and charm the many human hearts.

It is interesting to note, in the successive publications of Mr. Longfellow, the evidences of increasing breadth and depth in the current of sympathetic tenderness that revealed itself in him so early. When a spirit so sensitive as his comes into close contact with the painful aspects of life, and especially when it has personal experience of its uncertainties, disappointments, and sorrows, one of two things is almost sure to happen. Either it sinks under the pressure of trials into despondency and bitterness, or it is purified, elevated, and ultimately strengthened by the discipline; and so becomes richer in its sympathies, and better able to enter into the experiences of its fellows. Mr. Longfellow early passed through the deep waters of personal sorrow, and it is plain that this contributed to the refinement and general culture of his naturally keen sensibility. The dashing of some of his best hopes at the very opening of his career, wrought in him no misanthropy, but only a more chastened mellowness of thought and feeling, which soon found expression in what he wrote. As he himself has more than once in his published writings alluded to one whose loss threw over his life the first great shadow, we trust we shall not violate the sanctity of private history and feeling, in referring to what it seems almost necessary his readers should learn, in order to a full appreciation of some of his most popular pieces. He was early married to Miss Potter, a lady of rare personal beauty and accomplishments, who seemed fitted to meet all the needs of his highly cultivated intellect and heart. His devotion to her was such as was to be expected from a nature so rich in social affections. But in the morning of their married life, they were suddenly parted from

each other. She accompanied him to Europe, and died at Rotterdam, in 1835. That this overwhelming grief was a part of his baptism for the ministry of comfort to sorrowing hearts, which he has since in so many of his lays fulfilled, there can be but little doubt. To this were added other bereavements which he keenly felt. When time had exerted its healing power to such an extent that he had come to know what Montgomery has called "the joy of grief," it seems quite natural that he should have written the piece entitled "The Footsteps of Angels," which so many have read with tears :

"And with them the Being Beauteous
Who unto my youth was given,
More than all things else to love me,
And is now a saint in heaven.

With a slow and noiseless footstep
Comes that messenger divine,
Takes the vacant chair beside me,
Lays her gentle hand in mine.

And she sits and gazes at me
With those deep and tender eyes
Like the stars, so still and saint-like
Looking downward from the skies.

Uttered not, yet comprehended,
Is the Spirit's voiceless prayer,
Soft rebukes, in blessings ended,
Breathing from her lips of air."

In the same key are "The Reaper and the Flowers," "The Light of Stars," "Resignation," and other favorite pieces. They are the utterances of a nature singularly susceptible originally, and then chastened and fertilized by the discipline of sorrows—a discipline by no means confined to his earlier years.

The particular direction which Mr. Longfellow's life took soon after leaving college, was at once an indication of the taste and genius of the man, and a means of more fully bringing out his powers and of completing his preparation for his life-work as a writer. Instead of finding himself—as so many bards have done—hopelessly tied to uncongenial occupations, his appointment as professor of the modern languages called his attention directly to the studies best fitted to help on his education as a poet. Instead of being obliged to encounter the limitations and embarrassments of poverty, he was able to allow himself ample leisure for thorough study. His long residence in Europe, before he assumed the responsibilities of a

college professor, and the line of study which the character of his professorship rendered necessary, were precisely what his wants, as the future author, required. The acquisition of the principal languages of the Continent, and the critical examination of their elegant literature, must have enlarged his intellectual horizon, improved his taste increased his familiarity with the refinements of word and thought as exhibited by the most distinguished authors, and put him in possession of a great amount of legendary lore. It made him familiar with the peculiarities of manners, taste, custom, temperament, education, and character, which marked the several peoples with whom he came in contact; and which were in many respects so different from those of his own country. As his residence abroad was repeated before his career as an author was far advanced, the advantages resulting from it, as regards his literary culture, were available almost from the first. That wide sympathy with the common humanity must have been made at once more discriminating and more catholic, by such opportunities of contact with men on the broad theater of the world. A writer so trained could not well be merely provincial in his type. Enlarged and profited himself, he desired to bring a portion of the treasures of which he became possessed, within the reach of his countrymen; and so he was led to the translation of many gems of song. These are very various in their themes, and exhibit the marks of their several nationalities; yet, as if chosen by an unconscious instinct, they are to a remarkable extent, as to their spirit and the impression they are suited to make, in harmony with his own original compositions. He evidently translated these particular pieces because he himself enjoyed them; and for this reason he has been the better able successfully to transfuse them into his mother tongue with little loss of their native elegance and feeling. Comparatively destitute as was American literature, at the date at which the earliest of these were published, of fine specimens of the best works of the gifted of other countries, these translations were a valuable contribution to it. Besides the noble ode from the Spanish, entitled "*Coplas de Manrique*," the "*Voices of the Night*" contained other choice pieces from the same language, of which the following may be taken as specimens:

THE IMAGE OF GOD.

"O Lord! who seest, from yon starry height,
 Centered in one the future and the past,
 Fashioned in thine own image! See how fast
 The world obscures in me what once was bright!

Eternal Sun ! the warmth which thou hast given,
 To cheer life's flowery April, fast decays ;
 Yet, in the hoary winter of my days,
 Forever green shall be my trust in heaven.
 Celestial King ! O let thy presence pass
 Before my Spirit, and an image fair
 Shall meet that look of mercy from on high,
 As the reflected image in a glass
 Doth meet the look of him who seeks it there,
 And owes its being to the gazer's eye."

THE BROOK.

"Laugh of the mountains !—lyre of bird and tree !
 Pomp of the meadow ! mirror of the morn !
 The soul of April, unto whom are born
 The rose and jessamine, leaps wild in thee !
 Although where'er thy devious current strays,
 The lap of earth with gold and silver teems,
 To me thy clear proceeding brighter seems
 Than golden sands that charm each shepherd's gaze.
 How without guile thy bosom, all transparent
 As the pure crystal, lets the curious eye,
 Thy secrets scan, thy smooth round pebbles count !
 How, without malice murmuring, glides thy current !
 O sweet simplicity of days gone by !
 Thou shun'st the haunts of man to dwell in limpid fount !"

With his natural quickness of insight and fine sensibilities, and so much to facilitate his intellectual growth, Mr. Longfellow's position as a successful author was of course soon widely recognized. Each successive publication brought out more fully the leading peculiarities of his genius. There were indeed some possible disadvantages connected with his wide acquaintance with foreign literature. He might without this, perhaps, have been more entirely American in his style of thought and imagery and associations, and so might have seemed more original to some. But while it is gratifying to have our own scenery, and our life as a people idealized, it is by no means desirable that we should make our literature provincial by seeking to make it flow in a channel distinctively its own. It can not but enrich the literature of any nation to have its authors raised above the local, and enabled to tread heights whence the broad fields of human thought, passion, and experience—of human infirmities and errors on the one hand, and heroic attempts and achievements on the other—can all be fully surveyed. It was certainly a service to American popular literature thirty years ago, to place within the reach of readers of taste, well-

selected and well-rendered specimens of the weird tales and myths of the Scandinavians, of the grotesque legends and wild lays of Germany, and of Castilian majesty and Tuscan sweetness. Nor do we believe that it did in fact impair the simplicity and purity of Mr. Longfellow's taste, or betray him into imitation, notwithstanding the allegations of some unfriendly critics. On the contrary, while in reading his works it is easy to see that he entered heartily into the spirit of forms of literature which had before been comparatively little known to his countrymen at large, so that he was able felicitously to reproduce them in his native tongue; it is at the same time clearly seen that, from first to last, his original pieces to a remarkable degree bear the impress of his own peculiar genius—exhibit the same characteristics by which his earliest compositions were distinguished.

In his second volume, entitled "Ballads and other Poems," we find a power of imagination and of effective working up, not surpassed in any of the pieces translated, and yet a thorough originality. "The Skeleton in Armor," and "The Wreck of the Hesperus," are finely conceived and full of the true spirit of the ballad. "The Village Blacksmith," well exhibits his faculty of painting what is familiar to the life, and yet idealizing it. In "God's Acre," and "To the River Charles," we recognize that tenderness of pensive feeling which is a part of his very nature. In "Maidenhood," a piece unsurpassed in the most subtle beauty both of thought and of expression, there breathes the very spirit of sympathetic love.

So in succeeding volumes. It is the same man who speaks in all forms of composition. Each piece bears his image and superscription. The discriminating reader, however, will not fail to notice, in turning over this volume of his collected works, that successive years chastened the perhaps excessive play of fancy that characterized the author's earliest efforts, and brought a severity of taste more in accordance with the highest standard of poetic art. There is also clearly observable an increase of strength, both of thought and expression; so that it is easy to find examples of manly vigor. As combining to a high degree both sweetness and power, we may quote a part of "The Arsenal at Springfield."

"This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling,
Like a huge organ rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the villages with strange alarms.

Ah ! what a sound will rise, how wild and dreary,
 When the Death-Angel touches those swift keys !
 What loud lament and dismal Miserere
 Will mingle with their awful symphonies.

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus,
 The cries of agony, the endless groan,
 Which through the ages that have gone before us,
 In long reverberations reach our own.

“ Is it, O man, with such discordant noises,
 With such accursed instruments as these,
 Thou drownest Nature's sweet and kindly voices,
 And jarrest the celestial harmonies ?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
 Were half the wealth bestowed on camps and courts,
 Given to redeem the human mind from error,
 There were no need of arsenals and forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred !
 And every nation that should lift again
 Its hand against a brother, on its forehead
 Would wear forevermore the curse of Cain !

It has often happened that a poet's minor pieces have proved to be those by which he was ultimately most widely known and best remembered. Such pieces are most likely to be genuine births out of the soul. Suggested by some incident, or object, or circumstance, that touches the sensibility and opens the fountains of feeling, and written while the imagination is aglow and before the sudden inspiration has had time to pass away, they often have a peculiar vital force. They carry the heart as with a *coup de maître*. Their brevity makes them easily remembered, and they become at length endeared by long familiarity and can not be forgotten. Mr. Longfellow may be less than most authors an exception to the rule that the longest poems are less likely than the shortest to be widely read, inasmuch as his principal pieces are to an unusual degree pervaded by that delicate beauty of thought and language and exquisite tenderness of spirit by which his occasional lays are made so charming. Still his briefer strains touch so many chords that are found in every human heart ; they exalt so many familiar things into the region of the ideal, and so give utterance to the finest sentiments of all periods of life and all outward conditions, that they are sure long to keep the place of favorites. A momentary burst of emotion like the following, entitled

"Suspiria," once read and felt, is so fastened in the soul that it can not be lost :

"Take them, O Death ! and bear away
 Whatever thou canst call thine own !
 Thine image stamped upon this clay,
 Doth give thee that, but that alone !

Take them, O Grave ! and let them lie
 Folded upon thy narrow shelves,
 As garments by the soul laid by,
 And precious only to ourselves !

Take them, O great Eternity !
 Our little life is but a gust
 That bends the branches of thy tree,
 And trails its blossoms in the dust !"

It is a piece worthy to be placed beside Mr. Tennyson's—

"Break—break—break
 On thy cold gray stones, O sea !"

They are both profoundly touching, because they are the overflowing of genuine emotion.

We have lingered the longer among the earlier and minor pieces of Mr. Longfellow, because they best illustrate those natural gifts and characteristics of the man, which have, in their full unfolding, made him what he is. They reveal also his mastery of language and of the harmonies of verse. Well-nigh faultless as regards the choice of words, they are written in numbers endlessly varied, and so adapted as to seem in each case most naturally allied to the meaning they embody. As preliminary touches of the lyre, they seem to form the fitting prelude to the greater things that were afterward to come.

When the careful reader comes to take up the matured poet's more extended works, he is struck at once with the fact that these were but the realization of the dreams of his earliest days. We have already referred to the prelude to the "Voices of the Night," in which he gave expression to his love of Nature, of legendary lore, and, above all, of his deep interest in the life experiences of his fellow men. In "Evangeline," "Hiawatha," and the poems placed together in one volume with the title, "Christus: A Mystery," he seems to have pursued the path that then opened to his imagination with a steady purpose, till he had wrought out into distinct and fixed creations the things that had floated before him as unsubstantial visions. In "Evangeline," which by common consent has now become a classic, he found a

theme in which might be combined, to a considerable extent, the charms of natural and legendary beauty, and pictures of the joys and sorrows, the hopes and disappointments, of life. One can not read this delightful poem without feeling that the heart of the writer is in it, not less than in the "Psalm of Life." While in the delineation of natural scenery, and of the simplicity of rural life and manners, it is minutely faithful and distinct; while its characters are so well conceived, and so graphically drawn, that in the progress of the piece they become to one as familiar friends; the highest power of the story results from the fact that the author was so possessed by his theme that he wrote almost as if narrating a personal experience. Every line throbs with vitality, and the whole is suffused with a glow of genuine feeling. The result is originality, fascination, pathos. *Evangeline* has become as much a real person to the reading world as *Joan of Arc*; and the incidents of her history hold the attention, and are believed in, like those of *Robinson Crusoe*. In vain the sagacious critics assailed and censured the details of the execution, condemned the use of the hexameter line, and pronounced the poem a failure. The taste of such critics was formed by conventional prescription, and so decided by false canons. In this, as in other cases, the hexameter measure, adjusted to the English language, so far as this is practicable by the acceptance of accent instead of quantity, has proved, in the hands of Mr. Longfellow, pleasing and effective, and the fitness of its use has been forever vindicated; while the homely simplicity with which the pictures of agricultural life are drawn, instead of being commonplace, is only the faithfulness to nature that leaves the true impression. It would be easy to select from this poem a great number of single lines, each of which is, to the imaginative reader, as if a poem in itself; and passages exhibiting widely different forms, or varieties, of poetic power of a very high order, may be found on almost any page. We must quote a passage or two, and will take one near the close of Part I., where the multitude of families are driven from their homes in disorder to the sea-shore.

"But on the shores meanwhile the evening fires had been kindled,
Built of the driftwood thrown on the sands from the wrecks in the tempest;
Round them shapes of gloom and sorrowful faces were gathered,
Voices of women were heard, and of men, and the crying of children.
Onward from fire to fire, as from hearth to hearth in his parish,
Wandered the faithful priest, consoling and blessing and cheering,
Like unto shipwrecked Paul, on Melita's desolate sea-shore.
Thus he approached the place where *Evangeline* sat with her father,
And in the flickering light, beheld the face of the old man,

Haggard, and hollow, and wan, and without either thought or emotion,
 E'en as the face of a clock from which the hands have been taken.
 Vainly Evangeline strove with words and caresses to cheer him,
 Vainly offered him food ; yet he moved not, he looked not, he spoke not,
 But with a vacant stare, ever gazed at the flickering firelight."

He was heart-broken already. But very soon there was seen in the gloom the blaze of the burning village of Grand Pré, which filled to overflowing the cup of horror and despair.

"Overwhelmed with the sight, yet speechless, the priest and the maiden
 Gazed on the scene of terror that reddened and widened before them ;
 And as they turned at length to speak to their silent companion,
 Lo, from his seat he had fallen, and stretched abroad on the sea-shore,
 Motionless lay his form, from which the soul had departed.
 Slowly the priest uplifted the lifeless head, and the maiden
 Knelt at her father's side, and wailed aloud in her terror.
 Then in a swoon she sank, and lay with her head on his bosom.
 Through the long night she lay, in deep oblivious slumber ;
 And when she awoke from the trance, she beheld a multitude near her.
 Faces of friends she beheld, that were mournfully gazing upon her,
 Pallid, with tearful eyes, and looks of saddest compassion.
 Still the blaze of the burning village illumined the landscape,
 Reddened the sky overhead, and gleamed on the faces around her,
 And like the day of doom it seemed to her wavering senses."

The following passage, descriptive of an evening scene on the Mississippi, when Evangeline had proceeded so far on her long pursuit of Gabriel, presents a widely different, but equally graphic picture.

"Softly the evening came. The sun from the western horizon
 Like a magician extended his golden wand o'er the landscape ;
 Twinkling vapors arose ; and sky and water and forest
 Seemed all on fire at the touch, and melted and mingled together.
 Hanging between two skies, a cloud with edges of silver,
 Floated the boat, with its dripping oars, on the motionless water.
 Filled was Evangeline's heart with inexpressible sweetness.
 Touched by the magic spell, the sacred fountains of feeling
 Glowed with the light of love, as the skies and waters around her.
 Then from a neighboring thicket, the mocking-bird, wildest of singers,
 Swinging aloft on a willow spray that hung o'er the water,
 Shook from his little throat such floods of delicious music,
 That the whole air, and the woods, and the waves seemed silent to listen.
 Plaintive at first were the tones and sad ; then soaring to madness
 Seemed they to follow, or guide, the revel of frenzied Bacchantes.
 Till, having gathered them all, he flung them abroad in derision,
 As when, after a storm, a gust of wind from the tree-tops
 Shakes down the rattling rain in a crystal shower on the branches."

No poem dealing after the fashion of these quotations with human passion and with nature, even though it have many trivial blemishes, can fail to interest all who have any good degree of poetic receptivity.

In the "Song of Hiawatha," Mr. Longfellow obeyed the impulse of his love of legend and tradition. Although he had made himself familiar with the legendary literature of other lands, and was led by his scholarly instincts to translate and otherwise make use of that, he did not become indifferent to any similar material lying within his reach at home. The conception of a poem which should embody and illustrate the most striking traditions and fanciful myths of the Indian tribes was a fortunate one. While the subject was in harmony with one of his characteristic tastes, it was at the same time one of great interest to the popular mind, not only at home, but, even more, abroad. It was a theme for the treatment of which there were very rich materials. With his wonted thoroughness, Mr. Longfellow, as the poem clearly shows, mastered these materials; and, in his own spirit, wrought them into that song so unique in form, at least in the English language, which has been the most widely read of all his larger works. The mingling, to so great an extent, of the natural and supernatural, the intrinsic interest of the interwoven tales, the character of Hiawatha, the minuter beauties of language and description, and the air of aboriginal simplicity that pervades it, combine to make it at once a strange and a fascinating poem. It is perhaps hardly worth the while even to allude to the charge made by a single critic, on its publication, that it was in the measure of the verse, and in part at least in matter, an imitation of the Finnish "Kalevala." As regards the genuineness of the traditions woven into the poem, no better authority than Mr. Schoolcraft could be desired; and even if the form of the versification were suggested by the Kalevala, or were the same as in that poem this were no ground for the charge of borrowing, any more than the use of the hexameter in "Evangeline" and other poems furnished ground for the charge of borrowing from Virgil and Homer. We have never heard of any poet who has patented the particular construction of his meter. The great charm of the poem, for all readers, was that, in substance and spirit, it was thoroughly American, and illustrative of the character of a race whose history has awakened deep interest throughout the civilized world.

In the volume entitled "Christus, a Mystery," Mr. Longfellow treads a much higher plane. It does not appear quite certain whether he originally purposed to combine "The Divine Tragedy," "The Golden Legend," and "The New England Tragedies," so as to give

them a certain unity, or whether this was an after-thought. They have, however, sufficient relation to each other, to render this combination significant. The first is an attempt to invest with poetic and dramatic interest the essential facts of the primitive Christian history—an attempt so daring in every view, and so difficult of execution, that only a consciousness of high artistic skill, and of absolute purity of purpose, could have given courage for the making of it. If the writer should undertake to add to the simple evangelical narrative, the graces and embellishments of fancy, and to heighten by poetic art the sublimely touching scenes of Gethsemane and Calvary, how should he not be certain to pain if not disgust every truly Christian heart? If, on the other hand, he should try merely to shape into metrical form the unchanged substance of this narrative, how could he do otherwise than fail to invest the subject with any thing like poetic interest? These were the difficulties of the case. But "The Divine Tragedy" has been accepted as a success. It does not profane the sacred history by additions, nor fail to sustain the interest of the story, so full in itself of divine grandeur. A man who had never read the Gospel might possess himself of the pith and substance of it here. Art has done its best to present a true and yet vivid and touching picture of pure, primitive Christianity.

"The Golden Legend," also, is intended to present a picture of Christianity; but it is of Christianity as it appeared when its primitive simplicity had been lost, and its purity corrupted, in the darkness of the mediæval centuries. While the divine light was not suffered to go out, it was dissipated and obscured by so many reflections and refractions, that the result was a twilight in which the clear and the obscure, the beautiful and the grotesque, the genuine and the false, were indistinguishably blended. With fervent piety were mingled extravagant beliefs in all sorts of supernatural interpositions, and in monkish legends without number. Here was ground particularly inviting to Mr. Longfellow; and nowhere do his peculiar characteristics as a poet more strikingly reveal themselves than here. That indefinable perfection of language and rhythm, combined with a felicity of invention and what seems like an atmosphere of beauty—in which he is nearly or quite unrivaled—is exhibited to the best advantage in parts of this well-wrought work. Nor does he write like one describing objectively its successive scenes, but as one living in them, and having full sympathy with the spirit of the time, and full belief of every marvel, might have written. The underlying lessons of the piece all readers may not discern; but the general impression of the

whole can not be otherwise than salutary. Elsie will prove immortal. Such a conception is rendered possible by Christianity alone.

"The New England Tragedies," as by another turn of the kaleidoscope, give us yet another view of Christianity defaced with human infirmity and error. Against the corruptions of the mediæval Church Protestantism was a brave and earnest reaction. But it was not to be supposed that those who led in this great movement, or those who became their followers, should all at once emancipate themselves from the many falsehoods, theoretical and practical, to which generations had contributed to give authority. As the poet had faithfully drawn, without comment, a picture of the Romish Church as it was, with its mingled good and evil, it was perhaps only fair that he should do the same for the protesting churches which had separated from it. The fathers of New England, while in so many things in advance of their time, had not, when they began their work which has borne such rich and precious fruits of civil and religious freedom, entirely left behind them the superstitions which had so long pervaded the nominally Christian world. It was, therefore, a perfectly legitimate use of the material furnished by their errors, to serve these errors up in dramatic form; just as some son of song, a century or two hence, may picture to his readers the seances, and other freaks of spiritualism, by which so many intelligent people of to-day have been deluded. Even our own age is not absolutely faultless in the matter of superstition. It will quite probably be some time yet before Christianity will have cast out all the devils that beguile too credulous mortals. The reader of "The New England Tragedies" will probably rise from the perusal of them with a deeper conviction than ever that the mistakes and inconsistencies of the good are eminently mischievous; and that to credit pretended supernatural facts without evidence is absurd. If, then, he will turn to "The Courtship of Miles Standish," he will get a more pleasing picture of early New England character and manners.

In this volume, with its three parts connected by an *Introitus* and *Interludes*, we have Mr. Longfellow in the full maturity of his powers, and attempting the highest themes to which he has ever applied himself. Of the arch that is permanently to sustain his reputation, this may be regarded as the keystone. "The Golden Legend" was indeed written earlier than the others, but is well fitted to its present place, and the three combined are severally rendered more interesting and impressive by their relation to each other. Of the minor works that followed these, and of the three successive parts of the "Tales of a Wayside Inn," we have not room to speak. We can only say of the

latter, in passing, that they strikingly exhibit Mr. Longfellow's versatility, his legendary treasures, his invention and constructive skill, together with the same refinement and felicity of thought and imagery, and the same inspiration and warmth which attracted attention to his earliest publications. Some of the most admired of these tales, like some of the author's brief pieces written early, have become too familiar to be quoted; for example, "The Legend Beautiful,"

"Hadst thou stayed I must have fled!"

That Mr. Longfellow should have undertaken and successfully achieved the vast labor of translating the "*Divina Commedia*" of Dante, is certainly creditable to his literary enthusiasm, to his poetical talent, and his strength of will. Yet, while in some respects the task may have been congenial to him, as in harmony with his taste for the mythical, the wild, the purely imaginary and fantastic, we can not help thinking that to one whose soul seems to have been naturally attuned to such strains as the "Hymn to the Night," "Flowers," "Sunrise on the Hills," "A Gleam of Sunshine," "To a Child," "The Goblet of Life," and "Excelsior," it must have been with some degree of weariness that for so long a time it must be occupied with scenes so remote from the present actual and living world, as those which fill the wonderful pages of the great Italian. It is without doubt a service to English literature to have given it a translation more nearly approaching to the form and spirit of the original than any before existing. But we confess that we can not wholly suppress the feeling of regret that the time and strength bestowed on the "*Divine Comedy*" were not devoted to the production of another original work, that should have embodied the accumulated riches of the author's ripest powers, impregnated with the spirit of truth and beauty which seems as if his native element. The readers of Dante are comparatively few, and are likely to grow fewer. But if Mr. Longfellow, after living so much as an author with the past, could have assumed the function of the seer, and opened to the view of this sensuous and money-loving generation, the changes in society, in the manners, tastes, aspirations, and aims of men, and in the aspects of the world and the well-being of nations, which causes now in operation are certain to effect at no very distant day, with his rare power of painting to the heart, he would by such a work have reached and interested great numbers of mankind, and that, perhaps, for ages. Something like this it would seem he might have done. We are bound nevertheless to thank him heartily for what he has accomplished.

We have seen, from the characteristics of Mr. Longfellow's poetical writings—his own, as distinct from his translations—that they have a certain unity and freshness, resulting from the fact that, to a remarkable extent, they embody the characteristics of the man. A writer of genius will be original, in the best sense, when his works are the genuine outflow of his own spontaneous thought, feeling, imagination, and inward experiences—in a word, of his own inward life, as his natural gifts and the special culture he has received have made it. Because Mr. Longfellow's poetry is such an outflow, it bears very little resemblance to that of any other author, but has a character of its own that may be recognized at once. We are not fond of comparing poets with each other in order to estimate their relative merit. It teaches little or nothing, and often leads to flagrant misconceptions. One may be profoundly meditative, delighting to lose himself in the quiet depths of the poetic heavens. Another has an eye for order, form, and color, and delights to represent these in objective yet idealized descriptions. Another still has a passion for the romance of human history and action, and naturally seizes on the chivalrous and the heroic. Yet another comprehends, as if by intuition, the passions and emotions of the soul, and knows how to touch the keys that strike every chord of the affections. The only legitimate question, in relation to these several types of authorship, is whether each works artistically well, according to his own particular idiosyncrasy. Among readers, one class will be best pleased with the calmly thoughtful; another, with that which is descriptive of sensuous beauty; a third will be kindled into enthusiasm by the romantic; and a fourth will be best pleased when the sensibilities are most exquisitely touched. We do not say that, of good poetry, some may not be, with justice, distinguished as ideally belonging to a higher and some to a lower plane or rank. But after all, that poetry is practically of most value to the world which most effectually answers the ends of such an art in ministering pleasure, inspiration, strength, and goodness to the longing, faltering, and erring hearts of mortals; and the merit and success of any poet may fitly be measured by the degree in which he has been able to accomplish this. That Mr. Longfellow, when tested by this standard, has deserved the reputation he enjoys, will not now probably be denied by any.

We have endeavored, in what we have said, to illustrate our belief that Mr. Longfellow has been, in his literary life, remarkably true to himself—to the character, the circumstantial culture, and the native bent of his own genius. His temperament is not naturally calm and

meditative, but sensitive and emotional. He has steadily obeyed his own inward law, availing himself, with faithful diligence, of all outward opportunities and helps. He has not ambitiously attempted to do something for which nature did not fit him, and so become an imitator. He has not hesitated to give expression, with the elegant sweetness and purity of diction which his constitutional delicacy of taste supplied, to the tender affections and sentiments of his own heart, as touched by the influences of nature, and by the experience and observation of the trouble, the sorrow, and the unsatisfied yearnings, of which so many human lives are full. It is this that has made his writings so catholic. They come as the words of a brother, who has himself understood, by his own contact with suffering, both the anguish and the blessedness of grief. Thus to become a minister of healing influences, of hope and cheerfulness and joy to many, and they to a large extent such as are qualified in their turn to transmit the good received to others, is undoubtedly one of the noblest offices of the poet, and may well satisfy the highest ambition.

We ought, too, in this connection, to refer to another marked characteristic of Mr. Longfellow's writings. Every page is as remarkable for moral purity as for æsthetic beauty. The entire series of his poems is pervaded throughout by a spirit of moral health and sweetness—like an atmosphere redolent with the fragrance of June gardens and meadows. He has been censured by his critics, especially by Mr. Edgar A. Poe, for writing so manifestly for an end—a useful and often a directly moral end. We hold the censure to be grounded on a principle utterly false. Mr. Poe was himself, it would seem, wanting in moral sensibility to a remarkable degree. With all his extraordinary poetic power, he could not and did not touch the deepest and richest chords of human feeling; and he was often recklessly unjust to his fellows, apparently for want of any conscientious regard for right. But why should not æsthetical and moral beauty be united? Why should the poet, who has seized the attention and touched the heart of his reader, be forbidden to use his power over him so as to make him better? If it be said that it is only to the distinct indication of this purpose in the poem that there is objection, and that any such indication is of necessity prosaic, we answer, first, that no one would claim that a poetical piece, however suggestive of useful lessons, should end with a homily; and next, that, taking readers as we find them, it is too much to expect that they will look for much beyond what the poet, in some way, indicates by his words. No doubt the intimation of a purpose, in a work of art, must be done

skillfully, and so as not to transcend the artistic law. Possibly, in a very few instances, Mr. Longfellow may have laid himself open to just criticism in this matter. If so, it has been to a very venial extent; and we hold it a grand merit that he has in many of his pieces so directly addressed the moral sensibility. That to use his poetic gifts for the good of his fellow-men has been his wish and aim, his touching poem, delivered lately before the Alumni Association of Bowdoin College, will suggest to every reader. Pensive, but not sad—almost cheerful in its tone—the “*Morituri Salutamus*” may be taken as strikingly expressive of the character as well as the genius of its author. He will doubtless, according to his own teachings, persist in efforts to make the world better and happier, to the last. We trust that other fruitful years await him still.

The position of one who stands, with whitened locks, in the vale of years, in the consciousness that through a long life he has laboriously sought at once to please and to elevate his fellow-men, may well be envied. To have reached such numbers with his genial influence; to have made so many hours to pass as with nimble footsteps, that had otherwise dragged wearily away; to have given a right direction to so many aspiring thoughts; to have calmed so many troubled and sorrowing souls, and breathed into them the spirit of Christian submission and quietness; and to have the respect and affection of his own generation and the assurance that his name and power will live when he himself shall have departed—surely in all this there is ample recompense for the patient toil and self-sacrifices it has cost. This gentle and quiet man of letters, pursuing his noiseless way from youth to age, and bravely and sincerely transfusing his own pure thought and feeling into the great world’s life, has reared for himself an enduring monument in his works, and has merited the gratitude of his country and his race. He leaves, in his example, for the benefit of those who aspire to literary eminence, a demonstration that it is not necessary, in order to success, that one should sacrifice on the altar of false taste, and lend his genius to the service of what can only corrupt and debase mankind. It is a noble testimony, and one unfortunately but too much needed in our time.

ERNST CURTIUS, MÜLLER, AND MOMMSEN.

ON the north-west frontier of the German empire, between the lower course of the Elbe and Denmark, lies the pleasant province of Schleswig-Holstein. Here the eye of the traveler, wearied by the monotony of that vast unfertile expanse which constitutes a large portion of North Germany, rests with pleasure upon a gently rolling country, broken occasionally by hill and valley; upon snug farms with fruit orchards and grain-fields; moist pasture lands with their herds of sleek cattle; beautiful groves of forest trees of various kinds; and black-timbered houses, which, though externally somewhat somber, contain in abundance all things necessary to the farmer's comfort. The sea, penetrating with its silvery fiords far into the interior, makes almost every important town a sea-port, and not only facilitates exchange, and renders easy the disposal of farm-products, but affords opportunity to the adventurous or the unoccupied, to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Thus, with the industry and thrift which are the farmer's virtues, are combined that energy and enterprise which nearness to the sea engenders, and a union of physical vigor and mental activity characterizes the inhabitants of this province.

A glance at the list of eminent scholars whom Germany has produced during the present century, reveals the fact that a large proportion have originated in or are identified with Holstein, for it immediately falls upon such names as Niebuhr, Brandis, Voss, Twستن, Trendelenburg, Müllenhoff, Olshausen, Mommsen, and the brothers Curtius.

In the summer of 1873, the writer visited Schleswig-Holstein, and had the privilege of spending some hours in the society of Professor Jansen, of the Gymnasium at Kiel. As he walked about the streets and the environs of that pleasant city, he remarked something English in the physique and physiognomy of many of those whom he met; and on entering the house of Professor Jansen he not only found what seemed like an English home, but he was surprised at

what may be called the English point of view from which questions on general subjects were regarded. At last he said to Professor Jansen, "Why, what does this mean? I have seemed to see about me in the streets, English faces and English forms, and now on entering your house I discover an ability on your part to enter into my views, and a sympathy on my part with yours, such as is usually found only in those of the same race and language." He answered, "And should it not be so, since we are living on the very ground whence the Anglo-Saxons came, and since we *are* English, or rather, the English are the descendants of our fathers?"

The most interesting point in the province of Holstein, and perhaps on the whole Baltic coast, is the stately town of Lübeck. Here was the center of that great commercial league of the Hansa-towns which, about the year 1400, numbered close upon eighty cities; and, with its agencies and depots in Bruges, Bergen, Nishi-Novgorod, and London, controlled for a time the commerce of the world. Here, in the Rath-Haus, may still be seen the hall, where the representatives of the Hansa used to meet, and the elaborate carved work on the front of many an ancient house bears witness to the wealth which flowed into Lübeck as the center of that potent organization. Near the Rath-Haus is the Marien-Kirche, one of the most interesting churches in Europe; its interior rich with monuments and inscriptions and with works of art, to which remote Florence, as well as the fertile talent of native artists, furnished contributions. Around the pulpit may be seen the places of honor reserved for the Bürgermeister, senators, and other municipal authorities of the town of Lübeck, with which the church is as intimately associated as San Marco with Venice, or Santa Maria de' Fiori with Florence.

Among other historical monuments may be mentioned the Schiffer-Halle, or ship-captain's hall, where models of old trading vessels and curiosities brought by them from distant lands, are preserved; and the massive Holsten Thor, the gate of communication with the interior, which suggests by its inscription, *Domi concordia, pax foris*, that peaceful intercourse of commerce with the outside world, by which the city gained her greatness; and that harmony within the walls and the model local government, which still distinguish her.

Lübeck retains the title and privileges of a free town, being a republic governed by a senate of twenty life-members, and by an assembly of one hundred and twenty delegates elected by the citizens at large. During the early portion of this century, when Lübeck's foreign relations were intricate and important, the duty of home

administration, and the representation of the town on special occasions in foreign countries, devolved upon the Syndicus, or Syndic, whose office presupposed in its incumbent a legal training, and was perpetual. It was conferred, in 1801, upon Carl Georg Curtius, who belonged to an old Lübeck family, but whose father had spent most of the years of his active life in Russia, engaged in the successful practice of medicine. The family name, Curtius, is no doubt Latinized from the German name, *Kurz*, which corresponds to our English proper name, Short.

The Syndic Curtius was a finished classical scholar, and a man of cultivated literary taste; of his interest in literature his descendants possess a precious memorial in one or more letters, forming part of a correspondence on subjects connected with the drama, addressed to him by Schiller, whose acquaintance as Professor of History at Jena, Curtius had made while occupied with his legal studies. He also possessed unusual advantages of person, and was remarkable for the dignity and elegance of his bearing. He was a man of pronounced religious convictions, and maintained, at a time when the practice among educated men in Germany was extremely infrequent, family worship in his house. As was befitting one who had the care of important public interests of the town, and had been in perilous times her representative at foreign courts, he suitably impersonated her dignity, being in character, acquirements, bearing, punctiliousness, all that his position demanded. His third son, Ernst, was born September 2, 1814. He received his early education at the Katharinum, Lübeck's venerable Gymnasium, which occupies, with the valuable library connected with it, the cloisters of the convent of St. Catharine. We would gladly describe in detail, did space permit, the years passed at the Gymnasium by Ernst and his brother Georg, six years his junior, and trace, as far as might be, the influences which the historic monuments and the inspiring traditions of Lubeck must have exercised upon their susceptible and sympathetic natures. But the silent influence of the house was more potent than historic monuments, or any inspiring local tradition. There the children saw, in their own father, the man whom the state had intrusted with important responsibilities, and they early learned to feel that they too had a part to perform in maintaining the high renown of the free city of Lübeck. The oldest son, Theodore, has been for many years chosen bürgermeister as frequently as the constitution allows, and is perpetual senator; so that the town of Lubeck presents the unusual spectacle of a republic where for three-

quarters of a century one family has been prominent, not to say predominant, in the public counsels.*

In 1834 Ernst Curtius had finished his course at the Gymnasium, and it was decided that he should continue his philological studies at Bonn. The Katharinum gained at this time, in Johannes Classen, a new teacher who was a valuable acquisition. He came immediately from Bonn, where he had been tutor to Niebuhr's children, dwelling in the house and enjoying the friendship of the great historian. Ernst Curtius did not enjoy Classen's personal instruction, yet he owed to him an acquaintance which was to modify his entire future life; for he received from his hands, as he set out for Bonn, a letter of introduction to the professor of philosophy, Christian August Brandis. Brandis occupies the middle position between Niebuhr and Bunsen, in that distinguished trio whose lives are so intimately associated, and who were each remarkable for originality, erudition, cosmopolitan culture, and capacity for public and official duties. Early in his academic career he had followed Niebuhr, then Prussian minister at the Papal curia, to Rome, to accept, at his solicitation, the secretaryship of the legation. He resigned this position in 1817, thus opening to Bunsen, whose fitness for diplomacy was more conspicuous than his own, his subsequent brilliant career. In 1822 he was called to Bonn, where his influences and usefulness were at their height at the time of Curtius' arrival. Brandis was not more distinguished for his erudition and for the philosophic grasp of his mind, than for his generous and noble nature; and it was natural that Curtius' qualities of intellect and character should transform into an intimate friendship, the acquaintance which Classen's introduction had initiated. Curtius did not pursue his studies exclusively at Bonn, but availed himself of that privilege of residence at different universities by which German students combine travel with

* The writer was in Lübeck for a night, in 1873. On the evening of his arrival, Dr. Theodore Curtius, the bürgermeister, mentioned that it was his daily custom to take a walk through the town, and invited his guest to accompany him on the following morning. The invitation was gladly accepted, and at half-past six, the appointed hour, the two set out. The walk lay through the important parts of the town, the bürgermeister's object being to see that the police had done their duty, and to satisfy himself that the streets and the public buildings were properly looked after. At the same time a convenient opportunity of access to their chief magistrate was afforded to all the citizens; the respectful salutation was as courteously returned; the proffered request was kindly entertained, and suggestions as to needed improvements were received for consideration. Such an attention on the part of superior officers to the details of public administration, and such a personal supervision of subordinates is now so unfamiliar, that we more easily find our analogies in Agamemnon's progress through the Greek camp, or at any rate in the customs of a primitive age, than in our own time.

study, to go to Göttingen, and put himself under the teaching of that brilliant scholar, Carl Ottofried Müller.

Müller's numerous works, not less remarkable for their thoroughness of research than for their originality, had been translated in England and France, and had gained for their author a European reputation. His "Monuments of Ancient Art" was the first systematic collection of the different types of the sculptured representations of ancient divinities, and inaugurated the scientific study of mythology through art. His other works, such as "The Dorians," "History of Greek Literature," "The Etruscans," although they have provoked much discussion, and have been the occasion of numerous subsequent treatises, can by no means be regarded, even in our day, as superseded. Müller was one of those characters most frequent in Italy during the Renaissance, yet not wanting to-day in Germany, who seem to realize a universal culture.

The following anecdote may illustrate the versatility of Müller's powers. He had come to Athens on an English government vessel, and a friend of Mr. Finlay was a fellow passenger. The two travelers fell into conversation, and Müller's distinguished bearing, elegant use of language, and familiarity with the intricacies of the then existing political complications, led the other to conclude that he was an English diplomatist. There were, however, upon the vessel, passengers of various nationalities, and Müller soon began to converse with them in their own languages, always with the same wonderful accuracy and range of information, to the great astonishment of Mr. Finlay's friend, who reported to him on the following day, that some very distinguished stranger had arrived in the city, but whether diplomatist, or nobleman, or prince, he could not say.

Curtius is usually regarded as the disciple of Müller; and with reason, for he began with him the study of archæology, and both agree in regarding the study of antiquity as a subject, all the departments of which are mutually related in such a manner that no one of them can be successfully pursued independently of the rest. It is an interesting fact that Curtius, twenty years later, was to succeed Müller at Göttingen, and that, a few years afterward he should have accompanied him on that journey in which he lost his life, beginning his own literary career by publishing the inscriptions which, in companionship with his revered teacher, he had discovered.

In 1837 Brandis, on the recommendation of Schelling, professor of philosophy at Munich, was invited to accompany the young Bavarian Prince Otho, the newly elected king of Greece, to Athens. He

was to be the king's confidential friend, to aid him by his counsel, and as occasion might offer, supplement by his instruction any defects in his education. The interest which literary men in Germany had felt in the struggles of the Greeks for independence was intense, and the rejoicing at their successful termination was universal. Hopes were commonly entertained of a future for the Greek kingdom, by sensible men, which would now appear absurd to the most visionary. To aid in the regeneration of this interesting people, was a work which appealed strongly to Brandis' noble nature: he determined to relinquish the comforts and congenialities of his life at Bonn, to interrupt important literary labors, and with wife and young children to brave the hardships of a long and trying journey, and of residence for a term of years in a country where seven years of war had scarcely left a single tree, and where almost every essential of household comfort was wanting.

The invitation having been accepted, it became an important matter to secure an instructor for his children, and it was not strange that his thoughts should fall upon the enthusiastic scholar who, during his stay at Rome, had become like a son in his house, and that Curtius was invited to accompany the family as companion and friend, with the children in his special charge. In the autumn of 1837 the party set out for Greece. The starting point of the land journey was Hamburg; its terminus Ancona. For a description of the scenes through which they passed, the reader is referred to Goethe's account of his trip to Italy. A more romantic expedition can hardly be imagined. A stout family wagon was procured, and furnished with such necessities of travel as were not to be found on the road. The members of the party were bound together by common tastes, and united by an intimate friendship.

The wearisomeness of a six weeks' journey, and the hardships of such a mode of travel, were recompensed, the fellow-travellers felt in after life, by the rich variety of impressions afforded by close contact with the life of the people in the countries through which they passed. Their chief delay on the route was at Munich, the home of the king of Greece, where Brandis' party was heartily welcomed. Then they climbed the mountain barrier which separates Germany from Italy, and descended by the pass of the Tyrol into that charmed land which is the goal of every German's aspirations. We may follow in imagination their progress by way of Verona, Ferrara, Bologna, through lovely upper Italy; across the broad and fertile valley of the Po; along the magnificent public roads of the

Romagna, with richly cultivated fields extending on every side as far as the eye can reach, and intersected by long straight lines of trees connected by festoons of the vine; until they reached the coast, where the land projecting like a bent arm into the sea, forms that natural harbor called by ancients and moderns alike, Ancona.* Often in subsequent journeys to the Orient must Curtius' thoughts have reverted to this first expedition. Brandis was disappointed in his hopes as to Greece, and perhaps regretted the loss of years which he might have spent in quiet study at Bonn, and which he had sacrificed for the broken, desultory life in the new Athens. To Curtius, however, his prolonged residence in Greece was of inestimable advantage; for to this he owes that intimate acquaintance with land and climate which almost every page of his history illustrates, and which gives to the work its peculiar charm.

The beauty, too, of air and sea and sky in Greece, is so indescribable, and their combined effect upon a sensitive nature so powerful, that we may justly ascribe to this same cause Curtius' special talent for interpreting antiquity, and in part at least, his delicate perception of beauty, and the symmetry of his character. The house of the Brandises was at the Piræus; and Curtius, in fulfillment of the German conception of the duties of a private tutor, passed many hours daily with his pupils, not only giving them instruction, but bathing with them, and making them his companions on excursions. Often he made the circuit of the peninsula of the Piræus, following the line of the wall of Themistocles; often he climbed, with them, the hill of Munychia, where he may have related the thrilling story of the battle by which Thrasybulus liberated Athens from the yoke of the thirty tyrants; or turning toward the north, have admired the Acropolis and the ivory-colored columns of the Parthenon, from no point more gloriously beautiful.†

Curtius found at Athens a congenial friend in the poet Geibel, his

* ἄγκων, elbow.

† His pupils by their affection and by their progress rewarded the devotion of their teacher. The eldest entered the English civil service, and is now chief superintendent of the Forests of India. The second devoted himself to philosophy, but relinquished an academic career to become the private secretary of the Queen of Prussia, the Empress of Germany, in which position, notwithstanding his various duties, the distractions of the court at Berlin, and the interruptions of frequent journeys, he carried forward independent researches which secured him an honorable place among eminent scholars. He died in 1873, and his last literary achievement, published after his death by the Berlin Academy under the editorial care of his early teacher, was the deciphering of the inscriptions discovered by Di Cesnola in his excavations in Cyprus.

townsman and schoolmate, who had come to Greece as private tutor to the children of the Russian ambassador. He had also opportunity of frequent association, at Brandis' house, with Thiersch, Ross, Ulrichs, and other eminent scholars whom a philhellenic spirit had drawn, like Brandis, to Greece. His own studies were chiefly Pausanias and Strabo, with whose works he made himself thoroughly familiar. He learned, in addition, the modern Greek, an acquisition which was extremely valuable in his subsequent tours of exploration in Greece; and studied with careful patience the antiquities of Athens and of the Piræus. Two of Curtius' tours in Greece deserve special mention: the first an extended journey in the Peloponnesus with the great geographer, Carl Ritter; the second the expedition to Delphi with Carl Ottofried Muller. The particulars of this latter tour are as follows: In July 1840, he set out with Müller and with a young philologist named Schöll, for a more thorough exploration than had previously been made of the ruins at Delphi. Their excavations were rewarded by the discovery of a vast number of inscriptions, which they began at once to copy, regardless of the heat of the July Grecian sun. Müller had already on the journey suffered from fever, but, though warned by Curtius of the risk to which he was exposing himself, replied, "Oh, have no fear, Apollo is my friend." The rest of the story, how Müller, in the prime of his glorious powers, succumbed and died, we leave for Curtius, in the extract which we make from his "Anecdota Delphica," to tell in his own beautiful language.

In 1840, Curtius relinquished his duties in Brandis' household, and set his face toward home, delaying for a brief time at Rome, where he put himself in relations with the Roman Archæological Institute, and made the acquaintance of Bunsen. After a short visit

"Jamque titulos recens inventos describendi operam inter nos partiti sumus; ipse Müllerus, infractâ valetudine laborem tædii plenum nimio studio subiit. Quæ sequenta sunt quis ignorat? Mox vires labori non sufficere intellexit, invitus destitit, postquam in ipsis titulus scribendis occupatum plus semel animus reliquit. Sic factum est, quum etiam Schöllius febre correptus minus quam cuperet describendis titulus operæ navare posset, ut plurimos ego, quem amplurium annorum consuetudo contra calores Græcos duraverat, titulos transcriberem. Sed acerbissimâ calamitate quam nunquam usu lugebunt Musæ Græcæ, accidit, ut non scribendi sed stiam edendi cura in me transierit; defuncto enim præceptore carissimo, quum nostrum maxime esset videre ne omnis itineris fructus periret, hæc quasi sollemnia pietatis ita obeunda putavimus ut Schöllius de variis artis monumentis per Græciam obviis, ex suis et Mülleri schedis exponeret, ego hanc Delphicam messem in publicos usus vertendam susciperem. . . . Prodeant igitur mea qualicunque curâ politi atque expliciti tituli Delphici, quos omnibus viris doctis et Græcarum litterarum amantibus quasi testamento legavit, Carolus Odofredus Müllerus."

at his father's house in Lubeck, he proceeded to Halle, where, in 1841, he took his doctor's degree, writing on that occasion, his dissertation "*De Portubus Athenarum*," in which he embodied researches of his own at Athens. He had already appeared before the literary world through a publication entitled "*Classic Studies*," which consisted of poetical translations by his friend Geibel and himself from the Greek classic poets. From Halle he went to Berlin, where, like his brother Georg, he was to begin his literary career and find his wife; and where that network of occupations which have determined his future life soon began to be woven. Having passed the examination required by the state of all who wish to engage in public instruction, he was assigned to the Joachim's Thal Gymnasium, to serve his trial-year. Not many months after his entrance upon his duties there, an invitation came to him through the medium of the director of the Gymnasium, who was his personal friend, to deliver one of the lectures of that annual course which for forty years has been the occasion of bringing a number of times each winter before Berlin's cultivated public, her ablest literary and scientific men.

On the appointed evening the Royal Academy of Music was filled to overflowing. In the royal box was the Princess of Prussia, mother of the heir to the throne, who, as a child at her father's court at Weimar, had known Goethe, and who has always shown a lively and intelligent interest in literature and literary men. Among the audience were conspicuous, Humboldt, Boeckh, and Carl Ritter. Curtius chose for his subject the Acropolis of Athens. In handling this theme he followed the same method, which may be traced in his subsequent address of a similar character, presenting first a vivid picture of the site, and the existing remains, and then with rapid graphic touches following the fortunes of the Acropolis, from the age of Pericles to the present time. The grace of Curtius' style, his enthusiasm, eloquence, and attractiveness of person, carried with him the sympathies of the critical audience, and at the close of the lecture the Princess (now the Empress), is said to have remarked to Humboldt, "That is the young man whom I would choose as instructor for my son," and her preference, if we are to receive this story, led to the appointment of Curtius, in 1844, as educator of the Crown Prince, with the title of Professor Extraordinary at the University of Berlin. To this point his life had been tending, and the son of the Syndic Curtius, who had grown up under the influences of the free town of Lübeck, and whom the tendencies of his nature as well as the outward circumstances of his life conspired to make progressive in politics and liberal in religion,

was charged, at a time when the court of Berlin was hostile to all religious and political progress, with the education of the future emperor of Germany.

During the six years of his official relations to the Crown Prince, Curtius resided alternately at Berlin and at Potsdam; and he took advantage of his position as Professor Extraordinary, to deliver several courses of lectures, chiefly upon the antiquities of Greece, at the University of Berlin. Here it is more common than at other German universities, for one professor to attend the lectures of another, and Curtius availed himself of his opportunity to hear Ritter, Boeckh, Bopp, and possibly others. During the winter of 1848-'49, in consequence of the excitement of the Revolution, and the disorder in Berlin, the Princess of Prussia and the Crown Prince withdrew from the capital to Potsdam, and there Curtius, in the intimate terms of simple private life, was with them. The Prince of Prussia, now, as Emperor of Germany, unquestionably the most popular sovereign in Europe, was at that time an object of such general dislike that it was considered necessary for him to pass the winter in England!

In 1850, Curtius accompanied his pupil to Bonn, and with his matriculation there, his duties toward his illustrious charge ceased. That portion of the prince's training which may be called military, and to which the traditions of the House of Hohenzollern assign a predominant place, was committed to a distinguished officer of the Prussian army, and there were of course masters for the various modern languages. Curtius' duty was to direct the prince's historical studies, to initiate him into the ancient languages and into the knowledge of antiquity, to form his literary taste, and at the same time, by the influence of close personal contact during hours of recreation, to develop the better qualities of his nature. That this influence was strongly felt, the affection which the prince by the warmth and sincerity of his character universally inspires, sufficiently proves; while his occasional utterances, and especially his dispatches in the late war, are characterized by a propriety and gracefulness of expression which may be, no doubt, in part ascribed to the influence of his teacher.

Curtius now resumed his residence in Berlin, and published with little delay, in 1850-'51, his important work "*The Peloponnesus*" in two volumes. This is the great manual of reference for all who travel intelligently in, or write upon Southern Greece; and for vivid, charming description, accurate accounts of the existing ancient remains, correctness of geographical details, it is a unique work. He had the pleasure of dedicating this monument of his learning and research to

his father, on the fiftieth anniversary of his appointment as Syndic of Lübeck. In these years fall also two historical and topographical essays, "Naxos," Berlin, 1850, and "Olympia," Berlin, 1852; to the latter we shall have occasion to refer again. During the period of his relations with the Crown Prince, Curtius had assisted Boeckh and Franz in the collection and emendation of inscriptions for the "Corpus Inscriptionum Græcorum"; and the third volume of this important undertaking of the Berlin Academy appeared in 1853, under Curtius' sole editorial charge. In 1855 he published an essay entitled "Road-making among the Greeks," and the important dissertation, "The Ionians before the Ionian Migration," which attracted general attention and excited much discussion. The author's object in this essay is to clear away certain obscurities which involve early Greek history, by showing that the Ionians were not, as the Greek tradition represents them, originally emigrants from Greece; but that their origin was in Asia Minor, whither in their so-called migration they only returned.*

In the following year Curtius was invited to Göttingen, as successor of the great Hermann, and as fellow director with Sauppe of the Philological Seminary. Shortly before this appointment, he had been solicited by the publishing house of Weidemann & Co., of Berlin, to add to their list of manuals for the classical student, the "History of Greece. He undertook the task, and completed this, the great work of his life, in 1867.†

Curtius' life in Göttingen was a period of severe labor, interrupted only by his mission to Greece in 1862, when he and his associates had the good fortune to discover and excavate the Dionysiac Theater. These years were the most fruitful and perhaps the most satisfactory of his life. Here he was able to devote himself to the training of single pupils, a number of whom now occupy chairs at the universities. Here, with the advantage of Göttingen's great library, free from exacting social demands, and the distractions of life in Berlin, amid the delights of his happy home, the history went steadily forward, and it was read in successive installments, as rapidly as completed, to an audience of interested academic hearers.

Curtius' History of Greece, like the other volumes of the series to

* For a clear and able discussion of the positions maintained in this essay (now, however, held by Curtius in a somewhat modified form), see Hadley's "Philological Essays." New York: Holt and Williams, 1873, pp. 1-36.

† The German edition was published in three volumes; the English translation by Prof. A. W. Ward, Owen's College, Manchester, is republished in this country in five volumes, the last four volumes revised after the latest German edition by W. A. Packard, Ph. D., Professor of Latin in Princeton College. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1871-'73.

which it belongs, was not written primarily for specialists, nor even for scholars exclusively, but was intended to be a book of popular interest. Hence, as in Mommsen's work of similar scope, conclusions are stated, and theories advanced, without adducing at length the authorities which sustain them. The author's primary object is to convey to the educated mind a vivid and correct idea of Greek civilization. His first qualification for such a task is his intimate acquaintance with the climate, scenery, and physical conformation of the country which he describes. It is not too much to say, indeed, that no other living man knows Greece so well; for we have seen that he has not only, in preparation for his work in the Peloponnesus, trodden almost every foot of Southern Greece, but his travels were made in part in the company of the archæologist C. O. Müller, and of the geographer Carl Ritter.

A second qualification is what may be termed his special talent for interpreting ancient life from the classical literature, and from the monuments of ancient art, a gift which is illustrated by those chapters of the history in which he describes Greek literature, in its different phases, and the development and decline of Greek plastic art. The chief significance of Greek history, however, is political; and has Curtius that third indispensable requisite, an ability to understand self-government in its practical operation in a free community? Can he indeed enter, not as an antiquarian merely, but as a participant, into the public life of the republics which he describes?

English criticism has answered this question in the negative. It even sweepingly affirms that no German can be expected to possess that instinctive political insight, and that comprehensive view of the public measures of any given period, which are the Englishman's birthright and peculiar glory.

We do not propose to discuss this question at the present time, nor to attempt to rebut such criticism, in the only way in which it can be rebutted,—by a comparison of parallel passages in Curtius, and in Grote, and Thirlwall; yet, if weight is to be given to *a priori* considerations, it may be remarked that birth and education in the republic of Lübeck, descent from a family, itself for generations the repository of the administration of a free community, and reminiscences of the period when Lübeck was at the head of a confederation, in some respects not unlike the Delian confederation in the time of Pericles, may be regarded, as no less likely to confer the political sense than birth in London, training in a London counting-house, or even a seat in the English Parliament.

In 1869, Curtius was called to Berlin, where he holds, in addition to his professorship at the university, the position of Director of the Royal Museum. Here may be said to end, in a certain sense, the quiet of the scholar's life, while that period of varied activity begins, which illustrates how heavily eminent scholars in Germany are often loaded with duties of an official character and other burdens. Curtius' chief duties, additional to those already referred to, are those of presiding officer of the Archæological Society, editor of the "Archæological Journal," and perpetual secretary of the Royal Academy.

It is natural that Curtius' duties in connection with the museum, as well as the scientific missions on which, in 1862 and 1869, he was sent by the German government, should have directed his studies during the past few years principally toward archæology and ancient topography. His most important works of this character are his "Attic Studies," and "Seven Maps of Athens." Here Curtius gives us in an interesting form, a summary of what is known of the topography of Athens, and then, by ingenious hypothesis, established, in part at least, by excavations of his own, attempts to supply the missing links in our knowledge.

To a similar category belong his researches, not yet we believe published, among the rock-dwellings on the hills south of the present city of Athens, the vestiges of the pre-historic city of Cranaa. Two enterprises of a public character and of general interest have also engaged his attention. We refer to the foundation of the German Archæological Institute at Athens, and to the plan for the excavations which have been recently undertaken by the German government at Olympia.*

All students of classical and of mediæval antiquity who have enjoyed the privileges of the Institute at Rome, know by experience the value of its library, and remember with pleasure its weekly meetings, frequented by scholars of every nation. An institution similar in character to that which Niebuhr and Bunsen founded more than fifty years ago at Rome, has been brought into existence, mainly through the personal exertions of Curtius, at Athens. A building has been procured; the library, for which a nucleus already existed at the Prussian legation, has been completely stocked with the literature of different languages concerning Greece; a secretary, Dr. Lüders, late German secretary of legation, has been appointed; and the first public session has been held. The same liberal spirit which distinguishes the management of the Institute at Rome, will characterize

* See Article (by Ernst Curtius) on "The Excavation of Olympia," p. 842.

the school at Athens; and its privileges, and participation in its weekly sessions, will be open to all possessing scholarship and zeal for the study of antiquity. Athens is from its position an excellent point from which to direct archæological investigations in the East; and it may be confidently anticipated that the young students attached to the institute who are residing a year or two, on stipends, in Greece; will not only thoroughly explore the many corners of central and northern Greece which have not yet been sufficiently investigated; but that they will make journeys into the interior of Asia Minor, and penetrate to regions, rich in archæological harvests, hitherto unapproached. The results of such researches will be promptly published in the journal of the institute; and the German government, it is expected, will furnish the funds for excavations at the points thus designated as most promising. The first of these excavations has been already begun, under Curtius' direction, at Olympia in Elis, the site of the ancient Olympic games. Here, as Curtius pointed out in his essay, "Olympia," in 1845, and as he has shown in more detail in his "Peloponnesus," there is every reason to expect that a moderate outlay will yield results of great value.

The articles of agreement between the Greek and German governments, in accordance with which the excavations are to be made, were drawn up, it is understood, by Curtius; and secure to the German government, for a term of years, the exclusive right to make excavations at its own discretion anywhere in the Greek kingdom. The entire appropriation for this enterprise is, we believe, about \$100,000, a sum which, disbursed with that economy which characterizes German administration of public funds, in a country where the cost of able-bodied labor does not exceed fifty cents per diem, will go very far.

Having now passed in review the more important external circumstances, the changes of residence and variety of occupation, under which Curtius' character has shaped itself, we approach a more difficult task—yet one over which we fondly linger—and attempt to describe his personal characteristics and to give a portrait of the man himself.

We may be aided in our object by comparing Mommsen with Curtius, a comparison which numerous analogous circumstances in the lives of the two historians naturally suggest. Mommsen's birthplace is only a few miles distant from Lübeck, and he is only three years Curtius' junior. Protracted study and travel, by the one in Italy, by the other in Greece, was the special preparation which made of both great historians. Mommsen published in early life most able

researches in the early Italian dialects; Curtius, his standard work on Peloponnesus. Mommsen and Curtius were alike respectively intrusted by the Berlin Academy, with that honorable and important charge, the collection and editing of the Latin and the Greek inscriptions. The histories on which the wide reputation of both rests, were published by the same house, are of similar extent, and have reference to the wants of the same reading public. Both historians in the fullness of their powers have been called, as professors of Ancient History, to the nation's capital. Both are perpetual secretaries of the Royal Academy of Berlin. Both occupy positions of semi-official influence as representatives and protectors of the public archæological enterprises in Italy and Greece.

Mommsen is in figure extremely slender. His face is thin and sharp; his eyes, though light blue, are piercing; his iron-gray hair is like a mass of fine wires. Though quick and active in his movements, he is not graceful, nor, while intellectually on all occasions in the highest degree self-possessed, is he free from that physical helplessness which often marks the scholar outside of his study. His daily lecture is delivered summer and winter at 8 A. M. Many who have studied at Berlin, will retain a vivid impression of the crowd of steaming, half-dressed students of every nationality who, loudly talking, or confusedly scrambling to their places, fill the largest auditorium of the university shortly after that hour. At 8.15 a side door opens, and Mommsen's slender figure glides to the desk; and almost before his shrill child's voice has enunciated the opening words "Meine herren," the hum and noise subside into utter silence, broken only by the lecturer's voice, who reads with great rapidity and in a conversational tone to the end of the hour. These lectures, if current report is to be accepted, are prepared on the morning on which they are delivered, and are always fresh, for even if the title of the course be not new, so constant is Mommsen's research, that the point of view from which he regards even important questions is often changed.

Mommsen's nature is eminently a social one. In society, or at the table of friends, you will see him the life of the most animated discussion, his face alive, his figure writhing with excitement, keen words of jest, repartee, and sarcasm flowing from his tongue. He is the center, too, of the passionate admiration of a band of friends, who aver that the warmth and fidelity of his affection binds them more strongly than the constraining force of his stormy nature. He is a man also of pronounced political views. He was a representative in the revolutionary parliament at Frankfort, in 1849, and lost a profes-

sorship on account of his advanced opinions. His versatility is wonderful. No less eminent as a jurist than as an historian, he has edited the best edition of the "Corpus Juris," and was offered two years ago and it was supposed he would accept, the professorship of Roman Law at Leipzig. His numerous researches in the various departments of Roman antiquity, employ a number of young philologists, the élite of his own scholars, who, though each engaged upon his peculiar specialty, and animated at once by devoted attachment to their teacher and by an honest pride in their own powers, half-desparingly declare that Mommsen excels each of them in their own field, and that he can throw off in a few hours' labor, that which would cost them days.

Curtius is somewhat below the middle stature, and his form is symmetrically developed by physical exercise. His head is large; his eyes are full and prominent; his forehead is high. His mouth, by its firmness and decision, has been thought to suggest the resemblance of Frederick the Great. His hair is dark and abundant; his movements are marked by grace and dignity.

We can not expect to give so sharply drawn a picture of Curtius, as it is possible to do of Mommsen, for the very harmony in which the elements of his character are united, makes it difficult to separate one trait from another. A leading feature is the intensity with which he engages in whatever he has to do. He lives constantly on the level of his highest efficiency, and throws into labor, as into enjoyment, the whole force of his nature. No recluse, he realizes the necessity of contact with his fellows, and enjoys especially, intercourse with those of other professions than his own. Goethe's lines,

Tages Arbeit, abends Gäste
Saure Wochen, frohe Feste,

describe that alternation of labor and social enjoyment which he considers desirable.

There comes upon Curtius not infrequently a momentary abstractedness which sweeps over his face like a cloud over a landscape, and which, although it unquestionably impairs his effectiveness as an academic teacher, is yet a sign that his poet and artist nature has retired from the turmoil of the external world into communion with the calm within. We have often seen him during his lecture at Berlin, while he described the geography of Greece, gaze out of the window upon the little park behind the university until one could imagine that he

had been transported in thought to the regions of which he had just been speaking and which he knew so well.

Yet his influence is strong and deep upon those who learn to know him. These are never weary of dwelling upon the qualities which have won their devotion and their love. They can never forget the lessons which they have received from his unaffected humility, which excludes arrogance; from his hearty recognition of merit wherever it exists; from the high standard by which his own life is regulated. They recall with admiration the fresh enthusiasm which preserves his youth; the elasticity of constitution which finds in change of labor, relaxation; the grace and beauty which characterize all his literary work, and which are not wanting even in these productions which are thrown off with the greatest haste. They bless the day which brought them into contact with a life visibly lived under the influence of the highest motives, and find in him an example of that control of the mind over the body, which makes a man superior to the vicissitudes of fortune, and establishes an inner harmony, which the causes which wreck the lives of other men have no power to perturb.

Curtius excels in a species of composition less cultivated in Germany than in England, and for which indeed the Germans have no distinctive name—the occasional essay. Addresses of this character cost him little effort; and the frequency with which he is called on to deliver them produces neither monotony nor repetition. During his residence at Göttingen, he was the public orator of the university, and upon him it falls, at Berlin, to deliver in the presence of the university the annual oration on the Emperor's birthday. He commonly selects his subject from classical antiquity, connecting it by a skillful sentence or two with the occasion, and whether the theme be suggested by an episode of ancient history, or a quotation from a classic writer, or drawn from his own travels, it never fails to be treated with originality and grace, nor to evoke those noble and elevated thoughts which are the out-breathings of his own nature.* We can not refrain from expressing our desire that these addresses, which are of no merely local interest, and which well illustrate the learning, the versatility, the exquisite taste, and the deeply religious nature of their author, may be made generally accessible, in a translation by a competent

* Among the addresses contained in the published volume, "Göttingen Festival Addresses," Berlin, 1864, we enumerate the titles of the following: Ancient Greek Games; The Mediating Office (between the ancient and modern world) of Classical Study; The Universal Diffusion of Greek Civilization; the Conditions of successful Free Government; The Conception of Immortality among the Ancients; Ancient and Modern Greece; Friendship in Antiquity; Hellenic Art."

hand, or by a number of competent hands, to the reading public in England and America.

We close with an extract from the concluding essay of the volume, on Schiller.

“And to what duty does the Schiller Festival call us (members of the university and educated men)?

“It binds each one of us to maintain, after the poet’s example, in this world which daily becomes more unquiet and confused, an inner life; a calm and concentrated life of the spirit; to guard like a priest the divine flame in his heart, the flame of love, and of enthusiasm for enduring good; to work every one of us while the day lasts, as the poet worked, whose life was a battle with the weakness of the flesh, and who, conquering with the weapons of the spirit, died with them in his hands, like a victor on the field of battle.

“A true festival is no relaxing, but a straining of every moral energy; and as the Greeks marched more boldly from their civil festivals to battle, so should this festival strengthen us for the battles which we shall not be spared.

“Let us remember with what circumstances Schiller, as boy and youth, had to contend; how whims and despotism, unbelief and immorality, prejudice and foreign influence controlled our nation’s life; and we shall thankfully recognize in how many ways this century is better; and though our further development may appear in many respects to be shrouded in darkness, yet if the right spirit lives within us, *all must be for the best*. Yes, for we celebrate a triumphant festival of the spirit! Then let us, hand in hand, pronounce our vow, never to become weary nor faint-hearted, not to bear malice toward our brothers, not to look backward, but to struggle forward in reliance on God who will not desert our people. Yes, let us vow with solemn earnestness to cherish in and among us the spirit of harmony and brotherly love, of devotion and fidelity, the genuine spirit of science and art. Such are our vows on Schiller’s festival. God bless them!”

MICHAEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI AND HIS "CENTENNIAL."

IF fortune had made a just distribution of glory, the age called that of Leo X.—a ruler of little, and a pope of no merit—might much more fitly be named after some one of his great contemporaries; and Christopher Columbus, Ludovico Ariosto, Niccolo Machiavelli, Leonardo da Vinci, or Raphael, could lay claim with far better reason to the honor of giving a name to their times. That a whole century is called by the name of a pontiff who held his conspicuous place before the world for only eight years, is justified, not by any superiority to his age shown by Leo X. himself, but rather because its characteristics found in him a prominent expression; because he best represents in history that union of artistic splendor, of luxurious living, of religious indifference, and of political degeneracy, which gave a superficial and ephemeral greatness to the beginning of the fifteenth century. But if the great men of Italy whom we have mentioned, could not, in common language, give their names to the age, it is also true that, even had history, that most aristocratic of the muses, abandoned the practice of naming epochs after princes, instead of truly great men, they would still have failed to give true expression to the character of the age; since these men towered above it, rose out of it, and formed, each for himself, a magnificent exception to the period in which they lived, instead of representing its prevailing and vulgar aspect. But if, on the one hand, history easily becomes the flatterer of power, on the other, the gratitude of posterity is sure to discover the true greatness, and to exalt it above the fictitious. Hence, just as the French people will never celebrate the centenary of Louis XIV., but will always in its stead celebrate that of Racine and of Molière, so the people of Italy do not think, to-day, of commemorating the centenary of Leo X., while they have already celebrated that of Ariosto, and that of Leonardo; and are now celebrating, in Florence, that of Michel Angelo Buonarrotti.

There are doubtless still men of sense and character in Italy who

dislike these centennial festivals in honor of great men. In their judgment, it is a mere waste of time, money, words, and labor, to spend them in a display of regard for the eminent Italians of ages past. We should be of their opinion, if reverence for the dead were but a gratification of national vanity; if the great achievements of our ancestors made us content with accomplishing little ourselves. But we do not so understand the matter; we are convinced that a people who know not how to recall with gratitude the benefits they have received, not only do not deserve progress, but have lost even the capacity to attain it. He who is without memory, is also without hope; and he who is without hope makes no advance. Indifference is the inseparable companion of inaction; and since we must contend against inaction as our chief foe, we must also contend against indifference as sure to lead us to inaction.

This is the reason why we can not regret, but rather take pleasure in, the expense at which Florence honors the memory of Michel Angelo. Tuscany was always rich in great men; and nature has strangely so ordered, that the province of Italy in which manners are most polished, has given birth to the most robust intellects—Dante, Michel Angelo, Leonardo, and Machiavelli, suffice for examples. It is true that she has treated them none too well: that Dante was driven into exile; that Michel Angelo, but for the Medici, might perhaps have died of hunger; that Leonardo was forced to leave his country, and that Machiavelli was put to torture. The soft and luxurious nature of the Florentines has no great love for men of a strong and positive character, and abuses them, or suffers them to be abused; but when they are dead, and their fame may bring renown and distinction to the city, the Florentines beg the dead to pardon the wrongs done to the living, and determine to bury them in their Pantheon of Santa Croce, not merely for the satisfaction of possessing their bones, but also for the vanity of making a show of them before foreigners—a vanity which would be altogether more amiable if any of the honors which they lavish on the dead had been granted to the living, when they might have been of some value. But the Florentine character undergoes no change, and in spite of the long discipline it has experienced under the tyranny of the houses of Medici and of Lorraine, it retains all of its old fickleness and caprice. We must needs make the most we can, therefore, of the posthumous reparation offered to the fame of their great men; which leaves us still the hope that such festivals may give occasion for renewing the miracles of ancient Greece, where a festival held in honor of one great genius was always

signalized by the appearance of another. We hope, then, that to the Florentine festival in honor of Michel Angelo, some youth may have brought that spark of genius which needed only to be kindled, in order to blaze forth in a wonderful fire. And meanwhile, that the readers of the *INTERNATIONAL REVIEW* may also, in these days sacred to Michel Angelo, give an intelligent thought to our great artist, let us together review the outlines of his life, and contemplate his noble personality. Perhaps most of the facts which we shall give are already known to them, in the pages of Vasari or of Condivi; but, since a few additions to our knowledge * have been recently made, we offer them as an excuse for an effort once more to relate, with the utmost possible brevity, the life of Michel Angelo Buonarrotti.

It was for a long time believed that the family of Michel Angelo was descended, through Simon of Florence, from the Counts of Canossa. During the life of Michel Angelo, a Count Alexander of Canossa condescended to acknowledge the famous artist as a kinsman, and he, no less pleased with so noble a connection, assumed the coat-of-arms of the lords of Canossa, surmounted with a dog gnawing a bone. Ascanio Condivi, Georgio Vasari, Benedetto Varchi, the Senator Filippo Buonarrotti, and Pompeo Litta, support this story, but a recent investigation by the Florentine genealogist, Count Luigi Passerini, director of the National Library of Florence, has proved it to be unfounded. It is now certain that the Buonarrotti and the Simoni were one family, ancient, and of high standing in Florence (as is sufficiently shown by the fact that eleven of the Simoni were presidents of the Republic), but the relationship which was so long credited is disproved. Although the family was Florentine, yet owing to domestic circumstances, Michel Angelo Buonarrotti was born at Caprese, where, in 1475, his father Ludovico was governor. On the 6th of March last, therefore, a festival was held at the Castle of Caprese on the upper Arno, to celebrate the precise day of the fourth centenary of Michel Angelo's birth. His father Ludovico made a record of the event at the time, which is still preserved. It is as follows: "I record the fact that on this day, March 6, 1474, a male child was born to me; I gave him the name of Michel Agnio, and he was born on Monday morning, about the fourth or fifth hour, and was born when I was governor of Caprese, and was born at Caprese. He was baptized on the 8th of the month, in the Church of St. John at Caprese.

* "*Vita di Michel Angelo Buonarrotti, narrata con l'aiuto di nuovi documenti, da Aurelio Gotti, direttore delle R. Gallerie di Firenze.* 2 vols., 8vo. Firenze, tipog. dell. Gazzetta d'Italia (pr. 19 fr).

Observe that the date is March 6, 1474, by the Florentine reckoning *ab incarnatione*, and by the Roman, *a nativitate*, it is 1475."

It is well known that the Florentine Republic reckoned, not from the birth of Christ, but from his incarnation. Assuming the 25th of March as the date of the Annunciation, and therefore as the beginning of the Christian year, they began to count the years from the 25th of March next after his birth, that is, from the first anniversary of the Annunciation. Hence, if the Florentine Republic had survived till now, it would have reckoned the year 1874 as continuing until the 25th of March, 1875. It was necessary to explain this, lest the family record of Michel Angelo's father should mislead the reader.

When he ceased to be governor of Caprese, the father of Michel Angelo returned to Florence; and the boy was given to nurse to a stone-cutter's wife at Settignano, a presage that he was destined to be a sculptor. He afterward had Francesco of Urbino as his tutor, in Florence; but his artistic calling suddenly declared itself, and he frequently abandoned his books to spend his time in drawing and designing—to the displeasure of his father, who strove to drive out of his brain this fancy of becoming an artist. But when his son was thirteen years old, finding resistance to his natural vocation was in vain, he obtained a place for him as apprentice to the brothers Domenico and David Ghirlandaio, under a contract that he should remain with them three years, and should receive as compensation for his services, for the first year six florins, for the second year eight florins, and for the third year ten florins. He astonished his masters, becoming not only their rival, but their superior; and won the admiration also of Lorenzo the Magnificent, who at length took him into his palace, seated him at table with his own children, and granted him a salary. Here, Michel Angelo had frequent opportunities of meeting that noble poet and most eminent scholar, Angelo Poliziano, of enjoying his conversation and counsels: a companionship which awakened the poetic side of his nature, and which must have had an excellent influence on his own culture, as may be seen in certain sonnets, which he has imbued with an energy that might be called Dantesque, were it not with more justice regarded as characteristic of Michel Angelo himself.

The favor extended to young Michel Angelo by Lorenzo the Magnificent was continued to him by his son Piero de Medici, who was resolved not to come short of his father in the patronage of art; and wished the young sculptor to remain at his court. But the manner in which Piero displayed his esteem for artists was not acceptable to Michel Angelo, since the favors which he received were lavished also

upon his Spanish footman ; and it is proper to add also, that life at the court of a thorough tyrant, as Piero from day to day showed himself to be, became burdensome ; so that, before Piero was driven out by the people, Michel Angelo left the palace of the Medici, and took refuge in concealment at Bologna, finding employment for a year in a house of a gentleman of that city, Gianfrancesco Aldrovandi. When Piero de Medici was expelled from Florence, and the republic restored, mainly by the efforts of Gerolamo Savonarola, Michel Angelo returned from exile. It was at this time that he executed two statues : that of St. John as a sleeping child, which has been preserved, and the Cupid, which, for some time after it was first exhibited, was believed to have been the work of some ancient sculptor. In 1496 he betook himself, for the first time, to Rome, where he visited Cardinal Raffaelo Riario, with a personal recommendation to him from Lorenzo de Medici, son of Piero Francesco, by whom he had been employed in Florence after his return from Bologna. At Rome he applied himself not only to sculpture but also to painting. Among the statues executed during this first sojourn in Rome, are the Bacchus, which is in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, and the Pietà, or, more properly, the Virgin with her dead son Jesus upon her knees. Meanwhile, he continued, it seems, to maintain his friendly relations with the Medici family, his earliest patrons, as may be learned from a letter which he wrote from Rome to his father, Ludovico, in August, 1497, in which he writes :

"I have undertaken to make a statue of Pietro de Medici ; and I have bought the marble, but have not yet begun the work ; because he has not done what he promised me, for which reason I keep aloof from him ; . . . and am making a statue for my own pleasure ; and I bought a piece of marble for five ducats " [about twelve dollars], "and it was not good ; I have thrown away that money ; then I bought another piece, five more ducats, and this work for my own pleasure ; so that you may believe that I, too, have expenses and hardships ; yet what you desire of me, I will send you, if I had to sell myself for a slave."

Nor were these mere words ; since, throughout the extensive correspondence of Michel Angelo with his family, which is preserved at Florence in the Buonarrotti archives, and which has recently been published in a large quarto volume by Signor Gaetano Milanesi, it is evident enough that he proved himself at all times a beneficent guardian to his father and his brothers, his love for whom led him to deny himself many conveniences. It is also evident that the family never appreciated the magnitude of the benefits heaped upon them by Michel Angelo ; and that his brothers were not like him in his thorough unselfishness, and his profound deference to their father. One

of them at least, Giovan Simone, showed himself so undutiful a son and brother as to stir up litigation in the family upon questions of property, and even went to the length of threatening his own father. Upon learning this, Michel Angelo, then (A. D., 1508) in Rome, wrote a letter as strong in expression as his statues, a model of familiar eloquence. I believe that the reader will be pleased to find it here at length, since it has just been published for the first time.

"GIOVAN SIMONE: It is said that good treatment makes a good man better, but a bad man worse. I have tried now many years, with good words and deeds, to induce you to live well and in peace with your father and with the rest of us: and you grow worse continually. I do not abandon you as a wretch; but your course is such, both toward me and toward the others, that I am no longer pleased with you. I might give you a long discourse on your own affairs, but it would be merely to waste words on you, as I have done before. To be brief, I may tell you, as an indisputable fact, that you have nothing in the world; your very expenses for living and shelter are defrayed by me, and these I have given you, for a considerable time, for the love of God, because I believed you were, like the others, my brother. Now I am sure you are no brother of mine; for were you so, you would not threaten my father. You are a beast, rather, and I will treat you like a beast. Consider that he who sees his own father threatened or beaten is bound to resist it to the death; and enough. I tell you that you have nothing in the world, and as I feel a very little interest in your affairs, I shall go to you by post, and point out your errors, and teach you how to waste money not your own, and to throw fire into houses and lands you have not acquired. You are not where you imagine. If I come there, I will show you what will make you weep hot tears, and cause you to understand on whom you are inflicting your arrogance. I have this to say to you once more, that if you will exert yourself to do right, and honor and respect your father, I will help you like the others, and after a little time I shall find you good employment. If you do not act in this way, I will go to you, and settle your affairs in a way that will teach you what you are, better than you have ever known it, and show you what you have in the world, and you shall see this wherever you go. No more. What I lack in words, I shall make up in deeds.

"MICHEL ANGELO, IN ROME.

"P.S.—I can not refrain from writing you two words more: and that is, that for twelve years I have gone up and down all Italy, borne every humiliation, suffered every privation, worn out my body in every sort of exertion, exposed my very life to a thousand dangers, only to help my family; and now that I have begun to elevate it a little, you wish to be the one to throw into confusion and ruin in one hour what I have spent so many years and so great labors to build up. By Christ's body, that shall not be! I can confound ten thousand like you, if necessary. But be wise, and do not provoke one who has passions different from your own."

Michel Angelo always showed the same kindness to his family; and it was his affection for them that kept him single, content that his brother Buonarotti should have a family, and making that brother's son, Leonardo, heir to his whole fortune.

But before 1508, the year in which the letter to Giovan Simone

above quoted, was written, Michel Angelo had spent some time in Florence, working upon statues designed for the altar of a chapel in the Cathedral of Sienna, ordered by Cardinal Francesco Piccolomini, who afterward, in 1503, occupied the papal throne for twenty-seven days under the name of Pius III. In the same year, 1503, the superintendents at the church of Santa Maria del Fiore, finding in the stores an uncouth marble giant, roughly hewn by the sculptor Agostino, son of Antonio, and anxious that it should be turned to some good purpose, gave it to Michel Angelo to finish, that he might make of it some statue that would better please them. This was the origin of that admirable colossal David, which attracted so much admiration on the public square of Florence before the Palazzo Vecchio, until 1873, when, to rescue it from further injury by the elements, it was removed to the Academy of the Fine Arts. Before its removal, however, in order to insure the preservation of the design, Clement Papi made a beautiful cast of it in bronze, which now occupies a conspicuous position in the Piazza di Michel Angelo, the most commanding site in Florence.

In the same year, 1503, Michel Angelo received from the superintendents of Santa Maria del Fiore a commission to execute statues of the Twelve Apostles, to be placed in the church. But he was able to accomplish nothing of this task, except the admirable design of a statue of St. Matthew, which stands in the court of the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence, under which was placed an eloquent inscription of Gianbattista Niccolini.*

In the years 1504 and 1505, Michel Angelo designed the famous cartoon, which Vasari and Callini praise so highly, depicting a scene in the war between Pisa and Florence, and intended for the hall of

* Questo simulacro di San Matteo

Abbozzato da MICHEL ANGELO

Lungamente stette

Nel cortile dell' Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore

E nel MDCCCXXXI

Trasferito venne in questa accademia delle belle arti

Che dall' apostolo ha il nome

Ad insegnamento degli scultori

E perchi tutti ammirino

La possente fantasia di' quel divino

Il quale nell 'arte moderna

Sollevandos, il primo dalla materia all' idea

Qui sembra con lo scalpello

Liberar dal marmo che glisla nasconde

Quella figura che ha gia' creatata coll 'intelletto.

the Consiglia of Pisa. In this cartoon Michel Angelo entered into competition with Leonardo da Vinci. But it has not been preserved, having been nearly destroyed, in 1512, by the envious and malignant act of Baccio Bandinelli.

Pope Julius II., the turbulent successor of Pope Pius III., was more of a warrior than a priest. He wished to keep Michel Angelo in his service, only to employ him in building for himself a sepulchral monument, which should surpass in beauty and splendor the tomb of any other pope or prince. This tomb of Pope Julius, which was never completed, occupied, though not without interruptions, nearly the whole of the remaining years of Michel Angelo. One of the ornaments of this tomb was to be the chief work of the artist, the Moses, which now adorns the church of San Pietro in Vinculi, at Rome. Had Julius II. lived longer, the sculptor might have finished his work. But his successor, Leo X., who was of the Medici family, placed every hindrance in the way, giving other commissions to the sculptor, in order to divert him from his principal undertaking. Clement VII., who followed Leo, was also a De Medici; and he persistently urged Michel Angelo to devote his energies to the tombs of the Medici, in preference to that of Julius II. Among these family monuments, besides those of Lorenzo and of Giuliano, were to be those of Leo X., and of Clement VII. himself. Clement also employed him as architect upon the front of the church of San Lorenzo, and upon the library connected with it. But, like the tomb of Julius II. and of the Medici, both the church and the library were interrupted in their progress. Paul III., who succeeded Clement VII., called away Michel Angelo from all the works he had undertaken, in order that he might be engaged exclusively in building St. Peter's Church. Thus, he who was born to conceive and execute many works of lofty genius, was, by the mutual jealousies of the several patrons to whom he yielded obedience, hindered from completing any of them. It is true, indeed, that the David, the statues upon the tombs of the Medici, the Moses, and the Last Judgment, in the Sistine Chapel, suffice to manifest the extraordinary power, not only of chisel and of pencil, but of intellect, that characterizes every creation of Michel Angelo. The prodigious number of sketches from his hand, which are preserved in the Florentine galleries, in the Museum of the Louvre, in the Wicar Museum at Lille, in the special collections of the Dukes of Weimar, and in the galleries of London and of Oxford, display, to the astonishment of men, the rapid, lively, and fertile imagination of the artist of Florence. The lifetime of ten artists would scarcely be enough to execute the

vast and various designs sketched by Michel Angelo; but he might himself have accomplished far more than he did in marble, upon canvas, and in the materials of architecture, had it not been for the caprice of his princely employers, and for the envy of certain rival artists, who strove to injure him, to delay his work or spoil it, in order to deprive him of both wealth and fame. Hence it was that Michel Angelo, though he lived to the age of eighty-nine, never, perhaps, throughout that long life, enjoyed a single year of tranquillity and rest. His own character, too, easily inflamed with passionate anger, may have been a hindrance to him. Though ready to forgive the injuries he received, he was at times immoderate in his attacks upon his enemies; some of whom, as, for example, Leonardo da Vinci, deserved his respect rather than his hatred. But although Michel Angelo was a great man, it must be confessed that he did not unite in himself all perfections of character. For instance, it is not easy to justify his intimacy with Sebastian del Piombo, the basest enemy and vilifier of Raphael. Raphael admired Michel Angelo, and paid him the tribute of successful imitation. How was it that Michel Angelo suffered Sebastian del Piombo to make reiterated attacks, in his letters, upon the noble painter of Urbino? Still deeper was the enmity which Michel Angelo exhibited toward Bramanti; who, with a knowledge of the fact that Michel Angelo disliked and desired to injure him, nevertheless praised his plan for building St. Peter's; and afterward adhered to it himself, when he was intrusted with the control of all the work upon that cathedral, seconding Michel Angelo's efforts to bring his own new designs into harmony with those of Bramanti, in opposition to the bad taste which the architect, San Gallo, and his partisans, had determined to introduce into the chief church of Christendom. If Michel Angelo, instead of constantly changing from place to place and from patron to patron, and passing his life in contention over his productions, had been able to work steadily and in peace in his own native city, following only the inspirations of his own genius, he alone might have made Florence the paradise of the arts. But compelled, as he was, to scatter his powers in a thousand varied efforts, scarcely any of which he was permitted to carry to completion, he assumes before us the appearance of a colossal capacity, not a tenth part of which has been embodied in achievement. It is true that, even if he had been wise and resolute enough to preserve his independence, instead of serving successive princes, and had devoted the entire strength of his genius to the glory of the people of Florence, that people would have been unable to appreciate him. The time

was already long gone by, in which the republic of Florence issued its proud decree, that the church of Santa Maria del Fiore should stand alone as a masterpiece of art. It is easy to understand that Arnolfo, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, Giotto, and Orcagna, in the midst of a people whose rulers enacted among their laws a decree so sublime, should feel themselves inspired. But the people of Florence, at the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, had lost the greatness of earlier times; and there were few among them who were capable of understanding the merits of Michel Angelo, or of awarding his genius its meed of praise. It is altogether to be regretted that he fell into the hands of the Medici. However important their contributions were to his material prosperity, they deprived him of far more than they gave—of the independence of genius. Had he been free, he must have developed resources far greater than those, surprising as they are, which are displayed in the works executed to the order of princes; and, indeed, in some of these, we may read his silent protest. It was certainly not by chance that Michel Angelo selected for the tomb of Julius II.—the pope who proclaimed war upon foreigners with the motto, “Out with the barbarians” (*Fuori i barbari*)—the figure of Moses, the priest and captain of the liberation of the Hebrew people from the yoke of the Pharaohs. The verses, too, which he placed upon the group of Sleep and Night, at the tomb of Giuliano de Medici, are well known:

’Tis sweet to sleep; who would not be of stone,
While shame and sorrow make the world their own?
Happy are they, who see, nor feel, nor know;
Therefore awake me not, I pray, speak low! *

These verses were written when Florence was groaning under the yoke of the execrable Duke Alexander, and show plainly enough what were the secret feelings of Michel Angelo toward the tyrants of his country, and what heights of artistic expression he might have attained, had he resolutely emancipated himself from servitude to princes. It is sad, on the other hand, to mark that he not only served the Medici before the ruin of the republic, but, after its fall, remained in Venice in the service of Clement VII. We must therefore, with sincere sorrow, refuse to join in extolling the character of Michel Angelo as a citizen. We must rather lament that so great a man, upon an emergency in

* Caro m'è il sonno, e più l'esser di sasso
Mentre che 'l danno e la vergogna dura;
Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura;
Però non mi destar; deh! parla lasso.

which his example, had it been outspoken and complete, would have been so precious, gave reason for suspecting him of half-heartedness and doubtful fidelity. Michel Angelo might be justified, if, having accepted the benefactions of the Medici, he had refused to assist in fortifying Florence for the purpose of preventing their return to their native city. He might be justified, if, when he perceived the avowed purpose of the Medici to become the tyrants of their country, he had entirely withdrawn from them, never to enter their service again. But that which is harder to understand, and which seems utterly unworthy of the admiration often expressed for it, is his course during the siege of Florence and afterward. Without breaking off his relations to the Medici, he consented to act upon the Florentine committee of defense, and to construct the fortifications. When the foe threatened to take possession of the city, he timidly made his escape from it. When he was informed that the citizens had a prospect of making good their defense, he returned thither, and engaged in strengthening the fortifications. After the fall of the city, he remained in his studio, accepting the patronage of Pope Clement VII., the chief agent in bringing about the ruin of Florence. This was not conduct worthy of a great man, and the more exalted the genius which stooped to such cowardly acts, the less should they command our approval. But the people of after ages, with their hero-worship, are fond of deceiving themselves, and forget facts, in order that the image their admiration has created may not be defaced or diminished. In this manner it was for a long time asserted that Michel Angelo never took flight from Florence in fear; but a letter written by his own hand, and removing every doubt, has now been recovered and given to the world. The original letter, sent from Venice to his friend Battista della Palla, in Florence, is preserved in the Buonarrotti archives. It as follows:

"To Battista. MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: I left there, as I suppose you know, intending to go to France. On arriving at Venice, I inquired about the way, and was informed that the journey from here leads through part of Germany, and that it is dangerous and difficult traveling. I have therefore resolved to wait for an answer from you, if it please you, and if you are now disposed to go, to urge you to do so; and accordingly, I beg you to inform me of this, and where you wish me to await you, and we will go together. I came away without so much as a farewell to any of my friends, and in extreme confusion; and though, as you know, I desired by all means to go to France, and repeatedly asked leave to go without obtaining it, it was not that I had not the fortitude to await fearlessly the end of the war; but on Tuesday morning, September 21st, there came to me, outside of the gate at San Niccola, where I was at the bastions, one who said in my ear that it was no

longer to be endured, and that my life was at stake. And he came home with me, and dined there, and brought me mules, and never left me till he had brought me out of Florence, which he proved to me was for my good. Whether it was God or the devil I do not know. I beg you to reply to my letter as quickly as possible, because I am longing to be gone; and if you no longer have a mind to go, yet, I pray, so inform me that I may take measures to go as well as I can alone.

"Your

"MICHEL ANGELO BUONAROTTI."

Michel Angelo knew that his presence was earnestly desired in France, at the court of Francis I., who had already made many efforts to obtain works of his; but his friend Battista della Palla, who perhaps had not the same prospects of personal advancement to draw him to France, and who had an opportunity, remaining in Florence, to hear the opinions expressed there concerning the flight of Michel Angelo, and to observe how much delight it gave to the great artist's enemies, saw also, on the other hand, that the hopes of the Florentines that they would successfully defend their city, were growing stronger. He therefore, instead of writing to Michel Angelo that he would join him, made haste to implore him, with words full of earnestness and affection, to return immediately to Florence; and soon after, as he did not return, wrote again, with still more warmth, and with such effect that Michel Angelo abandoned every other purpose, and resolved to return to his native land and perform the duty of a good citizen. Now, while every one should be ready to excuse an act of weakness in the life of Michel Angelo, which was full of acts of nobleness, yet no one can hereafter be justified in holding up his course during the siege of Florence as exhibiting the perfect model of the true citizen. Michel Angelo, free, might have been that model: Michel Angelo, in the bonds of multiplied obligations to the house of the Medici, was a different character. Yet if the baseness of the times in which he lived is duly appreciated, he will still be widely distinguished from the crowd of vulgar courtiers. It is sad that his genius was fettered by his courtly position; but his genius never accepted humiliation at court. Michel Angelo had the strength of character often to speak out the truth to princes; to show that he did not stand in fear of them, and that his respect for himself was greater than for their power. This becoming independence added to their regard for him, and led princes to vie with one another to do him honor: not so much because they, in their pride, could really appreciate an artist who knew how to stand upright and to command respect, but because every one of them well understood how royal insignificance itself would become splendid in history, if it could claim to have bestowed protection and honor upon

a genius so great. The extraordinary efforts of the Grand Duke Cosmo to induce Paul III. to permit the return of Michel Angelo to Florence are abundant proofs of the consequence awarded to him in his own times. But the artist had resolved to spend the remainder of his life in Rome, not from any dislike to Florence, where—upon a fair balance of accounts—no wrong had been done him, but because his habits of life were now accommodated to a residence in Rome, where, in his declining years, he formed the acquaintance of that lady whose beauty and poetical genius exercised so profound an influence upon his mind—Vittoria Colonna. It was due to her that his love for poetry revived. He wrote a number of fine sonnets and madrigals, expressive of his passion, some of which were set to music by eminent composers of the time, both in Italy and elsewhere as may be gathered from the specimens of music which are contained in the second volume of the work of Aurelio Gotti, mentioned above. The first volume of this work contains, in twenty chapters, a charming account of the life of Michel Angelo. In the second, are a number of valuable documents, among which are three musical compositions. The Lady Colonna not only listened kindly to Michel Angelo's avowals of the sentiments with which she had inspired him, but responded to them in sonnets of her own, and in letters, full of affectionate regard, and breathing a spirit of virtue and piety. Nor were similar sentiments foreign to the mind of her correspondent himself; as is shown by his own letters to his parents, and by the resignation with which he submitted, in every calamity, to the will of Divine Providence. Vittoria Colonna paid many visits to Michel Angelo; but their love was strictly Platonic, and the first time the great sculptor permitted himself to claim the favor of a kiss upon the brow of the beautiful lady was when she was dead. For the rest, all the records which have been preserved of the life of Michel Angelo prove that it was free from excess of every kind. His works brought him large rewards; but the use he made of them was to restore the fallen fortunes of his family; and for this purpose he submitted to many privations, even bringing upon himself the reputation of a miser. On the day of his death, February 8, 1564, an inventory was made of his effects. He is said to have made his will in three words, leaving his soul to God, his body to the earth, and his property to his nearest relation, his nephew Leonardo, son of his brother Buonarrotti. The inventory consisted of four cartoons, several sketches, three unfinished statues in marble, and a sealed box containing ten thousand ducats. This was an important sum, especially for the times, but was by no means the entire estate which Leonardo

obtained as heir to Michel Angelo. He had already been enabled by his uncle to acquire houses and lands in and around Florence; and it was owing to his relationship to Michel Angelo that he obtained for his wife, Cassandra Ridolfi, a young lady belonging to a Florentine family of high distinction. It is not often that one who has risen in honor and fortune cares for the humble family from which he came. Michel Angelo was not only ready to acknowledge his parents, but he made it his only ambition to elevate their standing in Florence; and he accomplished this end so completely that, while before his birth but few of his family had been ennobled, after his death they were esteemed as among the most prominent of the noble houses, not only by virtue of the right which the Buonarotti enjoyed, from the time of Leo X., to call themselves counts, but by a far higher title of nobility—because their family records bore the glorious name of Michel Angelo. And the degree in which the later generations of the Buonarotti had at heart the memory of the great artist is clearly shown by the zealous care with which they collected, in the house in Florence which had been his home, a museum of art and the archives of the family. Here, by the exertions of the Senator Filippo Buonarotti, were gathered and carefully arranged, all the memorials of Michel Angelo which could be rescued from the ravages of time. In fact, before that scholarly antiquarian entered upon the task, it had been undertaken, in the second half of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, by Michel Angelo Buonarotti, called the young, the third son of Leonardo, the sculptor's heir, born four years after the great man's death and named in his honor. He was a gentleman of fine taste and polished manners, himself of superior intellect, a scholar and poet of eminence. He was the author of two long comedies, the one, "La Fiera," representing the manners of the city, the other, "La Tancia," those of the country. In these plays, students of the dialect and of the customs of the Tuscan people will find much that is instructive. It was this Michel Angelo who first published an edition of the verses of his great-uncle. This publication was founded upon the autograph originals, which are preserved in the family archives; but he thought it his duty, at times, where the lines of Michel Angelo seemed to him too crude, to retouch and polish them. Hence, in the year 1863, Signor Cesare Guosti deemed it proper to republish the poems in an edition, founded, like the former, on the autographs, but faithfully reproducing them. The works of Michel Angelo are now scattered through the world. Florence has the largest share of them; in Rome there are fewer, but several of these are of the highest im-

portance: as the Moses, the Last Judgment, and the Dome of St. Peter's. Some are found at Sienna, at Pisa, at Parma, at Genoa, at Naples. Two statues are in the Louvre, one marble group is in the cathedral at Bourges. The collections in the Louvre, at Lille, London, Oxford, and Weimar, contain many sketches. A few paintings are in the Belvidere Gallery at Vienna. Madrid has a picture, and the St. Petersburg Academy a caryatid in marble. It is not known that any work of Michel Angelo has reached America.

The body of Michel Angelo, as is well known, was first carried to the church of the Holy Apostles in Rome; and then was removed to Florence by his nephew Leonardo, aided by Giorgio Vasari. At Florence a monument was erected to him in the church of Santa Croce, after the design of Vasari, and at the expense of the Grand Duke Cosmo. His funeral ceremonies were performed at the cost of the same prince, in the church of Santa Croce, where Benedetto Varchi pronounced a eulogy. In the church of the Holy Apostles at Rome, also, where the body of Michel Angelo had rested a few days, a monument was erected to his memory.

After this brief review of the life of Michel Angelo in its main outlines, it would be proper here to endeavor to present a summary of what he was as a man, and as an artist. His personality is, fortunately, not one of these vague figures which elude our mental grasp, and refuse to assume a definite character. As he has carved out the forms of others in his works, so, with the same admirable exactness he has given in them a representation of himself. It is an error to imagine that mere muscular strength is the characteristic of the vigor of Michel Angelo. This notion has misled his imitators, who have turned his marked style into caricature, originality into grotesqueness. They have failed to comprehend the profound thought and feeling which dictated to Michel Angelo some of the peculiar attitudes assumed by his statues: that ready discernment and that mighty imagination which caught, upon the instant, the momentary physical expression of the ideal he conceived, were wanting to them, and their efforts resulted in distortion and falsity. As Dante in poetry, Michel Angelo in sculpture, stood alone. His forms are severe and terrible; they rarely smile, but when they smile, the smile is divine. There are many who can prattle love in the tones of Petrarch, or imitate the graceful madonnas of Raphael; but there are none who can scale the rugged heights of Dante and Michel Angelo, without great risk of falling.

Ten years after the centennial festival of Dante, that of Michel

Angelo is celebrated in Florence. The two great men belong together, and may be said to form a class apart. In the presence of these two lofty names, no one will assert that the Italians are too fond of festivals. A celebration like this, held every ten years, not only does no harm, but may do great good ; and the Italian people are not without the means of finding, every ten years, the glorious life that is worthy of a centennial festival. For six hundred years, Italy has been fertile in men of genius, and we trust that its fertility is not yet exhausted. Yet when such festivals are recognized by law, they should have a truly national character, and the entire country should take an active part in them. They might then become instructive occasions for the people of Italy. It is desirable, however, that they be planned by men in full sympathy with their objects, and with resources adequate to their aim. I can not affirm that the government of the city of Florence, in its arrangements for the festivals in honor of Michel Angelo, has shown itself equal to its high duty. Indeed, such an utter want of imagination has been shown in the preparations, that, had Michel Angelo been an inhabitant of some petty village, it would have been natural to expect from the villagers plans more appropriate to the occasion than Florence has been able to devise in honor of her great citizen. If he could himself return for a moment to life, he might say, in a word, that it is he alone who bears the entire cost of his own festivals ; for they consist of visits to his tomb, to the museum, to the exhibition of works of art, and to the open place in which stands the bronze copy of the David, cast by Papi ; of one or two addresses, and of the inevitable illumination. It is too little, in fact, and but that Signor Gotti and Signor Milanesi had determined, the one to write a new life of Michel Angelo, the other to publish his hitherto unedited letters, there would be ample reason for a sense of shame in the presence of the numbers of eminent foreigners, who are gathered from every part of Europe, and perhaps even from the United States, to see in what manner the native land of Michel Angelo can honor its great men.

GENERAL SHERMAN AND HIS MEMOIRS.*

PLUTARCH tells us that when Simonides offered to teach Themistocles the art of memory, the latter answered, "Ah! rather teach me the art of forgetting, for I often remember what I should not, and can not forget what I would." These memoirs, which the distinguished author introduces to the public by an address to his comrades in arms, he declares are not designed as a history of the great rebellion, nor "even as a complete account of all the incidents in which the writer bore a part, but merely his recollection of events corrected by a reference to his own memoranda." In the body of the work, after he has reached the period of the civil war, he says :

"I feel that I tread on delicate ground. I have again and again been invited to write a history of the war, or to record for publication my personal recollections of it, with large offers of money therefor; all of which I have heretofore declined, because the truth is not always palatable and should not always be told. Many of the actors in the grand drama still live, and they and their friends are quick to controversy which should be avoided. The great end of peace has been attained, with little or no change in our form of government, and the duty of all good men is to allow the passions of that period to subside, that we may direct our physical and mental labor to repair the waste of war, and to engage in the greater task of continuing our hitherto wonderful national development. What I now propose to do, is merely to group some of my personal recollections about the historic persons and events of the day, prepared not with any view to their publication, but rather for preservation till I am gone; and then to be allowed to follow into oblivion the cords of similar papers, or to be used by some historian who may need them by way of illustration."

We find herein not only a clear intimation of the difficulties and dangers of the task voluntarily assumed by General Sherman, but also a limitation of the scope and object of his work. While offering no explanation of his reasons for publishing now, he makes it evident that his memoirs are intended for the use of the future his-

* "Memoirs of General William T. Sherman," by himself. In two volumes, octavo. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.

torian. As a matter of course the value of the recollections and memoranda upon which the memoirs are based, depends entirely upon their truthfulness. If they are in strict accord with the facts as they occurred, and have been fairly laid before the public without prejudice or exaggeration, they can not be too highly estimated ; but if it shall appear that they have not been set forth with a scrupulous regard for the services and the rights of others, then their value for historical uses will be lessened, and they will serve chiefly to illustrate the peculiarities of the author, causing him, perhaps, to regret that some Simonides had not taught him "the art of forgetting."

We do not intend to follow the author through all the incidents of his eventful career, but shall use his memoirs rather as a writ, for the purpose of bringing him before the public. We shall test his narrative here and there by such official documents and records as we can reach, or, in the absence of these, by the writings of other military men who took part in the great rebellion. We shall endeavor, by their aid, in connection with the memoirs, to form a correct estimate of General Sherman's services ; and to point out his most noticeable peculiarities in order that the reader may have the means of arriving at a definite measure of his merits, and of obtaining a fair idea of his true place among the great characters of his day.

It will readily be conceded that for the last fifteen years, General Sherman has been in many respects the most interesting, if not the most conspicuous, figure in American history. His tall and angular person, somewhat loose-jointed, and stooping though not unsoldierly, and his strongly marked features, indicating restless activity and untiring energy, have become known throughout the length and breadth of the land ; and are everywhere regarded as the unmistakable indices of character and abilities far removed from the ordinary type. There is nothing commonplace or mediocre about the man. His correspondence previously given to the world, whether relating to civil or military matters, no less than the interesting work before us, are marked by clearness of thought and expression, still more rare than the independence and boldness which characterize his opinions upon every subject. He appears to write with remarkable facility and ease, and almost equally well upon all questions however remotely connected with each other, or with the profession of arms. There is a freshness and vigor in his style very uncommon in military documents ; and sufficiently uncommon, even in other kinds of writing, to secure for his memoirs the attention of many people, who never read any thing more serious than a novel. There can be but one opinion as to the facility with

which he uses his pen, however much men may differ as to the skill with which he uses his sword. It must not be supposed, however, that his writing is faultless, for such is not the case. The narrative before us is by no means free from grammatical and rhetorical blemishes. It is too frequently marred by coarse or profane anecdotes, sometimes badly told and inappropriate, but savoring strongly of the camp-fire and the march. They were possibly not out of place there, but their present use indicates bad taste, and untrained literary judgment. No one expects a great soldier to write like a religious teacher; but it is a matter of regret that he should go out of his way to find "strange oaths" with which to season the story which from its very nature our children will read with breathless interest, long after the actors in it shall have moldered into dust. Marches are enlivened by jokes and pranks; bivouacs, by anecdotes and stories, while battles resound with "the noise of the captains and the shouting," but it requires more than ordinary tact to describe these without using language of doubtful propriety.

No other publication relating to the civil war has attracted so much attention, or given rise to so much discussion as the work before us. Having controlled a larger territory and commanded more men than any other American except General Grant, Sherman's narrative of events has naturally been closely and eagerly read by his subordinates of every grade; all alive to the fact that his praise or blame will descend to posterity and have, perforce, great weight in determining the estimate which will be put upon their services and deserts. His high rank and independent character challenge our respect for his statements and opinions, and will tend to secure for them the general credence of the public, hence it becomes a matter of importance to test them by every proper standard of comparison. He has done the state great service, and has had the good fortune to receive its highest military honors; his opinions upon military subjects, and especially upon the lessons taught by the experience of our armies during the civil war, are therefore entitled to the most careful consideration. He has written frankly and vigorously upon all subjects, and given to the world a book of extraordinary interest. But we regret to add that, however characteristic it may be, it does not seem to rise to the high rank and great abilities of the author. It bears evidence of having been written hurriedly, and without due reference to the abundant materials within reach; and this is the more inexcusable from the fact that his position at the head of the army, with head-quarters in the War Department, gave him unusual opportunities for consulting the

public archives, and reaching the official reports and returns of both the National and Confederate armies. It is true that many of the valuable documents of the archives are not in print, but this will scarcely justify him in limiting his work, where it touches upon the merits and character of others, merely to his own recollections, corrected solely by reference to his own memoranda. Although he quotes many of his own official reports and much of his correspondence, it is to be observed that he also omits many of his most important telegrams, and that the interest and value of his work might have been greatly increased by more conscientious care in the selection and condensation of materials.

It also seems evident that the narrative under consideration is not entirely free from a fault somewhat peculiar to military reports. All persons who are familiar with that class of literature, and the facts which it sets forth, have observed the curious but perhaps involuntary tendency of military men, in their reports of battles and campaigns, to make it appear that every movement took place just as it had been previously ordered; that their successes were the result of prearranged plans, and were gained substantially as it was intended they should be, and that their failures were directly traceable to the disobedience of this or that specific order intended to provide against this or that specific contingency. This tendency seems to have become particularly common since the military art has been formulated into maxims. How far it was characteristic of Cæsar, who was not only the greatest soldier and politician, but also the greatest writer and wit of his time, if not of all time, is a matter of conjecture; but there is no doubt that Napoleon, consummate as were his abilities, yielded to it without disguise or shame, on nearly all occasions where it suited his purposes to do so, and even the Duke of Wellington was more or less subject to it. It is therefore no discredit to General Sherman that he has not entirely escaped its influence; and this will be the more readily admitted, when an effort is made to grasp and properly comprehend the manifold events of a campaign, or to recollect and weigh the terrible rush of incidents which stand in the relation of cause and effect to each other, and mark the course of every great battle. Neither is he the only American general who has been influenced by the same tendency; on the contrary, there are many who have shared it with him, and not a few who have been brought even more completely under its influence.

If the author has distributed censure without due consideration, or under the influence of jealousy and prejudice; or if he has laid

claim to credit which justly belongs to another; he has committed faults far graver than those of mere carelessness in writing, and which it will be much more difficult for him to correct. He has been criticised for all of these things, and it may be that there is some ground for the criticism. It was expected that he would not hesitate to condemn the unworthy; his high office justly entitles him to do this, but it equally requires that he shall do no injustice to the worthy.

No living American has had better opportunities for studying character, or for observing the influence of the passions, prejudices, and idiosyncrasies of the prominent actors upon the course of events during the civil war. He was thrown into intimate relations with Grant, McPherson, Thomas, Hooker, Howard, Halleck, McClelland, Schofield, Granger, Sheridan, Wool, Wood, Slocum, Logan, and Blair, and in fact, with nearly all of the most distinguished military men of both the Northern and Southern armies. He mentions many of them repeatedly, in connection with the narrative which he relates. He praises Grant's bull-dog courage and minor virtues, but in more than one case claims his laurels, or gives them to another. He eulogizes McPherson's splendid appearance and great abilities, but censures him unjustly for his failure at Resaca. He accuses Hooker of insubordination and intrigue, and intimates that he went to the rear in anticipation of disaster, if not in fear of danger. He heartily commends the great steadiness and probity of Thomas, but intimates that he was culpably slow on more than one occasion. He gives Halleck credit for what he did not do, and censures him for what he could not help. He designates Logan and Blair as political generals, but concedes that they were both officers of rare abilities and great bravery; though he fails to point out how even these politicians taught their fellow-citizens lessons of patriotism. He charges Wool with lying, and calls Hampton "a braggart." He alleges that one Secretary of War gave circulation, "perhaps inadvertently," to a wanton and malicious falsehood, and severely denounces another because he repudiated the terms of capitulation granted to Johnston's army, and published the celebrated ten reasons therefor. He bestows a word of praise upon one officer, and a word of blame upon another. He mentions a virtue here, and a vice there, tells a good story of this one, and a witty anecdote of that one; but in no instance does he draw a complete portrait of an officer, exhaustively setting forth his qualities, good and bad. He uses colors freely, and generally chooses decided tints, but withal, his pictures are frequently indistinct if not obscure. They are more remarkable for vigorous treatment than for pleasing forms and harmonious

blendings of light and shade. It has therefore been well observed, that for all he tells of them the heroic characters who figure in his memoirs, are for the most part but wooden images of themselves; their names are present, but their real personalities are absent. As a consequence he has given offense to several of his principal lieutenants, and unwittingly stirred up many controversies which he evidently deprecates, and hoped to avoid. One of these controversies relates to the question of his own sanity at a certain period of the war; another, to the origin of Grant's celebrated campaign of Fort Donelson; a third, to the part taken by the armies of the Tennessee and the Cumberland (or Ohio) in the battle of Shiloh; a fourth, to the parts taken by the same armies in the battle of Missionary Ridge; a fifth, to the conception of the March to the Sea; a sixth, to Thomas's management of the campaign against Hood; a seventh, to the origin of the famous articles of capitulation signed by Johnston; an eighth, to the circumstances of the meeting between Stanton and Sherman at the grand review in Washington; a ninth, to questions concerning the strategy and tactics of the various campaigns; a tenth, to numerous matters concerning individual actions and character; and last but not least, a controversy regarding the author's own merits as a general, and his true rank among the great men of his day. As a matter of course, these controversies will throw light upon all the questions involved, and facilitate the labor of the future historian, though they may not add to the author's reputation for modesty, fairness, generosity, and prudence, and they will certainly not promote his peace of mind, however insensible he may be to adverse criticism. It is precisely on account of the great number of commentators which these memoirs have called forth, that we think the author should be praised for publishing them during his own life-time. So far as the public is concerned, it makes but little difference whether he tells the whole truth himself, or writes in such a manner as to draw it out from others. And, after all, there is much in General Sherman's narrative which will bear the closest scrutiny; much that is highly instructive, and much to call forth our hearty admiration. We regret, for his sake, that he did not bestow more labor upon it, and give it a wider scope and a graver character, making it more in keeping with his high rank and great abilities; more just to his superiors, more generous to his subordinates, and more magnanimous to his rivals and opponents. Such a course would not only have heightened his fame, but would have undoubtedly increased the value without detracting from the interest of his memoirs.

He gives us no account of his parentage and earlier life, either at home or at West Point, although we learn from Cullum's Register that he was born in Ohio, and was appointed from that State to the United States Military Academy, where he graduated in 1840, sixth in a class of forty-two members. General George H. Thomas was his most distinguished classmate, though several others rose to high rank in both the Northern and Southern armies. Sherman's father was a lawyer and a judge of distinction, and is said to have been connected with, if not descended from, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and a patriot of pure and upright character. Thus it will be seen that the General came fairly by his independence, as well as by his patriotic impulses and his acute and vigorous intellect. What he owes to inheritance, and what to the influence of his military training and association, it is not within the limits of this review to inquire. It is enough for our present purposes to call attention to the fact that he came of good stock, and seems to have availed himself fully of the advantages which the bounty of his country extended to him. His military services, up to the outbreak of the Mexican war, were mostly confined to the States of Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, and consisted of the ordinary routine duty, with a company of artillery, varied by occasional tours in the regimental and general staff. They were devoid of special importance at that time, though their influence was strongly felt during the civil war, as it is evident that the geographical and topographical knowledge which he gained in the South while performing the duties of a subaltern, became exceedingly useful to him when he was called upon to direct the movement of armies.

His narrative opens with the spring of 1846, and finds him at Fort Moultrie, Charleston harbor, where he was then serving as the junior First Lieutenant of Captain (afterward General) Robert Anderson's company.

The war with Mexico began early in that year, and although he had just gone to Pittsburgh upon recruiting service, he lost no time in informing the Adjutant-General that he was willing to relinquish that post, and to be detailed to any place which would permit him to see active duty. So anxious was he to reach the theater of war that he left his rendezvous with his first batch of recruits, and reported in person, without orders, to the superintendent of the Western recruiting service, from whom he begged permission to go forward with his men. Receiving a stern refusal he returned to his station, with his "volunteer zeal somewhat cooled," but we are glad to add, that he

found instructions there, from the War Department, relieving him from recruiting service and assigning him to duty with a company already under orders for the *terra incognita*, then known on the maps as California.

No Spanish conquistador, dreaming of a land of untold wealth, and reveling in visions of romance and adventure, could have hastened toward the scenes of his new life with more ardor and impatience than Sherman seems to have displayed in obeying his welcome orders. He sailed from New York on the 14th of July, 1846, and arrived in Monterey Bay on the 26th of January, 1847. This was prior to the discovery of gold, which did not take place till the spring of 1848. He sketches, with freshness and spirit, the incidents of the voyage, the landing of the troops, the Arcadian simplicity of the native Californians, and the brief struggle for the conquest of that country. He describes the establishment and growth of American institutions, and the influx and influence of the miners, driven irresistibly forward by what the ancients designated as "the sacred thirst for gold." These are more than thrice-told stories; but he gives them a new zest for the reader by interweaving them with his varied adventures and experiences as a staff-officer, land-surveyor, and finally as a private citizen and banker. His account of the rise of the Vigilance Committee, and the honorable part which he took in the efforts of the State authorities to overthrow it, and to re-establish the reign of law and order, constitutes one of the most interesting chapters in the history of those stirring times. His return to the States, and assignment to duty in New Orleans as Commissary of Subsistence; his retirement from the army, and his subsequent career as the manager of the banking houses of Lucas, Turner & Co., in San Francisco and New York, followed by several years of active life as a lawyer and land agent in Kansas, and as the organizer and superintendent of a military school in Louisiana, are fully described in his memoirs, and bring him to the outbreak of the civil war. No mere outline can do justice to this portion of the narrative, or convey a proper idea of the ceaseless energy and activity displayed by the author. It describes a most important period in his life, the results of which may be summarized, although the incidents of it must be passed over in silence. Four years as a cadet, six as a subaltern, and fifteen as a staff officer, land surveyor, banker, lawyer, teacher, and railroad president, gave him not only varied lessons, but varied experiences, and served to draw out and mature all of his faculties. In all stations and in all pursuits he seems to have borne himself bravely, frankly, and independently, like a good soldier and

an honest gentleman. If he did not amass a fortune, it may be truly said that he was fairly successful in most of his undertakings. He made many friends, and secured the esteem and respect of all with whom he came in contact. To such as are unacquainted with the vicissitudes of American life, his frequent changes of occupation may appear to have been mainly the result of unsettled purpose, if not of a vacillating mind; and although this appearance may possibly have some foundation in fact, these changes indicate still more clearly that his mind was also bold, self-reliant, and ambitious, and by no means trammelled by the respectable conventionalities, or warped and belittled by the dull and prosaic pursuits of an obscure and uneventful career.

The secession of South Carolina and the other cotton States found him in charge of the Louisiana Military Academy. He confesses that these events, followed by President Buchanan's message announcing that the General Government had no power to coerce a State, staggered him, and that he feared that "the prophecies and assertions of other European commentators on our form of government were right, and that our Constitution was a mere rope of sand which would break with the first pressure." Although he was a democrat and believed, with thousands of others, that as the southern people had inherited slavery, they were not responsible for it, he did not for a moment undertake to justify them in their attempt to break up the Union. On the contrary, he wrote to Governor Moore, January 18, 1861, a most patriotic letter, saying, among other things: "Recent events foreshadow a great change, and it becomes all men to choose. If Louisiana withdraw from the Federal Union, I prefer to maintain my allegiance to the Constitution as long as a fragment of it survives, and my longer stay here would be wrong in every sense of the word." After asking the governor to relieve him as superintendent, and appoint an agent to receive from him the arms and public property in his possession, he adds: "for on no earthly account will I do any act or think any thought hostile to, or in defiance of, the old Government of the United States." The promptitude of his action, and the clearness of his views upon the great question of duty to the Government which had educated him are worthy of all praise. Although he was a Northern man by birth and had become a southern citizen by choice, while Johnston, who subsequently became his greatest opponent, was a Southerner and held one of the highest offices in the regular army, they had in common often repeated their oath of allegiance to the United States.

The former remained steadfast and true though surrounded by

Southern influences, while the latter forswore his allegiance, notwithstanding the glorious career which his high rank assured him if he would only stand by the flag. The one hastened to the North to renew his allegiance, and the other to the South to join in the rebellion.

Sherman arrived in Washington shortly after the installation of Mr. Lincoln as president, where he met his brother John, who had recently been elected senator from Ohio, in place of Mr. Chase, who had been called to the cabinet. He tells us that he saw "but few signs of preparation" on the part of the Government, and that, "even in the War Department, and about the public offices, there was open, unconcealed talk amounting to high treason." Referring to the terrible condition of affairs, and his meeting with his brother, he says: "I have no doubt my opinions, thoughts, and feelings, wrought up by the events in Louisiana, seemed to him gloomy and extravagant." His first interview with the President did not reassure him, but filled him with disappointment and anger. According to his own account, he broke out on his brother profanely and violently, and, in the full conviction that "the country was sleeping on a volcano which might burst forth at any minute," said he was going to St. Louis, "and would have no more to do with it." Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his brother, who begged him to be more patient, he set out for St. Louis without delay, and accepted the position of president of a street railway company. He entered upon the performance of his duties on the 1st of April, apparently resolved to pursue the paths of peace, no matter what might happen. But the whole air was full of the noise of "wars and rumors of war"; the rebels were gathering at Camp Jackson, near the city, under Frost, while the Union men were organizing as "Home-guards" under Frank Blair and others. In the midst of all this excitement, Sherman says: "I tried my best to keep out of the current, and only talked freely with a few men." On the night of April 6th, he received a telegram from Montgomery Blair, then a member of the cabinet, offering him the position of chief clerk of the War Department, accompanied by the assurance that he should be made Assistant Secretary of War on the meeting of Congress. He replied by telegraph, "I can not accept," and wrote immediately in explanation: "I have quite a large family, and when I resigned my place in Louisiana on account of secession, I had no time to lose, and, therefore, after my hasty visit to Washington, where I saw no chance of employment, I came to St. Louis, have accepted a place in this company, have rented a house and incurred other obligations, so that I am not at liberty to change."

He was afterward told that "this letter gave offense" and that

some of the cabinet concluded that he, too, "would prove false to his country." Later in the month, after the fall of Fort Sumter, Frank Blair, who was then the acknowledged leader of the Union element in Missouri, by the authority of the cabinet, offered him the place of brigadier-general of volunteers, with the command of the department, then under the veteran General Harney; but still he would not accept. In explanation of the interview with Blair, he says:

"I told him I had once offered my services, and they were declined; that I had made business engagements in St. Louis, which I could not throw off at pleasure; that I had long deliberated on my course and must decline his offer, however tempting and complimentary. He reasoned with me, but I persisted."

Finding that even his best friends were uneasy as to his political status, he wrote to the Secretary of War, on May 8th, formally offering his services under the President's "three years' call," but expressly declining to serve as a "private soldier." In this connection it is proper to observe that, notwithstanding the remark to Blair just quoted, his memoirs do not contain the evidence of his ever having, directly or indirectly, offered his services to the Government prior to the date of this letter.

In reply to this he says: "I do not think I received a direct answer; but on the 14th of the same month I was appointed Colonel of the Thirteenth Regular Infantry." He adds: "Of course I could no longer defer action."

After conferring with his friends, who agreed that he should go on, he "repaired to Washington, and there found that the Government was trying to rise to a level with the occasion."

We have concisely stated every material point mentioned in the memoirs bearing upon General Sherman's course at this all-important epoch of his own and the nation's life, and the reader will observe that he does not make it clear why he declined, first a position in the War Department, which would have given him more military and political power, and consequently more influence and consideration than any subordinate place in the army; and second, the commission of brigadier-general, with the command of a department; and yet within a month voluntarily tendered his services and accepted the rank of colonel in a regiment which, he reminds us, the President had called into existence "without the authority of law." It is fair to suppose that he had unjustly construed Mr. Lincoln's guess that he would "be able to keep house," into an intimation that his services would not be required, or else he could not make up his mind to take part in a war

which he attributed solely to the machinations of politicians. It is but just to add, that in this respect his conduct, by whatever motives it may have been controlled, was not at that time exceptional. It is well known that many worthy and patriotic men acted in a similar manner, who afterward sealed their devotion to the cause of national unity by wounds, imprisonment, and death. That was a trying period, and even the most loyal and the most devoted friends of the Union were at times almost overwhelmed by the indications of confusion, if not of anarchy, which everywhere prevailed. It is not to be thought strange if, on the eve of a civil war, the end of which no man could foresee, the most loyal and the most prudent should doubt, and deliberate long on their course of action.

Again enrolled in the army, Sherman no longer hesitated, but threw himself zealously and heartily into the cause. His first duty was on the staff of General Scott, then Commander-in-Chief, but he was shortly assigned to the command of a brigade of infantry of McDowell's column, then about to advance against the position of Beauregard, behind Bull Run. The part he took in the unfortunate campaign and battle which followed, was neither less nor more distinguished than that of his fellow commanders; but on the return of the army to the neighborhood of Washington, he was appointed, with a number of others, to the rank of brigadier-general. He no longer declined, but accepted his promotion with apparently as much alacrity as the most ambitious of his comrades. His brigade was strengthened by new regiments, and as they were all raw and undisciplined, he organized a system of drills, including evolutions of the line, and began to "prepare himself and his men for the long, hard war" which he was then convinced was before them. His narrative of the battle of Bull Run, and the period of inaction which succeeded it, is mostly confined to minor details and personal matters, and does not treat of the higher questions of strategy and organization, which were then of the highest importance.

About the middle of August, General Anderson, his old commander of Fort Moultrie, asked him to go "as his right hand" to Kentucky, where matters were fast approaching a crisis. "Of course," says the narrative, "I always wanted to go West, and was perfectly willing to go with Anderson." In an interview which followed, between the President, Anderson, and Sherman, the latter explained his extreme desire "to serve in a subordinate capacity, and in no event to be left in a superior command," which the President promised with promptness, "making the jocular remark that his chief trouble

was to find places for the too many generals who wanted to command armies and be at the head of affairs." The necessary orders were issued, and Sherman, having repaired to his new field of operations, was assigned to the duty of gathering in the volunteers which were then flocking to the national standard in the North-western States. With this object in view he visited and conferred with the Governors of Indiana and Illinois, and also with General Fremont, then commanding at St. Louis. We regret that we can not quote his account of the difficulty which he met with, in securing an interview with the latter, or his sketch of the suspicious characters, from Beard, the Mormon, to old Baron Steinberger, whom he found in good standing at head-quarters, and one of whom he designates as "a prince among our California adventurers."

Returning to Louisville, he found "the city full of all sorts of rumors." The rebel General Sidney Johnston was fortifying Bowling Green; Buckner was advancing toward Louisville; Zollicoffer had occupied Somerset, while Pillow and Polk had seized and fortified Columbus. Anderson had but few organized troops with which to meet even the most threatening column advancing against him, and being already enfeebled by age, in the midst of the greatest excitement, his health gave way, whereupon he issued an order, on the 8th of October, relinquishing the command. Sherman, by reason of his seniority, had no alternative but to assume command, although he modestly says: "it was much against the grain, and in direct violation of Mr. Lincoln's promise." He adds:

"I am certain that, in my earliest communication to the War Department, I renewed the expression of my wish to remain in a subordinate position, and that I received the assurance that Brigadier-General Buell would soon arrive from California, and would be sent to relieve me."

By that time he had become pretty familiar with the geography and resources of Kentucky, but he did not feel that he was strong enough to assume the offensive. He says: "As to a forward movement, that fall, it was simply impracticable, for we were forced to use divergent lines, leading our columns farther and farther apart." It will not escape the attention of the military reader that, although the first of these propositions may be entirely true, the last does not follow as a matter of course; and even if it did, that it would not of itself be a sufficient justification for remaining on the defensive. After alluding to the "everlasting worry" of his position as commanding general. He says: "I continued to strengthen the two corps forward, and their

routes of supply, all the time expecting Sidney Johnston, who was a real general, and who had as correct information of our situation as I had, would unite his forces with Zollicoffer, and follow Thomas at Dick Robinson, or McCook at Nolin. Had he done so in October, 1861, he could have walked into Louisville, and the vital part of the population would have hailed him as a deliverer. Why he did not was a mystery to me then, and is now." . . . "Conscious of our weakness, I was unnecessarily unhappy, and doubtless exhibited it too much to those near me; but it did seem to me that the Government, intent on the larger preparations of Fremont in Missouri and McClellan in Washington, actually ignored us in Kentucky."

It is not our purpose to investigate the facts in this instance, but merely to call attention to what Sherman supposed them to be, and the effect which they produced upon him, although it is fair to remark that he presents no proof that Johnston's army was any stronger, better equipped, or better organized than his own. Both forces were freshly called from the ranks of the people, and if McClellan and Fremont were absorbing most of the national volunteers, it is equally true that Joe Johnston, Beauregard, Floyd, Price, and the other Confederate leaders, were occupying centers of organization along the line separating the free States from the slave States, and were doubtless clamoring lustily for their share of the new rebel regiments. So, after all, it was the old question of all starting even and seeing who could get ready first. It is now apparent that there was too much time wasted in the earlier days of the war by the generals of the Union army in the mere pedantry of military organization, and that the impatient cry raised by the people of "On to Richmond!" was founded in reason. It is an indisputable fact that the government had nearly all there was of the regular army, including three-quarters of all the educated officers, with a great preponderance of wealth, population, and material of war, besides greatly superior means of transportation; so that, when war became inevitable, it was within her power to be ready first. There appears to have been but one general, and he occupying a subordinate command, who comprehended the true situation. We need hardly say that that was Grant, then in command at Cairo. His men were as raw as any, as hurriedly equipped and organized, and as ignorant of war, as those of McClellan or Sherman; but he had the sagacity to see, on the other hand, that they were just as good man for man or regiment for regiment, and in the nature of things knew just as much about drill, discipline, and military

matters in general, as those who were gathering to oppose them. He also knew that a soldier, whatever may be his deficiency, learns more of practical warfare by a week's marching and fighting than from a month's instruction in camp; and so, while others waited to organize and clamored for re-enforcements, he took the field and electrified the country by the victories of Forts Henry and Donelson.

Returning to Sherman's narrative, we find that while in his deepest trouble, he was visited by Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War. A remarkable interview took place between them, in which the General argued that he "should have sixty thousand men at once, and for offense would need two hundred thousand before we were done." A full and friendly discussion followed, and the General thought he "had aroused Mr. Cameron to a realization of the great war that was before us, and was in fact upon us."

Shortly afterward the country was startled by a rumor which found its way into the newspapers, that Sherman was "crazy, insane, mad," and he tells us:

"The authority given for this report was stated to be the Secretary of War himself, Mr. Cameron, who never to my knowledge took pains to affirm or deny it. My position was therefore, simply unbearable, and it is probable that I resented the cruel insult with language of intense feeling."

The narrative then sets forth in detail two brief official reports and two telegrams which he sent to Washington, as the sole evidence upon which he was "adjudged insane." A statement of the interview between himself and the Secretary of War, written by General Thomas J. Wood, who was present, is also given in full, and it must be said they contain no indication of insanity. In view of the fact that in a little more than two years afterward he commanded, in the same general zone of operations, a force numbering on paper something over three hundred and fifty thousand men, it is equally clear that the call for two hundred thousand men was far from justifying the report that he was crazy. About the middle of November he was succeeded in his command by General Buell, and thought at the time that this was done in fulfillment of the President's promise to him, and as the necessary result of repeated requests, but is forced to admit, by implication at least, that he was mistaken. Alluding to this event, he challenges the reader's sympathy by the following candid statement:

"But I saw and felt, and was of course deeply moved to observe the manifest belief that there was more or less of truth in the rumor that the cares, perplexities, and anxiety of the situation had unbalanced my judgment. Still, on a review of the

only official documents before the War Department at the time," he adds, "it was cruel for a Secretary of War to give a tacit credence to a rumor, which probably started without his wish or intention, yet through his instrumentality. Of course I could not deny the fact, and had to undergo all its painful consequences for months; and, moreover, I could not hide from myself, that many of the officers and soldiers subsequently placed under my command, looked at me askance and with suspicion. Indeed, it was not until the following April that the battle of Shiloh gave me personally the chance to redeem my good name."

On being relieved from duty in Kentucky, he reported to Halleck at Louisiana, and was sent to Sedalia on special service. While there, he gave some preliminary orders looking to the organization of the troops, and the assumption of offensive operations against Price. "But," he exclaims in a tone of desperation, "the newspapers kept harping on my insanity, and paralyzed my efforts. In spite of myself they tortured from me some words and acts of imprudence." To make matters worse, Halleck repudiated his recommendations, and recalled him to St. Louis, where he met his wife: "naturally and properly distressed" at the painful reports which she had heard concerning him. "This recall simply swelled the cry." Seeing and realizing that his efforts to face the storm were useless, he asked for twenty days' leave of absence, and accompanied Mrs. Sherman to Lancaster, where he was born, and where he supposed he "was better known and appreciated." While there, Halleck wrote to McClellan as follows: "I am satisfied that Sherman's physical and mental system is so completely broken by labor and care, as to render him, for the present, unfit for duty. Perhaps a few weeks may restore him." He afterward quoted these words in a letter to Hon. Thomas Ewing, which is given at length in the narrative.

We have recited these details, not so much with the view of presenting the evidence upon which the newspapers at that time were led to believe that Sherman was insane, as for the purpose of calling attention to the fact that "his physical and mental system" must have been of the toughest fiber to resist and ultimately prevail against the terrible pressure which was brought upon it. Even if it had yielded temporarily, it would have been rather a misfortune than a disgrace. Moreover, it may be said that history does not afford another example of a general who has undergone such a trial, or who has had the nerve to recall the memory of it after the world had forgotten it. Whatever may have been the real facts in Sherman's case, it may be well to remark that absolute sanity has not been regarded as necessary to the character of a successful general. Alexander the Great is known in history as the Madman of Macedonia, while it is an indis-

putable fact that Charles XII. of Sweden, and Peter the Great of Russia, not to mention Suwaroff, were at times more or less insane, and yet are justly entitled to be regarded as among the greatest soldiers of modern times.

It has been suggested that this painful episode in Sherman's career, taken in connection with his sleepless activity, and untiring energy in the performance of duty, and his well known peculiarities of form and coloring, together with a certain eccentricity of manner and conduct, more apparent in its effects than susceptible of accurate description, affords, better than any thing else, a true indication of his mental constitution and real character. It indicates, along with great quickness and brilliancy of intellect, a lack of that mental steadiness and repose so eminently characteristic of Grant and Thomas, and which seem almost absolutely necessary to enable a general to meet the great emergencies of war with confidence and success. Furthermore, it shows a vividness of imagination, combined with an unconscious sensitiveness, productive of hesitation and doubt where confidence and resolution should together prevail. And it may be observed that this combination is inconsistent with that exact equilibrium of judgment and resolution which united with comprehensive knowledge, may be regarded as requisite in a general who aspires to a place among the great captains of history.

Shortly after returning to St. Louis, late in December, from his leave of absence, Sherman had a conversation with Halleck and his chief of staff General Cullum, in reference to the best line of operations against the enemy in Kentucky and Tennessee, and relates that among them, they selected the general course of the Tennessee River. It is understood that Cullum confirms this conversation, but claims that it was he and not Sherman who said, "Naturally the center," in answer to Halleck's question about the proper point of attack for the purpose of breaking the enemy's line. Upon the strength of this conversation, which Sherman mentions as having occurred "more than a month" before General Grant began his advance against Forts Henry and Donelson, he says: "I have always given Halleck the full credit for that movement, which was skillful, successful, and extremely rich in military results." Turning, however, to Badeau's "Military History of General Grant," we learn that

"The latter never received any suggestions from anybody, except General C. F. Smith, as to the feasibility of capturing either of these places, and that although he made frequent and repeated applications to Halleck, backed by the indorsement of Commodore Foote, and finally went in person to head-quarters at St. Louis, for the

purpose of getting permission to begin the movement, his suggestions were received with silent neglect, or positive disapprobation, till the 30th of January, upon which day Halleck gave the desired permission and sent detailed instructions."

But the insufficiency of this claim in Halleck's behalf is more fully shown by his own letter to McClellan, dated January 20, 1862.* This letter makes it clear that, while Halleck regarded the line of the Tennessee and Cumberland "as the great central line of the Western theater of war," he had not at that time made any special plan, or "designated any particular line or lines of operations"; that he did not think the movement could be made "without a force of at least 60,000 men"; that the strength of the force then at Cairo was only about 15,000, and finally that he did not hope, with all the resources of his own command backed by those of the North-western States, to concentrate sufficient troops to form the proposed column before "the middle or last of February." When it is remembered that Grant began his movement on the 2d of February, with only about 17,000 men; that Fort Henry fell on the 6th, and that Fort Donelson, with 65 guns and nearly 15,000 troops, surrendered on the 16th, the injustice of Sherman's conclusion is apparent. The truth is more correctly stated by Badeau, as follows: "Halleck's whole share in the design or execution of this campaign was confined to forwarding re-enforcements."

It will not be forgotten that Grant's successes not only inspired the North with confidence, but compelled the immediate evacuation of Central and West Tennessee, as well as of all Kentucky, by the Southern armies.

Buell, with the army he had received from Sherman, marched unresisted through Nashville and formed a junction with Grant at Pittsburgh Landing, or Shiloh meeting-house, in time to assist in again defeating the rebel forces which had concentrated in Northern Mississippi, and assumed the offensive. Meanwhile, Sherman had been relieved from the command of the camp of instruction at St. Louis, and been assigned to active duty in the field. His division composed entirely of new regiments, constituted a part of the re-enforcements which were sent to strengthen Grant. It took part in the battle of Shiloh, but disappeared almost entirely from the field at the first onset of the rebels. Sherman himself, according to all accounts, acted with great intrepidity throughout the engagement, winning Grant's commendation, and his friendship as well. In the campaign against Corinth which followed shortly afterward, Grant

* See Boynton's letters to the "Cincinnati Gazette," soon to appear in book form.

was assigned to the nominal position of second in command; but was really relieved of all power and responsibility. Smarting under this ingenious form of injustice, and feeling that he was in the way, he applied for a leave of absence, and was on the eve of starting for St. Louis, when Sherman called upon him, and citing his own case, begged him to stay, with the hope that "some happy incident might restore him to favor and his true place." The friendship thus begun, whatever may have been its effect upon Grant, certainly had a great influence on Sherman's career, for notwithstanding his brilliant abilities and the strong support which he received from Senator Sherman and the family of his father-in-law, Mr. Ewing, it is hardly to be supposed that he could have reached to the high places which he successively filled, but for Grant's partiality and official kindness. He gave Grant good advice; in return, Grant gave him praise, and called him to high command, and great power, which are the stepping-stones to fame. We do not wish to intimate that Sherman was ungrateful or inappreciative, but we have searched his memoirs in vain for such an acknowledgment of the benefits which he received from this friendship, as their number and magnitude seem to demand.

Sherman's account of the battle of Shiloh is confined mostly to the original official reports, and contains but little new material, and none which throws any satisfactory light upon the questions which have arisen concerning its various aspects. It is therefore disappointing and unsatisfactory. It, however, makes it clear, if indeed there was ever any doubt, that General C. F. Smith selected the landing-place and the encampment, and had practical control of everything connected with them till a short time before the battle. They, and not Grant, were primarily responsible for the failure to throw up breastworks, or construct abattis or slashings. It will also be remembered, that although Grant visited that part of his forces several times, after Smith's sickness had compelled Halleck, on the 17th of March, to restore him to the command, he had ridden out from his headquarters at Savannah, early on the morning the action began, for the purpose of meeting and conferring with Buell, whose army was about to form a junction with him, and that he was thereby delayed in reaching the field till the first hard fighting was over. Sherman denies that there was any surprise, and it may be that there was not, and yet he fails to show that he had fathomed the enemy's designs, or was properly prepared to resist them.* He says: "We did not fortify our camps against attack, because we had no orders to do so, and because

* See "History of the Army of the Cumberland," by Van Horne, Vol. i.

such a course would have made our raw men timid." Again he tells us: "At a later period of the war we could have rendered this position impregnable in one night, but at this time we did not do it, and it may be it is well we did not."

Without pausing to point out the maxims which rendered it obligatory upon the commander of the advanced troops, selecting a point for a secondary base of operations, to fortify his camp, and if needs be without orders, we must express surprise at the reasons given above for not doing so. It is difficult to imagine, without explanation, how intrenchments, under the circumstances of the case in point, could render any kind of troops timid; or, granting the timidity, what advantages could arise to an army fighting in the open field which could possibly outweigh those arising from the use of fortifications, even of the simplest character. It will occur to most readers, whether soldiers or civilians, that an ordinary line of rifle trench, to say nothing of a fortified line of stronger profile, with intervals, such as the French engineers have especially designed for the use of raw troops, would have enabled the Union army to receive the enemy upon that occasion in such a manner as would at least have given him no ground for claiming a surprise. If the military art, as set forth in the books, did not at that time clearly justify such fortifications, the course of events during that memorable battle would certainly require that the maxims should be so amended as to leave no doubt about the course to be pursued in all similar cases thereafter. The fact is, however, that this lesson had been previously well taught by military writers, and hence, so far as we are concerned, it is only necessary to call attention to it again.

After the termination of Halleck's campaign against Corinth, and the division of his great army into its constituent elements, he was called to Washington, leaving Grant commanding in West Tennessee, and Buell in Middle Tennessee. Shortly afterward Bragg assumed the offensive, and drove the latter back through Nashville—almost to Louisville; and about the same time Price and Van Dorn advanced against detachments of Grant's troops at Iuka and Corinth, but were defeated. Halleck, as commander-in-chief in that theater, and afterward as the successor of McClellan in the general direction of military operations, was indubitably responsible for this "policy of dispersion, or 'pepper-box strategy,' as it has been derisively but not inaptly called"; and yet Sherman expected "immediate and important results" from the transfer of that general to Washington.

Sherman played a subordinate part in the operations after the

battle of Shiloh and the occupation of Corinth, and he has little to say of them in his memoirs. But it has long been recognized that no period of the war was more distinctly characterized by bad military policy on the part of the government, and therefore none offering so many subjects for criticism and censure. On this account it is to be regretted that he does not give the rein to his powers of analysis, and point out the valuable lessons which he could not fail to have discovered. He, however, passes hastily over the events which took place, till he finds himself in command at Memphis, in the month of July, 1862. There he was compelled, as commanding officer, to deal with the slavery question, the trade in cotton, and articles contraband of war, as well as the complicated relations between the non-combatants and the military authorities. His memoirs abound with letters and orders touching these various subjects, and aptly illustrating the vigor and comprehensiveness of his mind, as well as the ardor of his patriotism.

After the defeat of Price and Van Dorn, Grant gathered his forces for a movement through Northern Mississippi toward Vicksburg, but owing to the lateness of the season, the difficult nature of the country, and the operation of the enemy's cavalry against his communications, he relinquished the overland campaign, and concentrated his available forces at Memphis, for the purpose of transporting them by water to Milliken's Bend. Sherman had already been sent down the river, with four strong divisions, for the purpose of securing a lodgment on the highlands near the mouth of the Yazoo, above and back of Vicksburg. This was his first considerable undertaking as the commander of a great detachment, and is principally noticeable from that fact, and on account of the severe check which he received, December 29th, at the battle of Chickasaw Bayou: He was immediately afterward succeeded by General McClernand, who had been appointed to the command of the expeditionary forces, by order of the President, and his relief on the heels of a disaster, to use his own words :

"Raised the usual cry at the North of 'repulse, failure, and bungling.'" He adds : "There was no bungling on my part, for I never worked harder or with more intensity of purpose in my life." And again : "Although in all official reports I assumed the whole responsibility, I have ever felt that had General Morgan promptly and skillfully sustained the lead of Frank Blair's brigade on that day, we should have broken the rebel line, and effected a lodgment on the hills behind Vicksburg. . . But had we succeeded, we might have found ourselves in a worse trap when General Pemberton was at full liberty to turn his whole force against us."

While we can not appreciate how this failure could have been looked upon as a "blessing in disguise," it is quite apparent that

Sherman did all in his power, and as much as any one else could have done, to secure success. Grant, although disappointed at the result, always gave him "full credit for the skill of the movement," and excused its failure on account of the "almost impregnable nature of the ground." It was to Grant that he was indebted for this opportunity, and it was Grant who stood between him and a blinded public indignation.

Immediately after McClernand assumed command, Sherman asked permission to go up the Arkansas river, and clear out Arkansas Post; but after an interview between the two generals and Admiral Porter, commanding the Mississippi flotilla, McClernand "concluded to go himself and take his whole force." Porter did the same, and after a sharp engagement on the 11th of January, 1863, at close quarters with his iron clads, silenced the enemy's guns, and enabled the troops to capture the entire garrison, consisting of nearly 5,000 men. Sherman claims the credit of this movement; and seems fairly to be entitled to it.

Before the fleet of gunboats and transports left the Arkansas river, General Grant had issued orders and made dispositions for concentrating all his available forces at Milliken's Bend, to which place he went in person for the purpose of directing the movements against Vicksburg, now come to be regarded by the government and the people as the great strategic point in the western theater of war. The story of the abortive attempts which were made to get a lodgment on the high lands of the Mississippi by the way of Yazoo Pass, Steele's Bayou, Coldwater, and Tallahatchee rivers, Deer Creek, and Rolling Fork; and of the equally futile efforts to pass Vicksburg by opening canals through the peninsula in front of the city, or through the bayous farther inland on the Louisiana side, is too familiar to need rehearsal here. Sherman performed the part assigned him in those harassing operations zealously and well; but when it came to running by the batteries and turning Vicksburg by crossing the river below, he thought the hazard too great. Although he denies that he "protested" against the plan finally adopted, he admits that he did write a letter, dated April 8, 1863, which he quotes at length, advising Grant, for reasons which he declined to name: "to call upon his corps commanders for their opinions, concise and positive, on the best general plan of campaign." In this letter he proposed to make the line of the Yallahusha the base of operations against the railroad centers of Mississippi, and gave his own plan in detail for moving and supplying the army, by means of the Yazoo Pass, Coldwater, and Tallahatchee rivers, and the railroad from Memphis to Grenada. This

letter was addressed to Colonel Rawlins; it was thoroughly respectful and subordinate in tone, and closed with the following words: "Whatever plan of action he may adopt, will receive from me the same zealous co-operation and energetic support as though conceived by myself." In explanation of it, Sherman says: "It was meant particularly to induce General Grant to call on McClernand for a similar expression of opinion," though it will not escape observation that it was unnecessarily long and indirect, if that was its main object. Badeau states that "Sherman was doubtless induced to take this step by his anxiety for the success of the campaign as well as for the reputation of his chief," and this view of the matter is partly confirmed by the recollection of one of Grant's staff officers, whom Sherman is reported to have asked to exert his influence against the turning movement which was finally carried into effect. Be this as it may, it is quite certain that Grant paid no heed to it, but destroyed the letter without entering it upon the records, and in Sherman's words, "went on quietly to work out his own designs." The results of those designs are now known to all, and constitute one of the most brilliant as well as one of the most instructive chapters in the history of modern warfare. General Grant, with his well-known modesty, may have subsequently admitted, as stated in the memoirs, that he would have gone on from Oxford in December, 1862, if he had then known as much about marching and maintaining armies as he afterward learned, but it may well be doubted that he could have captured Vicksburg from that direction in January at all, much less "quite as easily as he afterward did" from Grand Gulf and below, in July. When it is considered that the streams recommended by General Sherman for lines of supply and communication were narrow, crooked, and obstructed by fallen timber and overhanging trees, and defended by fortifications of great strength, and were therefore impracticable, Grant will be abundantly justified on purely military grounds, as it is now well known he was on personal and political grounds, for adhering to his own plans instead of adopting Sherman's. A winter march through Northern Mississippi, cut up by swamps and swollen rivers, denuded of its supplies, and defended by a large and well equipped army, even if practicable, must necessarily have entailed great hardship and loss of life upon the invading force, while it could not possibly have ended in such a complete and overwhelming victory as that which signalized the plan which was followed.

Immediately after the fall of Vicksburg, Sherman went in pursuit of Joe Johnston, following him to Jackson, while Grant, still later,

went to New Orleans for the purpose of conferring with Banks about future operations. Halleck again interfered, breaking up the nation's only victorious army, instead of pushing it vigorously into Central Alabama, and thus averting the terrible disaster which befell Rosecrans at the battle of Chickamauga. Sherman was permitted to relinquish the pursuit on account of the hot weather; the Thirteenth corps, and finally a part of the Sixteenth, were sent to re-enforce Banks; Steele, with a considerable force was sent to Arkansas, and the remainder of the army of the Tennessee was compelled by orders from Washington to stand on the defensive, or rather to remain in idleness throughout the summer, for there was no hostile force near enough to attract its attention or make it afraid. It was rudely startled into activity by the battle of Chickamauga, which took place on the 19th and 20th of September. Mr. Stanton, who was then Secretary of War, became thoroughly aroused; the public had lost confidence in Halleck as commander-in-chief, as well as in Rosecrans, then commanding the army of the Cumberland, and thus it became necessary to make changes and adopt the most vigorous measures. The three departments of the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Tennessee, in pursuance of a recommendation previously made by Grant, were united into one great department, thereafter known as the Military Division of the Mississippi. Grant was assigned to the chief command, and was ordered by the Secretary of War to do whatever he might think best to regain the advantages which had been lost. He went at once to Chattanooga, relieving Rosecrans, and assigning Thomas to the command of the army of the Cumberland. He gave Sherman the command of the army of the Tennessee, "with head-quarters in the field"; and directed him to hurry forward, "with all possible dispatch," the re-enforcements he had previously started to Chattanooga. His corps went by steamer to Memphis, and thence, via Corinth, Florence, and Decatur, to Bridgeport. The march was made with great rapidity, and in the face of great difficulties. Sherman and his staff narrowly escaped capture upon more than one occasion; but they and their gallant followers finally reached their destination without serious loss or delay, and in time to participate in the battle of Missionary Ridge, where, although they did not completely carry out the part which was assigned to them, in all its details, they rendered most important service, and fully repaid the army of the Cumberland for its timely assistance at Shiloh. It is not within the limits of this paper to enter into an exhaustive description of that interesting battle, or even to follow the narrative through

the details which it gives. It must suffice to recall the general plan of operations, and to point out the most salient features of the various actions and final victory.

Sherman relates that when he first reached Chattanooga, in advance of his column, he found that place "besieged," but this is not strictly correct. It is true that the Union army occupied the fortifications of Chattanooga, and that the opposing forces occupied an intrenched line extending from the Tennessee river above to the river below the city, along Missionary Ridge, across Chattanooga valley, to the top and northern end of Lookout Mountain; but they were not engaged in carrying on any of the usual operations of a siege. Their intrenchments were merely works of circumvallation, thrown up to protect their own position—which would have been otherwise very weak, particularly in the valley. As a matter of course this resulted in cutting off all communication between the Union army and the country south of it, as well as in severing the railroad between Chattanooga and Bridgeport, which, between these points, is also situated on the south side of the river. But it should not be forgotten that communication was still open by the mountain roads on the north side of the river; and had been re-established by the railroad to within a few miles of Chattanooga by Hooker's movement into Lookout valley, before Sherman's corps arrived. So far, therefore, as it concerned Sherman's command, the situation at the time of its arrival, November 20, was as follows: Thomas, with the army of the Cumberland, held the fortifications of Chattanooga, Hooker occupied a position at Wauhatchee, protecting the railroad back to Bridgeport, and covering the bridge at Brown's Ferry; and every thing was in readiness to assume the offensive as soon as Sherman could reach the position assigned to him on the extreme left of the Union line. The general plan of operations which Grant had already decided upon, and which was finally carried out, required Sherman to cross the Tennessee river at a point just below the mouth of the Chickamauga, by the means of a pontoon bridge under the protection of artillery, and to advance against the right flank of the rebel army, securing "the heights of Missionary Ridge, from the northern extremity to about the railroad tunnel, before the enemy could concentrate against him." Thomas was to concentrate his troops mostly on the left flank, and form a connection with Sherman, holding one division in readiness to move wherever ordered, while Hooker was to attack Lookout Mountain. The preliminary movements were all executed substantially as ordered; Hooker captured Lookout Mountain and established con-

nection with Thomas's right flank. Thomas carried Orchard Knoll, and Sherman crossed the river in safety, and was joined by Howard's corps from Thomas's left flank. Thus the whole Union army was concentrated on the south bank of the river. Bragg's left had been beaten and driven back, his advanced posts had been driven in, while his right flank and rear were seriously threatened. Sherman, however, lost time in fortifying, and failed to carry the heights, as far as was expected.* When it was too late, he made several attacks, but they were disjointed and ineffectual. The principal result produced by them was to induce Bragg to concentrate the most of his force on that part of his line; so that when Thomas, later in the day, advanced against the rifle-pits on his front, by way of a diversion, he carried every thing before him, not only to his own surprise, but to the surprise of Bragg. Sherman was so completely held at bay that "it was not till after dark that he learned the complete success at the center," and received Grant's orders "to pursue on the north side of the Chickamauga Creek."

The inference to be drawn from his narrative, is that the battle was fought and won exactly as it was intended to be; and yet Sherman bears involuntary testimony to the contrary when he confesses that he was foiled, and intimates that this was due to Thomas's failure to attack "early in the day." The fact is, Grant did notify Sherman that Thomas would advance simultaneously with him "at an early hour" on the last morning of the battle; and that the latter, for reasons not necessary to detail here, did not advance till about three o'clock in the afternoon; but Thomas, in his official report, which was published by the Committee on the Conduct of the War, and has never been denied, explicitly calls attention to the fact "that the original plan of operations was somewhat modified, to meet and take the best advantage of emergencies which necessitated material modifications of that plan." He would have been still more precise if he had said that the plan was never formally changed, for although the victory was gained by means entirely unexpected and unforeseen by any one save Grant, no formal order was issued in any way modifying the part assigned to Sherman, while the order under which Thomas made his first and only advance, was given to meet the emergency of Sherman's failure, and was merely supplemental to the order to advance "at an early hour." It is well known that the brigade and division commanders and their men, without orders, continued their advance till they had crowned the precipitous heights of Missionary Ridge, and

* See Van Horne's "History of the Army of the Cumberland." Vol. i.

gained an unexpected but signal and complete victory. The result was so surprising, and withal so gratifying, that no one stopped at the time to consider the means by which it was gained, or to inquire who had failed to perform his part.*

Sherman was detached at once, with his own and Granger's corps, for the purpose of going to the relief of Burnside, who was then besieged by Longstreet in Knoxville, East Tennessee; and by rapid marching he reached that point on the 6th of December. Longstreet, aware of his movements, abandoned the siege and took up his line of march toward the north-east. Sherman's mission having been successfully accomplished, he returned with his own corps in the direction of Chattanooga, while Granger and Burnside went in pursuit of the retiring enemy.

During the long and difficult march beginning at the bank of the Mississippi, and ending at Knoxville, Sherman displayed the highest qualities of a general in moving and supplying his corps and in surmounting the natural obstacles in his way. The ingenuity and celerity of the soldiers, in building and repairing bridges, as well as the endurance and cheerfulness with which they performed their various duties and overcame the hardships and privations of the campaign, are especially worthy of praise. Indeed it may well be said, that the performances of both Sherman and his troops, upon that and their subsequent marches, stand unrivaled by those of any general and army of modern times. Sherman is a master in the department of logistics, and it may well be claimed that American soldiers surpass all others, not only in activity and endurance, but in the intelligence with which they learn and perform the duties of pioneers and pontoniers. It may well be doubted if ever an army of Europeans made such long and rapid marches, crossing so many wide and rapid rivers, and traversing such poor roads, with so few of the usual and necessary facilities, as did the army of the Tennessee under Grant and Sherman.

After the termination of the campaign about Chattanooga, Sherman was ordered to gather the available portion of his command about Vicksburg, and make a raid in the direction of Central Alabama. The public understood at that time that the object of this movement was to capture Mobile, and perhaps Montgomery; and Grant certainly hoped that one or both of these places would be taken. His letters to Thomas in explanation thereof leave no room for doubt on this point, and indeed there was no other object to be attained which could at all justify the movement. It is, however, equally clear that

* For full details, see Van Horne's "History of the Army of the Cumberland." Vol. i.

Grant gave no positive orders that either of these places should be taken, but trusted entirely to the discretion of Sherman. The latter declares in his memoirs that it was never any part of his plan to go beyond Meridian, and it is a matter of history that he did not do so. It was in the vicinity of that place that he encountered the enemy in force, but without bringing them to an engagement. Why he did not has never been satisfactorily explained. It is certain that he relinquished the campaign, and after breaking up the railroads for several miles in all directions from that place, marched leisurely back toward Vicksburg. It was in co-operation with this movement against Meridian that General Sooy Smith, at that time Grant's chief of cavalry, was expected to lead a mounted column from Memphis. Owing to the fact that his command was composed of widely scattered and somewhat disorganized regiments, and that rains and swollen streams delayed their concentration, Smith did not get started in time. He encountered Forrest, with a force about equal to his own, and knowing he could not reach Meridian before Sherman would leave it, he also resolved to fall back to the place from which he started. Sherman was greatly disappointed, and seems to have censured Smith more severely than the circumstances appear to warrant.

Grant meanwhile had been promoted to the grade of Lieutenant-General, and had been assigned to the command of all our armies. Before setting out for his new field of duty, he designated Sherman to succeed him in the command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, and sent for him for the purpose of conferring with him about plans for the future. Sherman publishes, with pardonable pride, the letter which Grant wrote him before starting east, saying among other things: "but what I want, is to express my thanks to you and McPherson, as the men to whom above all others I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success." Sherman's reply is also given at length in the memoirs, and while it is eloquent, and in the main, kind and complimentary, we can not forego the duty of calling attention to the closing paragraphs, which contain not only bad advice, but show that the writer did not at all understand Grant's character or the significance of his appointment to the highest rank then known in the army. We quote as follows:

"Now as to the future. Do not stay in Washington. Halleck is better qualified than you are to stand the buffets of intrigue or policy. Come out west; take to yourself the whole Mississippi valley; let us make it dead sure, and I tell you the Atlantic slope and Pacific shores will follow its destiny as sure as the limbs of a tree live or die with the main trunk! . . . For God's sake and for your country's

sake, come out of Washington. Here lies the seat of the coming empire ; and from the west, when our task is done, we will make short work of Charleston and Richmond, and the impoverished coast of the Atlantic."

It is impossible to predict what would have been the result, had Grant followed this advice, but it has been truthfully said that his assumption of the command of the army of the Potomac,

"against the advice of such a friend as Sherman, had a deeper and more chivalric significance than is apparent at the first glance ; for while it was ' of itself a recognition of that primacy of interest and importance which belonged to that army,' he saw, with the intuitive and unerring perception of a heroic and loyal nature, that his acceptance of the Lieutenant-Generalship carried with it the inevitable duty of undertaking to ' overwhelm the foremost army of the Confederacy under the Confederacy's foremost leader.' He must have felt that Congress had bestowed upon him the high rank of lieutenant-general, and clothed him with its ample powers, the better to prepare him for a trial of prowess with Lee and the army under his command. Lee's soldiers had defeated McClellan, Hooker, and Burnside. They had baffled every effort on the part of Meade ; and so long as they remained to bar the road to Richmond and uphold the rebel cause, so long would rebellion continue, and the country remain divided against itself. Grant saw this as plainly as any man could see it, and knew that he could no more decline the trial with Lee, without injuring his fame and weakening his power to command, than the country could afford to allow its life-blood and treasure to be fruitlessly wasted at the hands of incompetent generals. He realized too truly the significance of his new rank, and the task which it imposed upon him, to be turned from his duty either by the difficulties and dangers attending it, or the solicitations of devoted but misjudging friends." *

Grant's departure for the east left Sherman in supreme command of all the loyal forces west of the Alleghany Mountains, except the small portion serving with Canby on the Gulf Coast. His military division included nearly the entire theater of war between the Mississippi river and the South Atlantic seaboard, and his forces reached the enormous number of 352,000 men, present and absent. He had again come into an independent command, and one which, at this time, far outnumbered the force he had told Mr. Cameron, only two years before, would be required on that line of operations. He had outgrown his excessive modesty, and no longer sought a subordinate position. Experience had hardened and strengthened his character, and toned down his excitable temperament, so that he could now undergo the labor and annoyances of a great command with a fair degree of equanimity. He had outlived the derangement of his " physical and mental system," due to the overwork in the earlier days of the war, and under the inspiring influence of suc-

* Dana and Wilson's " Life of Grant."

cess and promotion, had outgrown its worst effects. He enjoyed Grant's confidence to the fullest extent, and hence, in the comprehensive plan for the concurrent movement of all the armies, he was not annoyed with detailed instructions, but was left free to manage his part of the general plan in his own way. He was simply directed "to move against Johnston's army, to break it up, and to get into the interior of the enemy's country as far as he could, inflicting all the damage he could against their war resources." Before the general advance finally began, Grant wrote him, by the hand of Colonel Comstock, warning him that the enemy, in a fit of desperation, might

"abandon one part of their line of defense and throw their whole strength upon the other;" adding, "with the majority of military commanders they might do this. But you have had too much experience in traveling light, and subsisting upon the country, to be caught by such a ruse. I hope my experience has not been thrown away. My directions, then, would be, if the enemy in your front show signs of joining Lee, follow him up to the full extent of your ability. I will prevent the concentration of Lee upon your front, if it is in the power of this army to do it."

With these instructions as his guide, Sherman bent all his energies to the collection of all his available troops in the neighborhood of Chattanooga, and to supplying them with clothing, food, forage, and ammunition. He issued orders cutting down the allowance of wagons and camp equipage to a minimum; but with all he could do the line of single-track railway back to Louisville was taxed to its utmost capacity. By the time he was ready to assume the offensive, he had with him, "present for battle," about 100,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 254 guns, or an aggregate effective strength of 114,812 men; and through the return of veterans, furloughed men, and convalescents, he was enabled to maintain this strength substantially unimpaired till after the capture of Atlanta, notwithstanding the casualties of the campaign. This enormous force did not include 23,101 effective troops left at various points on the Mississippi, 22,073 in Middle Tennessee and Northern Alabama, and 5,681 in East Tennessee, amounting to a total of 50,855. Neither did it include the sick, the teamsters, the extra duty men, or the men absent with leave, all going to make up a grand aggregate of 352,265. When it is considered that there were no other grand operations contemplated within his theater of war, our admiration for the skill which collected and organized this great moving force, must be somewhat qualified by the fact that, after all, only one man out of every three, which the government was paying, was used for offensive purposes by Sherman. When it is remembered, in addition, that upon no occasion were half

of those with him actually engaged in battle, we obtain, at the same time, an idea, though an imperfect one, of the extravagance and wastefulness of war, especially under our volunteer military system. It is not our purpose to institute a comparison between Sherman and the other prominent generals, in reference to the ratio between effectives and non-effectives, or between the forces utilized in actual campaigns and those shown to have been enrolled, but we are quite sure that such a comparison would be of great value, and that Sherman, at that time had something to learn in reference to mobilizing the men under his control. It is evident, however, that in the great campaign which followed, he had all the men he required, since he not only drove the enemy beyond Atlanta, but when the latter made a counter-invasion of Tennessee, he met a force, belonging to Sherman's general command, strong enough to destroy him. This was due, however, as much to the liberal policy of the government in calling out an overwhelming force, and to Thomas's admirable steadiness and good sense in reorganizing and using the heterogeneous parts of it which fell to his lot, as to any special foresight or good judgment on the part of Sherman.

The manner in which Sherman kept his army supplied, and maintained his communication with the rear, by a single line of railway, nearly 500 miles long, and much of it running through a hostile country, affords one of the most instructive lessons in modern warfare. We can not say too much in praise of that performance, or in condemnation of the policy on the part of the enemy which rendered it possible. It will be remembered that the latter had two considerable corps of cavalry, at that stage of the war: the one under Wheeler, estimated at 10,000 men, operating in conjunction with Johnston, and the other under Forrest, operating independently in Northern Alabama and Mississippi, with an effective force of about 12,000 men. Had these two corps been united under the command of a competent leader, they could certainly have broken Sherman's communications, and kept them broken so much as to render it impossible for him to keep his army supplied. On the other hand, Sherman had an immense mounted force, on paper, and a considerable number—not far from 10,000 effective men—actually with him in the field; but with all his efforts they failed to materially disturb Johnston's communications, although they were continually running across them. So futile were all their efforts, that Sherman finally lost all confidence in cavalry, and despaired of getting any service out of that arm worth having. The fact is, however, that bad as was the rebel use of that arm, his was worse; for while Johnston used his one corps as a unit

to resist attack, Sherman left his under the control of the chiefs of cavalry of the different armies to which it belonged, and used it in detachments, for the purpose of making raids, and long, but unimportant expeditions. He overworked it, and demoralized it, wearing out the horses and destroying the confidence of the men. This was, perhaps, partly due to the fact that he was himself an artillery officer, and did not fully appreciate the capacity and uses of cavalry, and partly to his restless and impatient temperament, which would permit neither himself nor anybody else to take the proper amount of rest. It is proper to add, however, that, in the latter part of September, 1864, he called upon Grant for a general to reorganize and command his cavalry, to whom he gave *carte-blanche*, permitting him to write his own orders, and heartily entering into all his plans for creating a corps out of the widely scattered, but abundant and splendid materials which were available for that purpose. The new corps consisted of seventy-two regiments of cavalry and mounted infantry, divided into seven divisions, of two and three brigades each, and when hostilities ceased in the following May, its effective strength, although not all collected into one body, was about 35,000 men and horses. It will be remembered, also, that the nucleus of this corps took a most important part in the battle of Nashville, capturing many guns and prisoners; and that the main body afterward marched from Eastport, on the Tennessee river, through Central Alabama, for the purpose of rejoining Sherman on his way to Virginia, capturing the fortified cities of Selma, Columbus, and Macon, with 6,820 prisoners, 280 pieces of artillery, 22 stands of colors, destroying two gunboats, 99,000 small arms, besides 235,000 bales of cotton, and all the mills, collieries, iron works, factories, arsenals, and railroad bridges and rolling stock found on the line of march; and finally capturing Davis and most of his cabinet, and paroling 59,000 rebel soldiers who were straggling home from Lee and Johnston's armies.*

Returning to the memoirs, we must pass hastily over the events of the Atlanta campaign, which was inaugurated by a demonstration under Thomas and Schofield, against Rockyface, and a well planned turning movement through Snake Creek Gap by McPherson. From the official dispatches and reports alluded to, it appears that this plan grew out of one recommended by Thomas to Grant, and subsequently to Sherman, in which Thomas proposed that the demonstration should be made by McPherson and Schofield, while he, with his army of 60,000

* "History of the Campaign of Mobile, including the co-operative operations of General Wilson's Cavalry in Alabama." By Brevet Major-General C. C. Andrews.

men, should make the turning movement through Snake Creek Gap, and striking Johnston in the rear, either destroy his army or drive him from the railroad, and compel him to make an eccentric retreat through the broken and barren region of Northern Georgia. There is no doubt that Thomas's plan was the better of the two, but Sherman preferred his own modification of it. McPherson found the Gap undefended, and his advance got within a mile of Resaca; but finding that place strongly fortified, but defended by only one brigade, he retired without attacking it or taking possession of the railroad, and thus gave Johnston the opportunity of falling back. Speaking of this, Sherman says: "Such an opportunity does not occur twice in a single life, but at the critical moment McPherson seems to have been a little timid." It certainly was a great opportunity for a dashing advance, but in view of the fact that Sherman had chosen to send a smaller instead of a larger force upon this most vital movement, and had himself authorized its retirement to Snake Creek Gap, under contingencies of which McPherson was to be the judge, and immediately after the withdrawal, had notified Halleck that it was done "according to instructions," it is unfortunate that he should have omitted those instructions from the memoirs; and at the same time visited McPherson with his censure. This is the more to be regretted, because McPherson died on the field of battle in front of Atlanta, leaving his fame to his comrades and to his commanding general.

The story of the campaign from Resaca to Atlanta has been told so often that it is familiar at least to American readers, even at this date, and need not be repeated here. Sherman, by turning first one flank and then the other, compelled his overweighted opponent to retreat steadily step by step, till the almost impregnable position of Kennesaw was reached. Here a deadly grapple took place, Sherman had despaired of bringing his wary antagonist to an engagement in the open field, and grown tired of "stretching out," resolved to attack him fiercely in his works, partly, it has been said, to show him and the country that he and his army could assault "fortified lines" as well as the army of the Potomac, and partly in the hope that his great preponderance of force would enable him "to thrust in a strong head of column," and gain a complete victory. The attack was made bravely and fiercely, and cost the country many gallant men and several promising generals, but withal it failed to dislodge the enemy. Johnston held his ground, and although he saw the national lines broken and shattered before him, he did not dare risk a counter attack. This was his first great chance, and such an one as had not been presented him before, but,

feeling his great inferiority in force, he clung to his breastworks, till another flanking movement compelled him to abandon them, and take up a new position, this time behind the Chattahoochee. This position was also turned, and then the patience of the rebel authorities was exhausted. They made haste to relieve Johnston; and put Hood, a younger and more dashing man, in command. Sherman soon heard of the change, and knew that it foreboded a change of policy also. He therefore pressed forward more cautiously, if possible, than formerly, and after he had gotten within sight of Atlanta, and had that fated city almost within his grasp, he was suddenly checked in his deliberate movements by a tremendous onset upon his left flank. Hood had taken the offensive, and under the cover of darkness made a turning movement with the mass of his forces, falling upon McPherson's army, and enveloping a great part of its front flank and rear. A terrible battle ensued, in which our men fought, first from one side and then the other side, of their breastworks, or fought without breastworks, facing in whatever direction the enemy came; and he seemed at times to come from all directions. Every man did his duty; the gallant McPherson lost his life, and was succeeded by the no less gallant Logan; Blair, Dodge, Giles Smith, Belknap, and other commanders, vied with each other in gallant deeds upon that terrible day. They fought it out single-handed and alone. Sherman gives but few details of their prowess, and says he purposely allowed the army of the Tennessee to fight this battle almost unaided, because he knew "that the attacking force could only be a part of Hood's army, and that if any assistance were rendered by either of the other armies, the army of the Tennessee would be jealous." This is a strange reason, and would have poorly justified the overwhelming defeat which might have resulted, had Hood pressed his attack with his whole army, or had he encountered troops less brave than those who had fought at Donelson, Shiloh, and Vicksburg. A few more turning movements, with some sharp fighting, resulted in the occupation of Atlanta on the 2d of September; but Hood and the army which had been made Sherman's "objective" escaped, and after pausing a few days to prepare themselves for the offensive, they passed around Sherman to the westward, and fell upon his railroad, breaking it at various points, capturing several small detachments, and continuing the march to the neighborhood of Dalton. Sherman now divided his army, leaving a portion of it to hold Atlanta, with various detachments at various important points between there and Chattanooga, and with about 60,000 men started after Hood, following closely

upon his heels as far as Galesville, Alabama, but failing to overtake or bring him to battle. This was Hood's great opportunity. After getting Sherman away from his line of supplies with only a moiety of his army, he should have fallen upon him, front, flank, and rear, and crushed him if possible. The broken and hilly and heavily timbered country offered unusual advantages for such tactics, but for reasons which have never been explained, Hood decided not to risk an engagement, but to invade Tennessee, and fall upon the scattered detachments in that State. Sherman gave up the pursuit, and after sending Thomas two corps of infantry and leaving him the dismounted cavalry, he abandoned Atlanta, destroyed the railroad back to Dalton, and then, with 60,000 men, "marched down to the sea." It is hardly necessary to add, that he met with no resistance till he reached Savannah, for Hood had taken with him nearly all the troops belonging to that portion of the Confederacy. It was a holiday excursion, pleasant and entertaining, but it was not war. It served but two useful purposes: one to destroy provisions and show that the Confederacy was a shell; and the other, to place Sherman's army that much nearer Grant's. The narrative of it is graphic and full of interest, and sets forth a clear and unequivocal claim on Sherman's part, for the credit of having suggested the plan, as well as for having carried it into successful execution. He fixes the date of its conception, as near as can be ascertained, at about the 21st of September, and denies with equal clearness that Grant had any thing to do with it, except to discountenance it after Hood had revealed his intention of invading Middle Tennessee. It is certain, however, that a plan of campaign for the army belonging to the Military Division of the Mississippi was discussed by Grant and his staff-officers at Nashville early in January, 1864.* Badeau shows that Grant wrote to Halleck on the 15th of that month, saying: "I look upon the next line for me to secure to be that from Chattanooga to Mobile, Montgomery and Atlanta being the important intermediate points," and that a copy of this letter was sent to Sherman. On the 10th of September, just a week after the capture of Atlanta, Grant telegraphed Sherman, suggesting a move on Augusta, to which Sherman replied on the same day, saying:

"If I could be sure of finding provisions and ammunition at Augusta, or Columbus, Georgia, I can march to Milledgeville and compel Hood to give up Augusta or Macon, and could turn on the other. . . . If you can manage to take the Savannah river as far up as Augusta, or the Chattahoochee as far up as Columbus, I can sweep

* See Dana and Wilson's "Life of Grant."

the whole State of Georgia ; otherwise I would risk our whole army by going too far from Atlanta."

Grant replied to this by letter on the 12th, which he sent by the hands of General Horace Porter, a trusted aid-de-camp. This letter acknowledged the difficulties of the situation, and indicated that the aid-de-camp was sent for the purpose of getting a more correct account of it. Sherman replied at length on the 20th, saying, among other things, that if Savannah were in our possession, and the river open to us, he "would not hesitate to cross the State of Georgia with 60,000 men," and giving it as his opinion that Grant

"should strike for Savannah and its river ; that Canby should hold the Mississippi, and send a force to take Columbus, Georgia, while he should keep Hood employed, and put his army in fine order for a march on Augusta, Columbia, and Charleston, and start as soon as Wilmington is sealed to commerce, and the city of Savannah is in our possession."

Sherman's letter upon this occasion also mentions Appalachicola as a point he could reach, and is vague and uncertain, showing that he not only had no clear idea of the strategical considerations involved, but a very exaggerated idea of the difficulties to be overcome, whichever way he might decide to go. Correspondence upon the subject was, however, brought to an end for the time being by Hood's counter-movement, and was not renewed till Sherman had despaired of catching him and bringing him to battle. Hood having got entirely out of the way, and discovered an intention of invading Middle Tennessee, Sherman then concluded that he could march to the sea, even without Grant's capturing Savannah, and notified Grant to that effect ; and although the latter then thought it dangerous, owing to the possibility of Hood's overwhelming Thomas, he reluctantly gave his consent to the march. Referring to this subject, he sent Sherman a telegram November 1st, from which we make the following extract : "With Hood's army destroyed, you can go where you please with impunity. I believed, and I still believe, if you had started south while Hood was in the neighborhood of you, he would have been forced to go after you. Now that he is so far away he might look upon the chase as useless, and he will go in one direction while you are pushing in the other." This telegram serves as a condensation of the history of what afterward took place, and it is only necessary, therefore, to call attention to the injustice of the censure which Sherman's narrative throws, perhaps inadvertently, upon Schofield and Thomas, for not assuming the offensive after the battle of Franklin,

and for permitting themselves to be besieged at Nashville. These matters were fully and satisfactorily explained at the time, and subsequently in the official reports, and need not be further adverted to here than to say, that the explanations were based upon sound military considerations, and according to General Grant's official report, completely vindicate the judgment and generalship of Thomas and his subordinates.

Sherman's march to Savannah, or so much of it as carried him east of Augusta, was a military mistake, because it took him off the direct line to Virginia, and involved him in a long and unnecessary march, followed by the siege of a city of no strategic importance, and which would have fallen of itself as soon as his army had passed northward of it in the interior. At least two months were lost there; and meanwhile Johnston, who had been again restored to command, found himself at the head of a new army of about 20,000 men, with which to stay Sherman's march through the Carolinas. This force was made up mostly of the remnant of Hood's army, "about 5,000 strong," which had escaped from Tennessee into Alabama, and had marched thence through Georgia, by way of Atlanta and Augusta and Charlotte, and Hardee's command, which, according to Johnston's Narrative, amounted to about 11,000 more. This latter force, it will be remembered, had constituted the garrison of Savannah, which Sherman permitted to escape. Johnston did his best to make head against Sherman's vastly superior force, but, to use his own language, "with no other object than to obtain fair terms of peace." According to all the maxims of war, the rebel authorities had beaten Sherman in generalship, and only failed because of the beggarly force they had at their command. They had gathered up their scattered detachments, and placed them on interior lines with reference to Lee, so that they could form a junction with him, or he with them, unless prevented by Grant, before Sherman could possibly reach Grant. The fact is, the war was practically ended at Nashville and Five Forks, so far as fighting could determine it, because these two battles destroyed the last Southern armies which could, for a moment, make head against the National forces. Sherman's march to Savannah, if it had any effect, simply delayed the *dénouement* by the amount of time he spent there, in excess of what would have been necessary had he gone directly to Augusta and thence northward. The march of the cavalry corps from Eastport, through Selma, Montgomery, Columbus, and Macon, to Augusta, put an end to the last hopes of even Davis and his advisers, because it destroyed the last armory, arsenal, and

factory, as well as the last depot of supplies left in the Confederacy.* The rebel leaders played their last card desperately, but falsely, in sending Hood to the north-westward, for although that movement might have succeeded against a weaker man than Thomas, the success must have been short-lived; whereas if they had sent Hood and his army, and every other armed man they could get, to form a junction with Lee in Virginia, they might, by good fortune, have struck a blow which would have sent them down with honor, if it had not gained them a victory.

Calling attention again to the fact that Sherman, when he started down to the sea, reserved to the very last the right of going to Appalachicola near the Gulf of Mexico, on the Chattahoochee river, instead of to Savannah; and that this would have removed him and his army more completely from the theater of war than if he had marched back to the Ohio, we must bring our article to a close. The narrative is full of interesting details concerning the burning of Columbia, the marches and battles in the Carolinas; the celebrated articles of capitulation entered into "with Johnston and high officers" for the purpose of making "peace from the Potomac to the Rio Grande"; the rejection thereof by the Government; the final surrender, and, lastly the grand review at Washington, concluding with an exceedingly thoughtful and able chapter on the military lessons of the war. But these are secondary matters, and throw no new light upon Sherman's character as a general, and must therefore be left for the reader's examination in the memoirs themselves, aided by the important light thrown upon them by the official documents and other publications now going through the press.

These memoirs are full of interest from the beginning to the end, and while they contain errors both of omission and commission, recollections not corroborated by the record, and conclusions contrary to the precepts of military art, it is not too much to say that with all their defects they constitute a work of unusual interest. They show General Sherman to be a brilliant writer, and a man of versatile though ill-regulated talents, to which, backed by family influence, ardent patriotism, great opportunities sagaciously improved, and the hearty friendship of Grant, his successes must be mainly ascribed. That he is great as a mover and supplier of armies, is true beyond contention, but that he possesses first-class abilities as a strategist or organizer, when compared with the great captains of history, can not be successfully maintained. He is too nervous and excitable, his

* See the letters of Breckinridge, Benjamin, Mallory, and Regan, published by Boynton.

imagination is too vivid and active, and his mind too unevenly balanced, for the great risks and the great responsibilities of war. Nevertheless it must be conceded that he is bold, enterprising, patriotic, and independent—in many respects a character of which the Republic may justly be proud, and in all, worthy of the grateful recollections of his countrymen. An old proverb says: "He who offends by speech offends rashly; by silence wisely." Those most intimate with Sherman have frequently observed that notwithstanding the extraordinary brilliancy of his conversation, it never does him justice; it may be more truthfully said that his memoirs do him great injustice. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the report is true which credits him with revising and correcting them for a new edition. He has more to gain thereby than any one else, not excepting the public. His character, with all its peculiarities, will not permit him to persist in misstatement of facts, or to stand fast in false conclusions. His chapter devoted to the military lessons of the war is the most valuable one in his memoirs, and shows better than all the rest of his work how useful a book he might have written had he depended less upon his recollections, and more upon the records, of the great rebellion.

THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE.

ON Saturday, the 20th of September, 1873, to arrest the panic of that year, the New York Stock Exchange was suddenly closed by an order of the governing committee. This action, influenced by the solicitations of the banks, which were in danger of being engulfed in the rising tide of ruin, was without a precedent in this country, although the recollection of a like occurrence in a similiar emergency in Vienna, was fresh in the public mind. There were men then who shook their heads gravely as they made their comments on the unexampled and arbitrary proceeding, and said to each other, "To what are we coming!" as if they saw in it an indication of the approaching downfall of free institutions in America. But as the Stock Exchange continued closed day after day, until the morning of Tuesday the 30th of that month; and the wild feeling of panic gradually subsided into a settled but anxious calm, opinions were modified, and after it had quietly re-opened, men began to think that it was well the panic had been throttled even by the use of arbitrary measures. History repeats itself, and in August, 1875, we find the San Francisco Stock Exchange, in the midst of a similar panic, produced by the failure of the Bank of California and two other large banking institutions in the metropolis of the Pacific slope, pursuing the same course, and with a similarly sedative effect.

These events of themselves furnish a suggestive commentary on the financial operations and general condition of affairs that produced them, and are pregnant with both a warning and a moral which those who run may read. Both the New York panic of 1873, and the San Francisco panic of 1875 were almost purely of a financial, as distinguished from a commercial character. To be sure they differed immensely in extent, owing to the locality of their origin; the former extending its influence all over the country, California excepted, by means of the banks and private bankers, and the latter being entirely confined to that and the neighboring State of Nevada. California has never swerved from the specie standard, greenbacks being simply bought and sold there at a discount, and not entering into the circu-

lation. Thus it is isolated financially as well as geographically from the country east of the Rocky Mountains, whither the effects of the Pacific convulsion do not extend.

The immediate cause of the crisis of 1873, and of this crisis in California, may be traced to a similar origin in the reckless speculations of bankers, with the money of depositors, in railway or other stocks of uncertain or fictitious value.

To this "big bonanza" style of banking may also be attributed the collapse, at the time of the great crisis, and more recently, of some of the best known of the houses accustomed to paying high rates of interest on deposits. The pretended ability of such houses to undertake mammoth speculations entirely beyond the sphere of legitimate banking, was based neither upon their own wealth, nor any other honest foundations. The disastrous failures of such houses—rendered inevitable by the hazards involved—have inflicted upon the private banking business a retributive blow, from which it will be slow in recovering.

If it be true that like causes produce like effects, we may expect to see, to a modified extent, a financial depression in California similar to that which has been experienced in the Atlantic States since the summer of 1873. California alone has, until now, seemed to be enjoying undiminished prosperity. The profits of trade elsewhere have dwindled into insignificance in comparison with those of war times, or given place to balances on the opposite side of the ledger, and most men have found their capital gradually shrinking. Enforced economy has been practiced from Maine to Texas, and when more than forty millions of people simultaneously and persistently economize, the effect on wholesale and retail trade must necessarily be prodigious.

The shrinkage of trade, values, and capital, as the result of the various causes alluded to, has proved a trying ordeal for all, and to many it has involved an entire exhaustion of resources. Hence commercial failures have been numerous, for with heavy expenses and light receipts endurance has its limits. Real estate, usually the last to yield, and the least mercurial of all investments, has suffered severely, in common with all other material interests, and the owners of heavily mortgaged property have in very numerous instances been unable to pay the interest on their mortgages, much less to replace them at expiration. Foreclosures have been the result, and lands and buildings have been sacrificed at auction for half, and sometimes even a quarter their value before the crisis. The foreclosure suits begun in New York city alone have averaged about

five per day for months together, and the property sold has been almost invariably bought by the mortgagees for the amount of the mortgages, or less; in the latter case the unfortunate mortgagors being sometimes harassed with judgments for deficiency.

Business on the Stock Exchange has meanwhile languished for want of the support of the outside public, as people who would otherwise have dabbled in stocks, have been too poor to do so, and so have regarded speculation as a forbidden luxury. There has, however, been a steady demand, at advancing prices, for "Governments" and first-class railway bonds; but inferior securities of all kinds have been studiously neglected. Never in the history of Wall street have investors shown a greater distrust of values, and never have stocks been subjected to closer scrutiny than during the last two years. That large numbers have preferred to allow their capital to remain idle rather than to invest it in any manner, has been rendered constantly apparent by the unusually heavy accumulations of deposits in the New York banks, and by the low rates of interest prevailing; loans on call having been generally made at two per cent. on United States bonds and other first-class collaterals.

But the most prolonged stagnation must eventually be superseded by activity; and just as action follows reaction, depression must be followed by buoyancy. The wildest speculations for a rise, not only in this country, but in England, France, Germany, and elsewhere, including the South Sea bubble in the country first named, and the Tulip mania in Holland, have always succeeded periods of distrust, inertia, and unduly depreciated values. That which has been will be, and those who are now afraid to invest at low, will be eager to invest at much higher, prices. It is the way of the world. Example is contagious, and men buy or sell, or stand aloof when they see others doing the same thing. In controlling the popular mind in this respect, and in their relations to financial interests generally, no men in the country are possessed of greater influence than the members of the New York Stock Exchange; and in view of the importance of the position it has held, and is likely to hold, in the respects indicated, we purpose to present some statements in regard to the history and character of this institution.

The Stock Exchange is little less than a mystery to the uninitiated, but many, who are familiar with it to their cost, see in the stately marble building on Broad street, a whited sepulchre in which their fortunes lie buried, and whose capacity for swallowing fresh fortunes is as unlimited as that of the deep for ships. A treacherous sea is

that of Wall street, and hard indeed to navigate, if the mariner would escape the fate of the wrecks that too often line its shores. Navigators, it is true, have boldly launched their galleys on its tide, and after a successful career of freebooting, brought again and again into port a rich harvest of spoils, only in the end, however, to have their glittering prizes filched away from them in the contests that are there waged pretty much as they were in mediæval times, when the Mediterranean and the Adriatic were the scenes of action; and every merchantman fought, armed like a corsair, its way from port to port, often through a series of hand-to-hand combats with prowling buccaneers. The sea of Wall street is as full of peril to adventurers as were the waters of Venice and Genoa; of Spain, Portugal, or France; in the days when the feuds of state combined with the lust of plunder to make navigation an exciting, hazardous, and warlike pursuit.

The modern pirates infesting this financial highway, are rich and unscrupulous speculators, colloquially called "big fish," whose object is to devour as much of each other, and as many of the little fish as possible. It is satisfactory to reflect that the righteous retribution referred to overtakes them in the end, and that after catching the many, they are themselves caught. But while these great freebooters are in the zenith of their glory and prosperity, they are looked upon as the winners of the prize for which all who tempt fortune by speculation on the Stock Exchange, are striving—wealth. One example of success lures thousands to their ruin; for the multitude forget that the instances where men have made large or small fortunes by speculation on the Stock Exchange, and succeeded in keeping them, are rare; and that the leaders of the "street" enjoy only transient renown, invariably coming to grief sooner or later, unless death interrupts them in their course. History in Wall street, as in the world at large, is always repeating itself, and the chief pirate of to-day will to-morrow become the prey of his own wiles, and disappear like a bubble that has burst.

Failure has been the final result of every prolonged effort to control the stock market, for it is an unknown quantity which no man can measure, and he who undertakes to make it subservient to his own interests and operations will inevitably be engulfed in ruin if he tries his luck long enough, however great his wealth may be; and though his shrewdness and courage never fail him. This is one of the teachings of Wall street experience; yet there are few men who, when once successful, can resist the tendency to believe in themselves; so, having done much they place unlimited confidence in their ability

to do more, and lose all. They are crushed by the power they undertake to guide, for the stock market is open to the world, and liable at any time to be governed by a variety of influences beyond individual control; some, affecting the value of particular securities only; and others, strengthening or weakening confidence in securities generally.

The great speculators on the Stock Exchange have converted into a gambling arena that which was designed for legitimate uses, although speculation is, of course, inevitable in stocks of fluctuating market value; and the larger the amount of any particular stock there is in Wall street, the more its price will be found to fluctuate; not because of any changes occurring in its real value, but because speculation is more active in stocks that are abundant than in those that are scarce. It is not uncommon for dividend-paying railway, and other shares, to rise or fall from two to five per cent. in a single day, under speculative sales or purchases made entirely without regard to the question of real values. The more a stock is withdrawn from Wall street for investment, the less active it is likely to become, until finally it ceases to be dealt in on the street, and the transactions in it are confined to investors. Such is the case with Illinois Central, Michigan Central, Cleveland and Pittsburgh, and other well-known railway stocks which were once among the speculative favorites of the Stock Exchange.

It is a noteworthy fact in this connection, that the more speculative a stock is—in other words, the more it is held in Wall street—the more corrupt the management of the property it represents is likely to become, and *vice versa*. The managing directors of railways whose stocks are the footballs of speculation, are notorious speculators who grow rich by so managing, or mismanaging, the affairs of their respective corporations, as to divert much that properly belongs to the stockholders into their own pockets; raising or depressing the market value of their shares, thus to favor their own speculations. Instead of giving out contracts to the lowest bidders, they have been known to award them indirectly to themselves at exorbitant rates, and when branch lines were to be constructed, they have formed “rings” to build them, and afterward turned them over to their companies at a profit to themselves of from twenty-five to a hundred per cent. on the actual cost. Yet none of them would acknowledge that in so doing they were swindling their stockholders. When they see fit to “bull” their own stocks—that is, to operate in them for a rise, they show an aptitude for painting everything connected with them *couleur de rose*; and whether dividends have been earned or not, they are more than

likely to declare them, even if the money for the purpose has to be borrowed. If, on the other hand, they see a good opportunity for a "bear" campaign, they sell their own stocks largely "short," and then try to depress them by all the means at their command. The earnings which in a "bull" movement would have been so "cooked" as to show an increase over the previous year, are made to show a large decrease; expenses for new rolling stock, and improvements of the permanent way—to use the English phrase—are needlessly incurred to an extravagant extent; the floating debts are swelled to unusual dimensions; acceptances are freely given out which are soon offered for discount, and perhaps some of these floating obligations are allowed to go to protest, in order to injure the credit of the companies concerned. To cap the climax, dividends are passed—that is to say not declared, and all sorts of evil predictions are set afloat as to the future, just as during a "bull" movement prophecies would be hazarded of a rise twenty or thirty per cent. greater than was expected.

Meanwhile the innocent stockholders, whose interests these directors were ostensibly elected to protect, suffer heavy losses by depreciation of their property; for of course stocks never fail to respond to these "inside" manipulations. The directors are, under these circumstances, in the course of time enabled to "cover" their "short" contracts at a splendid profit, and at the same time buy largely at the lowest figures for a fresh rise, when the tactics before described are repeated, and the stocks that were reported to have been selling far above their value, are pointed out as the best purchases on the list. Such is the consistency and morality of many of the speculative railway directors who ignore their trusts, and make a practice of treating the roads they manage as if they were their own private property; and who, worse than all, can do these things with impunity, for practically, so far as plundering the stockholders is concerned, they seem to be a law unto themselves. There are some honest men, even among the directors of corporations controlled by knaves, but they are merely respectable dummies, without a proper sense of their own responsibility, or they would refuse to act with corrupt executive officers when their corruption is as notorious as in the case of several prominent corporations whose shares are dealt in on the Stock Exchange. The time will probably come, however, and the sooner the better, when laws will be passed and enforced, either by Congress or all of the States, for the punishment of frauds upon stockholders by directors, and disqualifying for office those detected in selling their

company's stock "short," with the obvious intention to depreciate its market value.

It is a well known fact that the railways whose stocks have been taken out of Wall street by investors, are much more honestly and efficiently managed than they were before this change took place, owing to the fact that inducements to mismanage them for speculative effect on the Stock Exchange have passed away. Moreover, railways and other properties whose stocks have been absorbed by investors, attract a different class of men to their direction. The rich and desperate speculators of Wall street fight only for the control of companies whose shares are active on the speculative list, and which they can manipulate pretty much as they please after once securing management. They find it an easy matter to vote themselves in, and to keep themselves in afterward, provided they have the necessary cash for controlling a majority of the capital stock at the time the transfer books close, preparatory to the annual election. Immediately after, they can sell the whole of their holdings, if they choose, without impairing their right to vote on the stock thus transferred to their own names, or to the names of those whose proxies they hold. Properties that are held for investment exclusively, can not be bought up and sold out in this convenient manner, and the real stockholders, as distinguished from the temporary speculative holders, have the control of the management in their own hands. Hence the Wall street speculators, who mismanage a number of large corporations there represented, can not secure a majority of the stock of these investment properties; and, if they could, would be unable to make money out of them in Wall street. They make no attempt, therefore, to vote themselves into power in such quarters, and the happy stockholders continue to draw dividends, which they would probably fail to receive if they were left to the tender mercies of corrupt speculative directors.

One prominent and honorable exception to the rule of rascality in the management of railways represented by speculative stocks in Wall street is, however, to be found in the companies controlled by an executive whose object has always been to improve the properties under his direction, and who, whatever his faults may be in the parsimonious treatment of the traveling public, has never been known to sell "short" a stock in which he was interested. He has proved that honesty is the best policy, apart from any nobler motive; for having invested his wealth in the corporations he manages, he has reaped his reward both in dividends and the large advance in prices that has taken place under his *régime*. The price and stability of New York

Central and Hudson stock, notwithstanding its enormous "waterings" for the benefit of stockholders, furnishes a sufficient commentary on the difference between his management and that of the average speculative director, who is no more fit to be the custodian of other people's property, than a footpad is to be the cashier of a bank.

We have dwelt thus much on this subject because the transactions in railway securities form nine-tenths of the daily business of the Stock Exchange, the only prominent speculative stocks not included in the railway list being Western Union Telegraph, and Pacific Mail; and it is well that the reader unfamiliar with the inside workings of Wall street, should be made aware of the influences to which they are subjected by the director of the period.

The Stock Exchange is of such recent origin in New York that some of its original members are still living to tell of the time when they gathered under a sycamore tree in Wall street, opposite the Tontine coffee-house, between William and Hanover streets, to deal in such United States stocks and miscellaneous securities as then existed. It was not until the year 1817 that the stockbrokers' business had developed sufficiently to make it an object for the few gentlemen who met once or twice a day under the tree—or in the coffee-house if the weather was unpropitious—to devote to it their whole time, which in most instances they had previously divided between that and other occupations. Then they took up their quarters in the office of Samuel Beebe, one of their number, and resolved to organize themselves into a board of brokers; to that end they deputed Mr. William Lawton, also one of the fraternity, and still a surviving member, to proceed to Philadelphia, which already had a stock exchange, and there gather such particulars concerning the latter, and its rules and regulations, as would enable them to act the more intelligently in drawing up articles of association, and by-laws, for their own government. The mission was accomplished, and the board was organized immediately thereafter on the basis of that of Philadelphia, its first constitution bearing date the same year, 1817. The earliest record of the New York stockbrokers, however, is a document dated the 17th of May, 1792, now in the possession of the Stock Exchange, and signed by the few brokers of that day, in which they agreed not to buy or sell stocks on commission for less than one quarter of one per cent., showing conclusively that the existence of stock brokerage preceded by more than a quarter of a century that of the organization of the brokers into a guild.

It is probable that the first dealings in Wall street, aside from real

estate, were in the old Continental money of the Revolution, before it had gone the way of the French assignats by depreciating in value to that of the rags from which it was made; but not even tradition remains to tell of the doings of the earliest money-changers within its limits. Until the war of 1812, however, there was doubtless little for stockbrokers to do; but then the United States government issued bonds and Treasury notes, while new banks were established, and trade and speculation became more active than at any previous period in American history.

The annual dues of the New Board of Brokers, as it was called, were twenty-five dollars, and its transactions were at first confined almost entirely to United States bank stock, United States sixes, and foreign exchange. By 1825 the initiation fee had been advanced to a hundred dollars, and by degrees this was further increased to three thousand, at which it stood in 1865; clerks who had served two years or more being, however, admitted for half the regular fee.

The Board of Brokers changed its quarters from room to room in Wall street, in the vicinity of William street, several times subsequently to its organization; and then into William street where the Custom-house now stands, before it removed, in 1855, to "Change Alley," between Exchange Place and Beaver street, where it was found at the beginning of the war in 1861. Not until that time did the New York Stock Exchange loom up into great national importance, although its business had been steadily increasing from year to year, since the time of its organization, owing to the increasing volume of the securities of the country. Notwithstanding the fact that the Stock Exchange was of such recent origin, the development of railway interests was more recent still. The first sixty-nine miles—from Baltimore to the Point of Rocks, of the first road built in the United States, the Baltimore and Ohio begun in 1828—were not completed and opened until 1832; and as line after line was projected and laid, their stocks and bonds found their way to Wall street, and became things of speculation.

The war of the rebellion brought to the Stock Exchange an immense accession of business, both in the enormous amount of United States and State securities it created; and in the tremendous impetus it gave to speculation in stocks of all kinds, one result of which was the establishment of an opposition organization, more in accordance with the popular taste and requirements, and known as the Open Board. But notwithstanding this competition the old board grew stronger and richer, and built for itself the costly marble structure it occupies to-day, and, after moving into it, on the 9th of December, 1865, amalgamated with

its successful rival. This occurred suddenly, on the 8th of May, 1869, when the Open Board, which had done more business by far than the Regular Board, became a thing of the past, and about six hundred new members were added to the Stock Exchange, swelling the aggregate number to a little more than a thousand, at which it still stands. Shortly afterward, the board voted that the price of membership should be raised to ten thousand dollars, but that any member might sell his seat for any sum he pleased, and the buyer, if acceptable to the examining committee, should be admitted in his stead on payment of an initiation fee of five hundred dollars; and since that time the price of seats has varied from twenty-three hundred to nearly eight thousand dollars, the average having been about four thousand. If a member become insolvent, and fail to settle with his creditors, his seat is sold after the lapse of a year, for their benefit; and if he die insolvent the rule is the same; otherwise at his death his legal representatives are entitled to the proceeds of the sale of his seat at the best price the secretary can obtain, and also to receive ten thousand dollars in cash from the life assurance fund; the Stock Exchange having adopted, in 1873, a plan by which the life of each of its members is insured for the amount mentioned, and in order to provide for which every member is taxed ten dollars whenever a death occurs in the membership.* This is a wise provision, in view of the financial vicissitudes of a stockbroker's life, and the improvidence of brokers as a class; for it has often happened that members have died, leaving their families destitute, and appeals have been made to the board for subscriptions to defray their funeral expenses, and to relieve the urgent wants of widows and children left to the charity of the world.

The Stock Exchange, under its present constitution, adopted in 1869, is managed by a governing committee of forty members, in addition to its president, treasurer, and secretary, who are members *ex officio*. These are chosen by ballot, and divided into four classes of equal number, the first class being elected to serve one year, the second two years, the third three years, and the fourth four years—an arrangement which involves the election of ten new members annually on the second Monday in May. This governing committee appoints from its own members ten standing committees, namely: on Finance, Arrangements, Admissions, Securities, United States Bonds, the Stock List, Arbitration, Law, Printing, and Commissions;

* In order to ultimately relieve the members from this tax, a Gratuity Fund has been established, by which this benevolent system is expected to become self-supporting after the year 1886.

to each of which, according to its character, the business of the exchange is appropriately referred, except such as comes before the governing committee as a body; and the latter meet as often as the necessity arises.

The office of the President of the Exchange is honorary, but the chairman, vice-chairman, treasurer, secretary, and roll-keeper are salaried officers, whose pay is sufficiently good to exceed the incomes of a majority of their fellow-members, and to make them reconciled to their lot. The duty of the chairman, who receives \$7,000 per annum, is to preside over the Board during the regular hours of business, namely, from ten to three o'clock; to call stocks twice a day, at half-past ten, and at one o'clock; to maintain order and enforce the rules, which functions, in his absence, devolve upon the vice-chairman, who receives \$5,000 per annum. The calls of securities in the government and bond department, also devolve on these officers. Both government, State, and bank stocks, and railway bonds, are dealt in, in a room on the floor above, that devoted to the railway shares and other speculative stocks. United States securities are "called" there three times a day, namely, at 10.15 and 11.30 A. M. and 2 P. M., while State and railway bonds and bank stocks are called immediately after the second call of governments, about noon, and State stocks again after governments at two P. M., at which time any broker wishing to deal in railway bonds or bank stocks, can call up any particular one of these he wishes to buy or sell.

This leaves the hall, or Long Room on the ground floor—where the real business of the Exchange is done—exclusively to those dealing in railway and miscellaneous shares. The latter apartment is a large parallelogram with a very high ceiling, and long windows looking out on New street, although it has entrances not only from this thoroughfare, but from both Broad and Wall streets. It is unfurnished, with the exception of a dais at the Wall street end for the presiding officers. It has an upper gallery for strangers; a place railed off for those who pay a hundred dollars a year for the privilege of seeing the market, and of communicating with their brokers on the floor; and telegraphic stock indicators which report the transactions—the same as those found in every broker's office, and for the use of which a dollar a day is charged, exclusive of the original cost of the instrument, a hundred dollars. And in the business of telegraphing stock quotations there are at present two rival companies engaged, both industriously glean- ing the transactions from members in the room as fast as they are made, and dispatching them over the wires almost instantaneously.

The entrance of the Stock Exchange on Broad street, leads into a spacious ante-room provided on each side with seats, and the members, with those referred to as paying a hundred dollars, are alone permitted to occupy them. The Long Room itself occupies only a small part of the spacious building, whose upper floors are devoted to committee rooms, and other apartments, including that in which "governments" and bonds are called; and whose basement is honey-combed with fire-proof receptacles for the valuables of brokers and others, who daily about three P. M., flock, with boxes more or less full of securities, to the safe deposit department of the Stock Exchange, often accompanied by protecting clerks to guard against the felonious appropriation of their treasures by lurking thieves.

Originally the Board Room in this new building was on the second floor, where the Government and bond department now is; the lower floor was then given up to the members of the Open Board, and others who paid a hundred dollars a year for admission, with the privilege of dealing there among themselves. Hence, there were two markets for stocks open under the one roof simultaneously—the Regular Board and the Long Room—the great bulk of the business being done in the latter by members of the opposition board. After the union of the two organizations, to accommodate the augmented numbers, extensive alterations were made at great expense, resulting in the present arrangements. There is now no outside market for stocks, the business being transacted exclusively between members of the Exchange in the appointed places. Neither is there any crowding of the members from the Stock Exchange building to the street, after five P. M. as was formerly the custom, the market being afterward kept open in Broad street till six o'clock in the evening. The sensible rule of confining business to the hours between ten and three has worked well,* and is an immense improvement upon the old war-time habit of opening the market at about nine A. M. and closing it at about six P. M., only to re-open it at eight P. M., at the evening exchange up-town, to continue in the midst of feverish excitement till within an hour or two of midnight. The life that stock and gold brokers led then was slow suicide, and not very slow either, to some of them.

The Evening Exchange indeed did much to foster reckless speculation and its final abolition in August, 1865, by a vote of both the Stock Exchange and Gold Board, was almost a cause for public rejoicing, so much had the business transacted there degenerated into mere gambling. Within its precincts at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, and

* A fine of \$50 is imposed for dealing in securities outside these hours.

afterward at the corner of Broadway and Twenty-third street, before its removal to what proved to be its tomb, in Twenty-fourth street, spirituous liquors were dispensed from a bar which did a thriving business, and paved the way to the physical, mental, and financial ruin of its patrons. Men under the influence of the stimulants imbibed often bid for or offered stocks or gold in the most reckless manner, and awoke the next morning to find that they had made contracts which they would certainly not have entered into except in the feverish excitement of the hour. Brokers and speculators seemed to have no time for sleep, and burned the candle of life at both ends in dissipation and eager worship of Mammon. Gold often fluctuated from five to ten per cent. in a day, and stocks experienced similar eccentric movements. Demoralized by such surroundings, and venturing beyond their depth, men frequently found themselves hopelessly ruined. In such a hot-bed of vice, extravagance, and fraud, men had few aspirations toward pure and noble lives. The acquisition of lucre seemed the end and aim of existence, and from their midst forgers and defaulters emerged from time to time, as if to warn others who were treading in their footsteps of the dangers of the way. All members are now required to have a place of business, besides the Stock Exchange, where comparisons of sales and purchases of stocks may be made; and are prohibited from entering into partnership with those under suspension, or other insolvent persons. Although they may sell "privileges" to receive or deliver stocks in all their forms—namely, "puts," "calls," "spreads," and "straddles," no offer to buy or sell them is allowed to be made publicly at the Exchange.

These privileges are usually sold by large speculators and speculative brokers for a certain percentage, generally one per cent. for puts and calls, and two or three per cent. for the two last mentioned, for thirty days, and if the bankers fail to honor them, either through fraudulent intent or accidental failure, they prove "a delusion and a snare" of a costly character, for not only has the amount paid for them—ranging from one to three hundred dollars for each hundred shares—been thrown away in that case, but stock may have been bought or sold against them, involving heavy losses. They are useful as an insurance against unlimited loss, but those who buy them generally fail to make half as much out of them as they have to pay for them, and it is little better than squandering money to invest it on their purchase, whereas it is commonly very profitable to make and sell them, but panics and other unlooked-for events occasionally occur

which make privileges very valuable to the holders and correspondingly unprofitable to the makers.

A "put" confers the privilege on the bearer of delivering to the maker a certain number of shares of a certain stock within a certain time, and a "call" entitles the holder to receive in the same way. A "straddle" gives the holder the option of either receiving or delivering at a certain price, and the only difference between this and a "spread," is that the market price at the time of purchase is the one invariably filled into the latter, while the price in the former may vary much or little from it according to agreement or otherwise.

Some of the cant terms of Wall street are incomprehensible jargon to those who have never taken "a flyer,"—or made a speculative operation in stocks; but there are few unaware that a "bull" is a speculator for a rise, while a "bear" is one for a fall in price, and that when a stock is "cornered," the whole of it is held in the grip of a bull clique that refuses to sell any except at its own price, which is always a very high one. Cornering operations are always very hazardous, and generally losing speculations to the parties engaged in them, and they are never undertaken except where there is an unusually large "short" interest to be entrapped. The process of "squeezing the shorts" then becomes both severe and interesting, and the bears are bled and slaughtered remorselessly until they have all bought in to "cover their shorts," or in other words, closed their contracts, when the cornerers are left with the cornered stocks on hand, which both the street and the outside public are signally afraid of touching for a very long time afterward, thus leaving the entire burden to be borne by the bulls concerned.

Cliques and large speculators are said to "milk the street" when they make prices perform a see-saw movement up and down, to deceive operators, and stocks are "washed" when corresponding sales and purchases, called "washes," are made to influence prices and make the market artificially active in order to induce operations by others. They are "watered" when their amount is increased, as, for instance, by stock dividends—the eighty per cent. of scrip issued by the New York Central and Hudson River Railway Company at the time of the consolidation in December, 1868, being a case in point. They are "carried" when they are held by a broker on speculative account, and they are called "collaterals" when money is borrowed upon them; and they are described as "traps," when of little or no value.

A "bull" sells only "long stock," just as a "bear" sells only

"short stock," and when the latter buys it is only to deliver against previous sales, or to return borrowed stock. A "pool" embraces the funds of a combination of individuals formed to carry out some speculative object, and "a leak in the pool" expresses that some one belonging to it is privately operating in bad faith outside of it for his own advantage at the expense of his associates. A "point" is a piece of confidential information, generally to buy or sell a particular stock, and as points are frequently given out from interested motives, it is prudent to turn a deaf ear to them except when coming from an unquestioned source, for many a speculator has had his margin exhausted, and been "sold out" by his broker in consequence of putting faith in them. A number of other words and phrases might be quoted in illustration of the slang "of the street"—as Wall street, which derived its name from the fortified northern boundary wall of the settlement of Manhattan—is called by its *habitués*, but the most important have already been enumerated.

Any one is eligible to become a member of the Stock Exchange who is over twenty-one years of age, and who has been a banker, broker, or dealer in stocks in the city of New York, for one year, or a clerk to a member for two years; and any member who fails to meet his contracts, is thereupon suspended from membership, but may be readmitted by a vote of two-thirds of the governing committee, after he has effected a settlement with his creditors, the nature of which he must explain to the committee at the time of his application for readmission. It is not an uncommon experience for members to have failed several times, and to have been promptly readmitted after each settlement; and as a rule, brokers are so lenient toward each other, that settlements are easy—perhaps too easy for some of the reckless operators among them, who abuse the credit which their membership affords. If, however, a member is guilty of fraud, he is liable to expulsion by a two-thirds vote of the governing committee, whose decisions are prompt and exemplary; and where reckless and unbusiness-like habits have led to suspension, they may also, by a majority vote of the Committee on Admissions, debar the reinstatement of a member.

Until the spring of 1875 the usual rate of commission charged by brokers to their customers, was an eighth of one per cent. for either buying or selling, but they were permitted to charge as low as a sixteenth, and in the case of regular investors as high as a quarter on the par value of securities. Brokers acting for other brokers, however, could buy or sell at a rate as low as two dollars per hundred shares,

which was the invariable charge in such cases; and the penalty for doing business below the minimum rates was expulsion. At the time mentioned, however, a large majority of the brokers voted in favor of raising the rate on all transactions, for customers not members of the Board, to not less than an eighth per cent., and on those for fellow-members to a sixteenth, except where the principal is substituted for the broker during business hours on the day of the transaction, in which case the rate should be not less than a thirty-second, while to investors it should remain unaltered: that on government securities being fixed at a sixteenth; a violation of this rule to involve expulsion of any member guilty of it. And this rule still remains in force, while under no circumstances is one broker allowed to do business for another, or for any person, without remuneration. Members, or their firms, can, however, be represented at the Board by a clerk on a salary, acting under a power of attorney. These restrictions were imposed for the protection of the business of the association against members disposed to "cut under" their fellows in the matter of commissions; and before any were adopted, stocks were frequently bought and sold for brokers at as low a rate as a dollar per hundred shares. The fact is, that except in times of speculative excitement, there are far too many brokers for the business, and the competition among them is very keen. One result of this is that most of them being unable to get orders to execute on commission, are led to speculate in the effort to make a living, but it by no means follows that they generally succeed in their object. Even the most alert of the "scalpers"—as those who buy and sell in the hope of making an eighth per cent. are called—are not commonly found to last very long, but gradually decline into a kind of pecuniary marasmus, and in the end vanish from the Board, no one knows how or why.

Stocks are usually bought and sold in the "regular way," that is deliverable or receivable on the following day; and where nothing is said about time by either party to a contract, it is understood to be "regular." Stocks are, however, frequently sold or bought for "cash," which means that the contract is to be performed on the same day—or with a three days' option to the buyer or to the seller. If the option is in favor of the former it is called "Buyer 3," but if in favor of the latter, it is styled "Seller 3," the first letter of the words only being commonly used to indicate these terms. A broker selling stocks "S. 3," can, if he chooses, make a cash transaction of it by delivering them on the day of sale, or he may deliver them at any time within three days; but if he sells them "B. 3," these conditions are reversed.

The same rule applies to options of ten, thirty, and sixty days, but one day's notice must be given before stocks so sold can be delivered or demanded. While three days' contracts bear no interest, all beyond that time carry interest in favor of the seller as long as the contract runs, at the rate of six per cent. Hence it is that the bears—namely, those who sell "short" for a decline—have an important element in their favor, for while they are making interest, the bulls—or holders for a rise—have to pay it, and it forms a heavy item in the account against them. For a period exceeding sixty days no contracts are allowed to be made. All stocks are deliverable at the office of the buyer before a quarter-past two o'clock on the day they are due, and payment for the same is made by check—certified if demanded—at the time of such delivery. Where delivery is not made by that time, the contract is continued until the following day, unless the buyer decides to notify the presiding officer of the Stock Exchange to buy in the stock for the account of the defaulting party "under the rule," when it is at once bought at the market price, and the delinquent seller pays to the buyer the difference, if any, between the price he sold at and the price paid when thus bought. No loss of credit, however, is involved in this proceeding, provided the difference is promptly paid, defaults in deliveries—except in cases of failure—being almost invariably in consequence of a scarcity on the street of the particular stock required, and a consequent difficulty in borrowing it. This is always true whenever a stock is "cornered," and considerable stock is at such times bought in under this inexorable though very just rule.

There is no limit to the amount of stock any one broker may buy or sell in a single day, whether or not he is trading on his own account, and whether or not he has any capital to back his operations; as no broker who bids for, or offers a stock can refuse to sell to, or buy from, as the case may be, any member who accepts his proffered contract; but either party to a contract may call at any time during the continuance of the same for a mutual deposit of ten per cent., and whenever the market price of the securities changes, so as to reduce the margin of the deposit either way below five per cent., either party may call for a deposit sufficient to restore the margin to ten per cent., and this may be repeated as often as the margin is so reduced. If the deposits are called for before two P. M., they must be made before three P. M. with the trust company agreed upon, but if called for later in the day, they are not required to be made until eleven A. M. on the following day. In the event of either party failing to comply with the demand for a deposit, the party calling may, after giving due

notice, report the default to an officer of the Exchange, and require him to re-purchase or re-sell the security involved, and, after collecting any difference that may accrue, pay it over to the party entitled to it. This privilege is frequently resorted to in the case of long-time contracts, but seldom in "regular" or three days' transactions unless a failure to fulfill them is apprehended, or wide fluctuations are anticipated in connection with some speculative movement; but it nevertheless, imposes a salutary check upon those of scanty means, restraining them from too desperate ventures.

The members of the Stock Exchange are not a particularly serious body, but are much given to mirth and laughter, jokes—practical and otherwise—general hilarity, and loud chorus singing when the market happens to be dull. "John Brown's soul is marching on," at such times alternates with "Glory, Hallelujah!" and the strains of "The Old Hundredth" have a very serio-comic effect within the walls of the modern temple of Mammon. The day before Christmas is always given up to amusing antics, the performances being chiefly musical, and the instruments toy drums, trumpets, and fish-horns, and business is correspondingly neglected for the time being. On a certain previously announced day in the autumn, all white hats appearing in the board room are unceremoniously crushed over the wearers' eyes, thrown high in the air, or otherwise disposed of, and all with perfect good humor. That the exuberant spirits of the average young stockbroker need restraining by wholesome moral discipline is evident, both from the experience of those who have observed him, and the by-laws which impose fines for indecorous language or conduct, interruptions of the presiding officer, acts endangering the persons of his fellow-members, and other little playful pranks to which he is given when he has nothing better to do; but on the whole, stockbrokers are a jolly, good-hearted, free-and-easy class of men, who spend their money fast when they are making it fast, and sometimes even when they are not doing so; are fond of the good things of the world, and prone very often to indulge themselves regardless of the morrow. This light-heartedness and joviality undoubtedly lessen the strain of a wearing and exciting occupation upon the nervous system very materially, and what is sacrificed in the way of dignity is gained in health; for it may be safely assumed that if the Stock Exchange were a serious body its members would die under their anxieties far sooner than they actually do. At best they lead for the most part lives of feverish excitement, and the death rate among them is abnormally

high, while nervous prostration, heart disease, Bright's disease, and apoplexy are the maladies that most frequently assail them.

A more liberal class of men than stockbrokers it would be hard to find, and a deserving cause never appeals to the Stock Exchange in vain. It is eminently charitable, while its donations are made in that broad catholic spirit which practically rebukes a narrow sectarianism and teaches true philanthropy. During the war it showed its patriotism not only by refusing to deal in gold, and by sending many of its members to fight the battles of the Union, but by munificent contributions to the cause so dear to the nation's heart.

A member once in possession of his seat has only his semi-annual dues of twenty-five dollars, in addition to his fines and the life assurance assessments, to pay, and his place at the board is worth far more than its cost; a fact which will doubtless lead eventually to a much higher price for membership than hitherto. With a capital of fifteen or twenty thousand dollars, or even as little as ten, a broker can do a legitimate commission business by carrying stocks for customers. The margin put up with him by the latter is, or ought to be, equal to that which he has to allow in borrowing on the securities he buys and carries for their account; so that his own capital remains intact to his credit with the bank he deposits with, and on the strength of which he can command certifications of his own checks in payment for stocks to a moderate amount—say treble that of his cash balance. These certifications of his checks by the bank are made with the understanding that his account is to be made good by three o'clock the same day, and they enable him to pay for stocks that he would otherwise be unable to pay for. The value of this kind of credit to the broker is obviously great, while it is equally obvious that the bank affording it is entirely without security for the time being for any amounts it may certify in excess of the broker's balance, but it is fair to say that the instances where brokers have failed to make their accounts good under such circumstances, before the close of business are very few. The practice is nevertheless a dangerous one for the banks, and suggests the advisability of establishing a Stock Exchange clearing-house like that connected with the Gold Room, which would dispense with the necessity for certifications.

The usual margin required by brokers for buying or selling stocks on, is ten per cent., or \$1,000 for each hundred shares, although occasionally only half the amount is exacted; but since the panic of 1873, some conservative houses are indisposed to either buy or sell on a margin of less than twenty per cent. This places them in a very easy

position indeed, for they can usually borrow to within ten per cent. of their market value, on the stocks they are carrying. In addition to their commission, brokers are constantly making on their interest account; that is to say, while they invariably charge their customers seven per cent. interest on the stocks they are carrying for them, they borrow at the market rate—which is generally much lower—on these identical stocks, or lend them out to the bears “flat”—that is free of interest—or at two, three, or four per cent., making the difference between seven per cent. and the market rate themselves. Again when they sell stocks “short” for their customers, they make six per cent. interest, but credit none of it in their accounts. In keeping out “short” contracts—not on time—brokers have occasion to borrow stocks instead of money, and this they do by paying the lenders the market price of the stock, and responding to any calls they may make previous to their return for more money to offset any advance that may have taken place in the borrowed securities. Operating on the “short,” or “bear” side of the market for customers, it will thus be seen leaves a broker’s bank account stronger than if they are on the “bull” side of the market, for not only does his own capital remain untouched, but their margin also. The stock that he borrows at the market price he delivers to those he has sold to, and receives their check in return; and any difference there may be between the checks he gives and those he receives, merely represents so much profit or loss to his customers. If a loss, he can require them to make it good by keeping their margin up to the percentage agreed upon; if a profit, it goes to swell the amount of margin in his hands, and consequently the balance to his credit at the bank.

The standard of honor is high among stockbrokers in relation to their contracts with each other, as it necessarily must be when these are the work of a moment, and a single word, and involve large amounts of money. Contracts once made are never repudiated, even where ruin might be averted by doing so, and where it might be difficult to prove them to the satisfaction of a court of law. Without this strict sense of honor there would be no safety in doing business at the stock board. Nowhere else do men stand by their bargains so resolutely, looking with such philosophical resignation upon their losses, and taking their profits so much as a matter of course. There are, it is true, exceptions to this rule, but they are rare.

In the struggles of the Stock Exchange, the longest purse generally wins; but the triumph is usually only for a season, for nowhere else do riches so suddenly take to themselves wings; and the millionaire

of to-day may be a hopeless bankrupt to-morrow. The moral to the wise, is that it is best to avoid Wall street as a theater for speculation on margins. But as a market for securities, in which respect it is now as indispensable as the Produce Exchange; and when one is really possessed of the stocks he sells, or can pay for and take away with him those he buys, he does as legitimate a business in Wall street as is done by any merchant elsewhere. Few, however, are willing to limit their purchases to their actual capital, and in their haste to be rich, many are often left poor indeed.

The brokers who confine themselves strictly to a commission business—of which there are not many in fact, although many profess to do so—are the most successful in the end, and the only ones likely to retain their wealth after they have amassed it; for stock brokerage is very lucrative where the capital is large and the orders abundant, and the returns even upon a small capital—provided enough commissions can be obtained, and losses are avoided—are usually far greater than in ordinary trade. The risks, however, are also greater, and fortunes that were made so fast during the war, are now of comparatively slow growth, while the battle of life on the Stock Exchange is a severe one. At least, the spectator who looks down from the strangers' gallery upon an excited market, would be led to think so. He might easily imagine—if he knew not what manner of men he was observing—that the brokers congregated together were actively engaged in tearing each other to pieces, howling meanwhile, like the demons in Dante's "Inferno"; so great is the swaying to and fro, and surging up and down, of the human masses, each individual of which is apparently shouting or screaming immoderately, and darting his arms through the air as if in menace to his neighbors; so semi-frantic are the gesticulations indulged in, and so great the clamor and turbulence of the scene. No wonder that men break down under such a strain, and that the secret history of the Stock Exchange is full of melancholy tragedies; stories of squandered fortunes, and ruined health; of desolated homes, and early graves—and all through pursuit of the gambler's prize of gain, as if money were the *summum bonum* of existence, the Ultima Thule of human effort.

That the New York Stock Exchange exerts a mighty influence over the price of the vast volume of securities dealt in within its walls, and indirectly, through sympathy, over all the securities in the United States, must be obvious to the most casual observer of the fluctuations recorded in the daily stock lists. That it is a barometer indicating every change calculated to raise or depress values is equally apparent,

although speculative influences may sometimes temporarily prevent the market from responding to legitimate influences. That it reflects the inactivity and depression of trade, and the consequently diminished earnings of railways, and the impaired value of other properties represented by stocks, in the reduced prices of those stocks, is as true as that when the general prosperity of the country revives, it will indicate the change by a corresponding improvement of prices. If war should be threatened, or if any great national calamity were to occur at any time, such as the destruction of crops, or the burning, as in the case of Chicago or Boston, of a large city, its responsive pulse would not fail to show it almost as quickly, and perhaps much more decidedly, than the indicator in the Gold Room ; and so long as men continue sensitive to whatever touches their pockets, so long will the Stock Exchange be equally sensitive to every thing that affects stock values directly or indirectly, and to all the mutations of public sentiment and opinion in relation thereto—a mirror of the times.

THE EXCAVATION OF OLYMPIA.

ON the 2d of last September, two young men, an archæologist, Dr. Gustavus Hirschfeld, and an engineer, Paul Bötticher, set out from Venice for Zante, en route for Olympia, where they are empowered to begin the excavations which have been determined upon by the government of the German empire. All needful preparations having been made during the past summer; by the middle of September the excavations will begin. Whether their result shall be greater or less than we expect, whether sooner or later realized, the investigation is, in any event, of such a character as to deservedly claim the lively interest of men of culture on both sides of the Atlantic; and to render desirable a clear understanding of the views with which it has been undertaken, and the respects in which it differs from other enterprises of a similar character.

Every science demands, as the condition of life and progress, access from time to time to new material to work upon. Otherwise it exhausts itself in examining the same problem, and grows weary in the well-worn ruts. The natural sciences suffer no embarrassment in any department from the want of material. The creation is like an open book, only a few pages of which have as yet been deciphered. Every net thrown into the sea brings new wonders from its depths; every shaft sunk into the heart of the mountain reveals new facts, and where nature conceals her laws in the deepest secrecy, she is still compelled, by the questionings of experiment, to give account of herself and to break the long silence of thousands of years.

The silence of the past is deeper than that of nature. Here, man is not privileged in an equal degree, to bring to hand by his own exertions, new material, and to extract from it information. For the study of the history of modern civilization the archives are indeed inexhaustible, and as they are opened one after the other, fresh information streams constantly forth. The most carefully guarded negotiations, the most confidential relations between states, courts, and influential persons, thus come forward into a clearer light than that in which even contemporaries were permitted to behold them.

Antiquity has also its archives; on the one hand, the palace-walls thickly carved with inscriptions, of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian princes; on the other, the records, written in stone and bronze, of Greece and Rome. As the result of the collection and study of such records, the science of antiquity has assumed a scope entirely different from that to which it must have been limited had it drawn its supplies exclusively from the ancient manuscripts. Yet how little does the augmentation of documentary material correspond to the zeal with which we seek to penetrate into classical antiquity! The works of the poets, historians, and philosophers, remain in the same condition of incompleteness in which our fathers and forefathers knew them; explanatory and emendatory criticism exhausts itself in labor upon the same texts; and many problems have been carried so far toward solution, that no further exertion can succeed in obtaining a higher degree of certainty with respect to them.

Inscriptions, works of art, and coins come indeed continually to view, but accidentally, without connection, and always in scanty measure; thus exciting, as a rule, rather than satisfying, our craving for knowledge. It is, then, absolutely necessary, in order to guard the science of antiquity from a stand-still threatening its healthy progress, to provide the possibility, as in the natural sciences, of opening by our own exertions, new sources of knowledge, and of emancipating ourselves from the freaks of accident. Since what may be called, in a sense, the re-discovery of Athens by Stuart and Revett in the middle of the last century, and especially since the beginning of the present century, the ancient monuments accessible to us have enormously increased in number; and from their study entirely new views and methods of treatment have been developed in the study of antiquity. Any one who shall compare the extent of our present knowledge of ancient architecture, sculpture, and painting, with the scanty material which Winckelmann had at his command, and has treated of in his "History of Art," will recognize with astonishment the immeasurable progress. As if by the deeply felt impulse of natural necessity, the spirit of research has forced its way further and further eastward, toward the sources of our civilization, from Greece to Asia Minor, to Egypt, and to the countries on the Euphrates and Tigris.

Thus, step by step, every portion of the countries which have formed the theater of civilization in the Mediterranean, or have exercised a decisive influence upon it, has been brought out of darkness, and has come into the light of investigation. There has been made possible, first, a history, in a proper sense of the word, of single

civilized nations, and secondly, a general history of civilization on the Mediterranean—the most important problem of the science of antiquity at the present day.

The discoveries upon which our knowledge of ancient monuments rests are two-fold. First, are those due to the thorough and more accurate study of the architectural ruins preserved in their original sites in Italy, Sicily, and Greece. The temple-ruins have yielded continually, as the fruit of renewed and more thorough research, new results in proportion as they have been approached, not for the sake of a merely external inspection, but with a view to the comprehension of their internal arrangement, their fundamental plan, and a knowledge of all the refinements of their architecture. This may be clearly seen by comparing Stuart's investigations upon the Parthenon and Erechtheion, with the researches of Penrose and Carl Boetticher. The careful examination of temple ruins has also led to the discovery of statues of priceless value, as shown in the example of Phygaleia and Ægina, and of the temple of Athené Niké at Athens.

Secondly, the discoveries to which the science of antiquity owes its present position, are such as have resulted from external, accidental causes, which in sites where no one sought them, have accidentally brought to light a repertory of antique treasures. Just as Herculaneum was accidentally discovered in digging a well, so it was to the utter surprise of all, that the sepulchral cities of Etruria were brought to light on the estate of the Prince of Canino. The plowshare of a peasant, chancing to go a little deeper than usual, led to the discovery, on the western borders of the city of Athens, of a part of the street of the tombs, hidden from sight by a hill, which had always been looked upon as a natural elevation. It was by accident that Newton hit upon the inexhaustibly rich tombs of Kameiros in Rhodes; and with as little anticipation that Cesnola discovered the antiquities at Idalium in Cyprus.

Shall the science of archæology be thus forever condemned to the necessity of merely appropriating what a fortunate chance casts into its hands as a surprise? Shall it be directed to occupy an expectant position, dependent upon the whims of chance? Shall it not be permitted, to the student in the study of antiquity as to natural science, to put his own inquiries, and, by well planned investigations, to force from the past revelations concerning weighty problems?

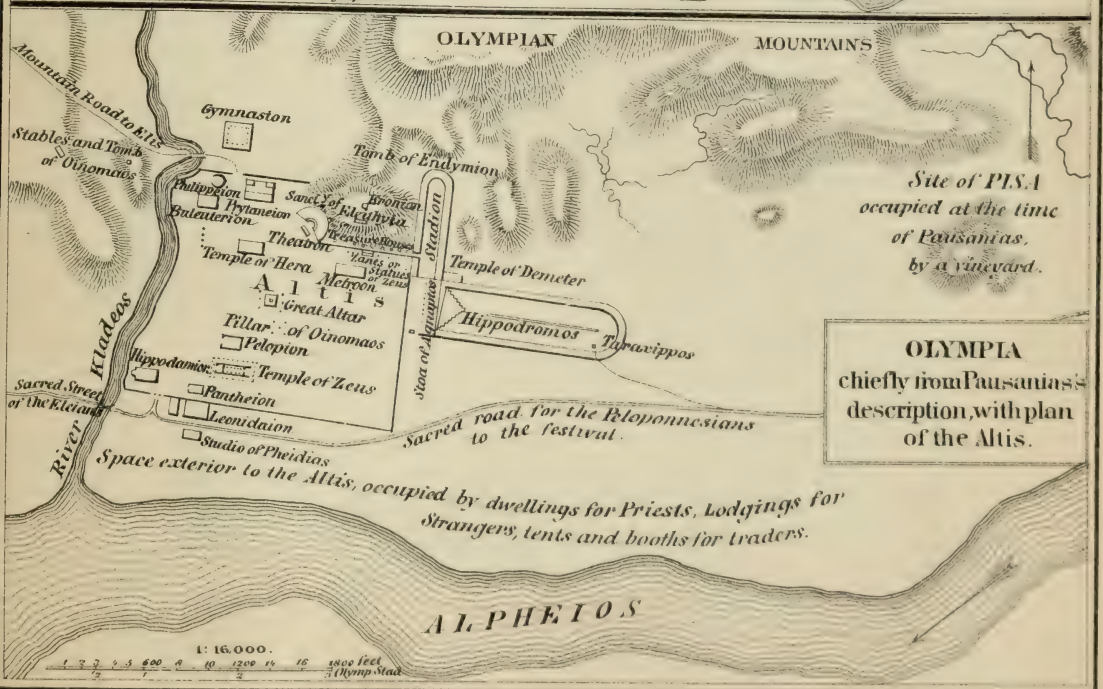
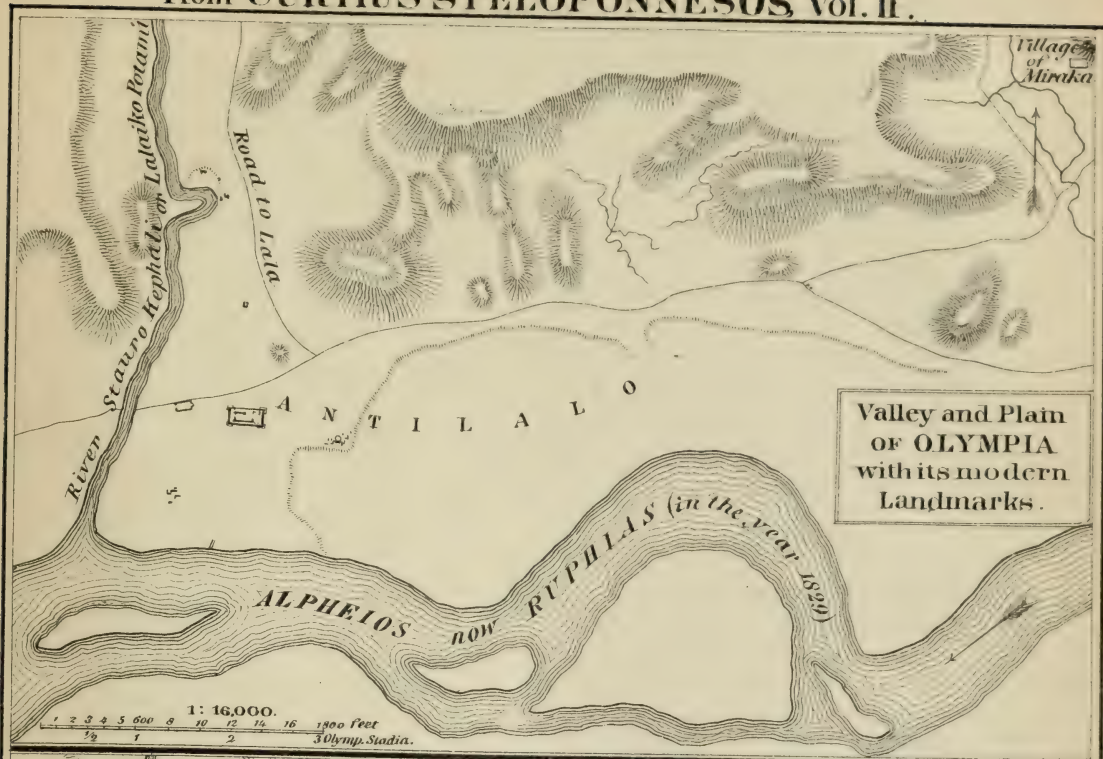
Excavations are to archæology, what experiment is to the natural sciences; and they have not been wholly wanting. Charles Newton made Halikarnassos the scene of excavations which were

rewarded by the discovery of the tomb of Maussollos. The discoverer of the Artemisium at Ephesus—Mr. Wood—has labored for twelve years to render to the science of antiquity the inestimable service of indicating the site, and disclosing the remains, of one of the most notable sanctuaries of the ancient world. Finally, who would refuse to recognize the energy and the sacrifices of Schliemann, which have brought to light from the soil of Troja, vestiges of an antiquity lying back of the remotest tradition? But these excavations have all been undertaken from a special point of view, and their scientific value has on that account been diminished. They have either had as their object the establishment of a topographical theory, as for example that of the site of the city of Priamos (a question to whose final settlement, indeed, the excavations of Schliemann have rendered not the least contribution), and the refutation of counter theories; or they have been chiefly undertaken for the sake of finding statues, and have been abandoned so soon as the hope of such booty abated. Excavations have indeed been set on foot, which have been purely scientific in their aim; as, for example, those directed by Rangabe, at the temple of Hera near Mykenae, or the excavation of the Dionysiac theater at Athens, by Heinrich Strack, where, by no accident, but owing to the skill and systematic direction of the architect, a brief season of labor was crowned by the most brilliant results. Yet this and similar excavations had, as the object of their quest, only single architectural remains. Notwithstanding all the zeal which learned and art-loving Europe has expended upon classic ground, the systematic uncovering of an entire area which we know to have been anciently occupied by a crowded cluster of important buildings, has hitherto been left untried. It might indeed be objected that such a comprehensive excavation was only called for where famous cities, together with all their contents, have been suddenly buried with lava and ashes; but those who know the soil of Greece are aware that no ancient cities in that country are thus utterly hidden, but that the cities of antiquity have everywhere left traces behind them, so that it is only necessary to select a site where, first, the original abundance of statues and works of art is sufficiently established; and secondly, one where, unhindered by modern buildings, the excavations can be carried forward at will on every side. Finally, there must be the probability that a considerable portion of the works of art have been preserved, at least in important fragments. To establish such a probability two circumstances are requisite: first, we must be satisfied that during the middle ages, or in modern times, no town of importance

has stood in the neighborhood of the ruins, for if such has been the fact, all accessible fragments of marble will infallibly have found their way to the lime-kiln, to furnish mortar for modern constructions; and secondly, the soil must be such as easily to have received into its yielding depths the falling statues; for where there is a rocky surface, there, naturally, all works of art which are not seen on the top of the ground, have been hopelessly lost.

All the conditions which are desirable in a site suitable for excavations, exist at Olympia in an unusual combination. There is an area clearly and sharply defined by unchanging natural boundaries. The boundaries of the plain, within which the temples, altars, and other buildings required by the various necessities of the festival were grouped together, are the bed of the Alpheios, and the Kladeos its tributary, flowing down from the north in a deeply worn channel, shaded by overhanging plane trees. In the north are seen, extending in wooded heights of moderate elevation (not exceeding 300 meters), the Olympian mountains, and the cone-shaped hill of Kronion juts out from thence into the plain. Within the space inclosed by these heights and the two streams, lay the sacred area of the Altis, which included in its boundaries every thing which was regarded as the possession of Zeus Olympios, while outside of this inclosure were situated the Stadium and Hippodrome, and the buildings where the multitudes which streamed to the festivals were lodged. The ruins of the temple of Zeus Olympios, built of porous, shelly limestone, give a sure landmark within the Altis. It will not be necessary therefore to search and explore for long years, as was the case at Ephesus, in order to find the most important point, for the center is given. There is besides this, the fortunate circumstance that Pausanias has given a more accurate description of the temple at Olympia, and of the adjacent buildings, than has been transmitted to us of any other temple of antiquity. We may therefore, following this description, expect with confidence to find, adjoining the great temple, the sanctuary of Pelops. In the direction toward the hill Kronion, lay the Great Altar, whose situation independent of the temple, furnishes the proof that the worship of Zeus at Olympia was not addressed to the statue in the temple, but was celebrated without images. Then came the famous temple of Hera and the other buildings. At the foot of the hill Kronion there extended in an easterly direction toward the Stadium, a double terrace, on the upper part of which were situated the treasure-houses in which the votive-offerings, the gifts of different states, were deposited; and on its lower level, a number of bronze

From CURTIUS'S PELOPONNESOS, Vol. II.





statues of Zeus. Interspersed between the buildings were altars and votive-offerings in crowded abundance, and here we may confidently predict that we shall recover vestiges of antiquity from the earth, not at long intervals, but at every step. The old level lies indeed far below the present surface, and herein consists at once the difficulty of the undertaking and the guarantee of its success.

The elevation of the Altis is due to two causes: first, to the earth which rains have washed down upon it from the Olympian hills; secondly, to the irregular and violent character of the Alpheios. The remoter sources of this river lie on the borders of the lake basins of central Arkadia which, in a way as yet imperfectly understood, gradually fill with water, and then suddenly discharge their contents. When the subterranean outlets of Lake Pheneos open, the Alpheios at once swells mightily, and at the point where, as it issues from the mountains of Arkadia, it for the first time finds space to spread its waters abroad, overflows the lowlands, and deposits on the slopes of the Olympian hills, the mass of pebbles and mud which it has brought with it. These catastrophes, as well as their causes, were known to the ancients. Strabo mentions them, and a considerable elevation of the plain at Olympia was observed in Pausanias' time. Since the abandonment of the sanctuary, no resistance has been offered to the frequently recurring inundations, the last of which took place in 1834, and one stratum has deposited itself unnoticed above another, until a layer of alluvial material has accumulated above the level of the Altis, of from four to four and-a-half meters in depth. This has surrounded and hidden in its soft depths, the works of human skill which still remained after the destruction of the sacred edifices by the Goths under Alaric. The ruin of a Christian chapel, which belongs apparently to the fifth century, shows that at that time the region was still inhabited, yet there appears nowhere any sign of an important settlement. The broad and fertile valley of the Alpheios, the entire hill-country of the ancient Pisani, remained for centuries uninhabited, and when, after the fourth crusade, new life arose in the western districts of the Peloponnesus, the shattered antiquities were so safely hidden in earth and mud, that no further injury can have befallen them. If we compare with this, those ancient sites which have always retained a population, as for example the ancient Pergamon, where a number of lime-kilns are constantly devouring the remains of antiquity, and where Greeks and Turks have been occupied for centuries in turning to their own uses every block of marble which has fallen into their hands, we shall recognize what a fortunate combination of circum-

stances distinguishes Olympia. It deserves also to be remarked that the Altis lies so far from the sea, as to make it seem impossible that it should ever have been plundered by sailors, as has been the case with Delos and Knidos.

Delphi is indeed difficult of access; but there a considerable village stands upon the temple foundations, whose inhabitants neither negotiations nor frequent earthquakes have succeeded in inducing to abandon their uncomfortable location. The soil, too, is so rocky and precipitous that the fragments of marble have either been splintered in their fall, or have rolled down the precipice. The vicinity of the Alpheios seems to have been always avoided, both from the turbulent nature of the river, and possibly also because of the swarms of flies which infest its mouth; and it is only within the last few decades that the soil covering the Altis has been cultivated and planted with wheat, barley, and maize. The villages, even now, lie on the higher land: one, Miraka, half-an-hour's distance eastward from the temple; the other, Druva, settled by inhabitants of Karitzena, somewhat nearer, at a moderate elevation above the plain. The soil of the Altis is public domain, the government having reserved the right of possession by ceding it to the peasants for cultivation, with the restriction that they shall not disturb the soil to a greater depth than three feet.

This area, then, has been regarded, ever since the first European government became established in Greece, as holy soil, set apart for scientific research; and only one anxiety can dampen our hopes—the fear that the treasures of Olympia may have been destroyed or plundered before the Alpheios received them under its layers of mud.

Yet Pausanias' description informs us that in the era of the Antonines, notwithstanding the ravages of a Nero, and the destruction and plunder of single works of art, the treasure-house of Olympia had suffered no essential harm. Later, many a treasure may have been carried off to Constantinople; and the Goths, beyond all doubt, let a general devastation sweep over the Altis. But the greed of the barbarians was for precious metal; and the single portable works of art which were carried away by individuals, can have composed but a small part of the inexhaustible supply, which the accumulation of more than eight centuries had collected together within this narrow area.

That, too, which is of the greatest value, the great monuments of public worship; the temples, with the statues which they contained, and finally the records written on bronze and stone—these are treasures on which we may be sure that neither Romans nor barbarians have laid their hands. Nor is it merely a surmise, but an indubitable

fact, confirmed by experiment, that important remains are still to be found in the bosom of the earth, of the sacred edifices which Pausanias has described with such unwonted fullness.

In the year 1827, excavations were begun at Olympia, under the direction of the General Staff of the French army, which under the command of Marshal Maison, occupied the Morea, after the battle of Navarino. These excavations were made on the front (east end) of the temple of Zeus, and were immediately successful, revealing admirably preserved reliefs of the metopes, which now adorn the museum of the Louvre. They had been prosecuted, however, but a few weeks, and were still in successful progress, when the sudden recall of the army from the Peloponnesus, made it necessary to abandon them. It is only needful then, unless all signs fail, to go on where the French left off, and to remove, on a larger scale than before, the alluvial deposit before the east and west fronts of the temple, in order to find, not only the remaining metopes, but, we may also hope, sculptures of the pediments, which, having been situated at a greater height, must have fallen at the overthrow of the temple to a greater distance from its foundations.

What an immeasurable gain it would be for the study of art in every department, if we should be so fortunate as to gain a survey of the entire group of the sculptures of either pediment—a thing which we know as yet only through descriptions—no expert requires to be informed.

The temple of Zeus at Olympia, in its entirety, is one of the most interesting architectural works of antiquity, so that every enlargement of our knowledge in regard to it is significant. The ancient rules of proportion can here be determined with the greatest exactitude, and different architectural styles will be here most advantageously compared. It may be expected that new light will be thrown upon the relation of Attic to Peloponnesian art, from the thorough study of a temple which was begun at Olympia, by Libon, a native architect, and finished by disciples of the school of Phidias.

Simultaneously with the laying bare of the great temple and its surroundings, trial-trenches will be dug at the foot of the hill Kronion, in order to examine the terraces situated there. These terraces lead to the locality of the games, and to the Stadium, and the Hippodrome, which last were regarded in point of plan and interior arrangement, as models for similar constructions in the rest of Greece. Northward of the temple of Zeus, between the Kladeos and the hill Kronion, were the buildings in which resided the officials, who, in the name of Elis,

were charged with the administration of Olympia. A side passage led hence to the Gymnasium, the great exercising school, in which those who wished to compete for the Olympic crown were wont to receive their final instruction. The foundations of this building lie buried under soft earth, and we may confidently expect that here also, works of art and inscriptions will be found in abundance.

Finally, besides these three precincts of excavation, there exists a fourth, the bed of the Alpheios. Along its brink may be seen the mouths of the sewers which served to keep the Altis clean and dry. Many small objects have been washed down through these channels into the Alpheios, and the river has also by its overflows and by tearing away the earth from its banks, swept along with it, in its current, many more. Its broad and frequently changing bed will, therefore, be a fourth important region of discovery; and it will be an especially important task to explore the bottom carefully. Valuable records in bronze have already been found in the bed of the stream; and the fishermen are constantly bringing to light weapons of bronze, especially helmets, which the river has washed out of the tombs lying along its banks.

Olympia will never prove a second Pompeii, for such an abundance of articles pertaining to the household, and of daily use, is not to be looked for, where a city in the proper sense of the word has never existed; but it will reveal, on the other hand, what an Italian provincial city could not be expected to afford—a compact group of sacred and public edifices, whose ground-plan it will be possible to clearly trace; remains of genuine Greek plastic art, in bronze and marble; and votive-offerings, the gifts of states and of individuals, of epochs the most remote from each other.

We shall be able to take our bearings on the soil with which all Pindar's Olympic odes presuppose an acquaintance; and while elsewhere, even in Athens, we are surrounded by only local antiquities and memorials of municipal history, we may here expect monuments originating in all the various regions inhabited by the Greeks; for we stand upon the intellectual center of Greece, and open the richest archives of Greek history; and we may also hope to find records of the agreements and treaties concluded between different states, which, though to us of the greatest value, could not in the least have excited the greed of Romans, Byzantines, or Goths.

He who desires to become acquainted with the private life of the Hellenes, and with the household art which adorned their dwellings, should open the cemeteries of wealthy and art-loving towns, as has recently been done with such surprising results at Tanagra. Such a

harvest of uninjured polychrome works of art, can not be expected at Olympia, where no organized civil community had a permanent settlement, and where no important necropolis existed. Nor shall we be disappointed at the scanty supply of bronzes which the Altis will probably yield, for although there was no other point in Ancient Greece in which bronze statues existed in such profusion, yet these were the very works of art which were the most exposed to danger, in the general destruction of the sacred edifices by the barbarians,

But in respect to everything which stands in connection with public worship, and with the public festivals; in that which most interests us, we may confidently anticipate a booty which shall materially increase our knowledge of that ancient life so intimately connected with our entire modern culture. To secure these results, it is of course necessary that the great undertaking shall be carried forward with steadiness and energy. Our hope that such will be the case, is justified by the fact that the German empire has begun, in this excavation, its first great work of peace, and that at the instigation of the German Crown Prince.

An address on Olympia, delivered by the writer some thirty years since in Berlin, in which he revived the old project of Winckelmann, roused in the mind of the youthful prince the determination, so soon as circumstances should allow him, to carry this plan into execution; and negotiations were begun with the Greek government immediately after the conclusion of peace with France.

Action in concert with the Greek government was desired,* and it was the earnest wish that the undertaking might be regarded as a joint one, although the burdens which it involved should rest chiefly or wholly on German shoulders. Acting only in the interest of science, the German government resigned all claim to the possession of the objects which might be discovered, as was absolutely necessary if the negotiations were to come to any thing; for no Greek ministry would venture to conclude an agreement, the terms of which involved the surrender to foreigners of native works of art. By Germany, too, it could only be recognized as just, that it should not be expected of the government of a European state to resign its claims upon the monuments of its own antiquity; and the single qualification was made that it should be left to the option of the Greek government, to make over to the Germans a part of such antiquities only as might be regarded, in a certain sense, as duplicates.

In this spirit an agreement was signed, April 28, 1874, which, owing

* See Article on Curtius, Müller, and Mommsen, p. 745.—Ed.

to recent political disorders in Greece, was not ratified by the Greek Chamber until nearly a year later. Since the ratification, a building has been constructed and fitted up for the Germans charged with the excavations, in the village of Druva, situated on the nearest elevation to the east of the Altis; the necessary implements have been sent to the spot; and the excavations will begin, it is hoped, by the middle of September. On account of the thickness of the layer of earth which covers the ancient level, no result can naturally be expected during the first few months. The first object will be to clear the temple-area, and then from the scene of excavation, which lies far below the present level, to dig a ditch to the Alpheios, in order to secure the excavated area against inundation during the later autumn and winter months; and at the same time, by conveying the earth which shall be dug from the ditch to the bank of the river, and heaping it up there in the form of a dyke, to guard against future overflows.

The next task will be to excavate round about the temple area, for a breadth of at least one hundred feet, in search of sculptures which must have fallen there at the overthrow of the temple itself. There are few undertakings of such magnitude and importance, in the details of their plan, so clearly defined, and in their execution, so independent of perversity and caprice.

There are certain circles in Greece in which the treaty has been received with disfavor, although the judgment of every unprejudiced person must be, that no greater and nobler gift could be made to Greece than is offered to her in this agreement. It originated in the purest Philhellenism; it respects all the rights of the land; it opens new and various sources of gain to the inhabitants of the ancient Pisatis; it involves the probability that a site of Ancient Greece, whose name is pronounced with lively sympathy as far as culture and civilization are diffused, shall be again made known and become a home of study, and the object of the pilgrimage of many a traveler. Nor is there any thing compromising to the honor of Greece, in allowing foreign states to bring the contributions in money which her own circumstances do not yet permit her to make, and thus to give to the Greeks of future times an example of how they should seek to recover the treasures of their land. Ever since the time of the Ptolemies the Greeks have willingly received multiplied favors from foreign Philhellenists. Why should those for whose liberties Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Germans gave their lives, reject a gift prompted by the purest Philhellenic spirit, and proffered to them in the treaty of Olympia? With-

out doubt this disaffection, which springs from an unreasoning jealousy, will be neither widely spread nor long continued. Nor, on the other hand, is the treaty open to censure on the ground that it is a thankless and lavish extravagance, to bring to light the treasures of antiquity in a foreign land, especially when the museums at home are not to be enriched by the recovered treasures.

We act upon the principle that the masterpieces of classic art, while rightfully considered as the property of the land where they originated, and the peculiar possession of its inhabitants, are yet, in a higher sense, the common property of all mankind; and that all states and all nations which enjoy the blessings of a civilization which is in large measure a Greek civilization, have both the right and the duty to do all in their power to make the streams flow more abundantly from the sources whence we derive our knowledge of the ancient world.

We would not remain inactive if we knew that in this spot or in that, tragedies of Æschylus or Sophocles lay buried in the earth; nor does it become us to be indifferent, when we know that contemporaneous works of the sculptor's art lie buried a few meters below the surface. No state can more worthily display its love for art and science, than by furnishing the means to disclose such treasures, wherever they may lie, and therefore we hope that upon this and the other side of the Atlantic, the efforts of those who have undertaken the excavation of Olympia, may meet with approval, and lively sympathy.

NOTE.—The writer has promised to supplement this by further information as the excavation progresses.—ED.

MEMOIRS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Comprising portions of his Diary, from 1795 to 1848. Edited by Charles Francis Adams. Vols. 1-7. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874, 1875.

THIS work consists of an abridgment of the diary of its subject, with a brief introduction and occasional elucidations. The seventh volume closes with an extract dated May 19, 1828, so that nearly twenty years of life, including the whole period during which Mr. Adams stood on the floor of Congress beside statesmen still remembered by contemporaries, remain to be described in future volumes. It is rarely that the posthumous works of a statesman possess any interest or value, except to historical investigators, whose business it is to crush, and sift, and wash the mountains of ore for grains of fact. This book is an exception so marked that, in reading it, we find ourselves at times, long as it is, wishing it were longer; wishing that we could possess—or be sure that we possess, all that its author wrote at the time, concerning certain transactions and certain men. Perhaps it is but a proof of the genuineness and truth of the glimpses here given into the public and private life of our fathers, that, like all revelations of nature and of man, they provoke curiosity as often as they satisfy it. Yet it is but fair to say that there is no reason to apprehend suppression by the editor of aught the world has a right to learn. He says in the Preface:

“I trust I have supplied pretty much all in these volumes which the most curious reader would be desirous to know.”

This is doubtless literally true, as far as the materials are in his hands; and he begins the work with the just remark,

“It may reasonably be doubted whether any man ever left behind more abundant materials for the elucidation of his career, from the cradle to the grave, than John Quincy Adams.”

If, then, the book be found to raise more questions than it settles, to shake judgments as often as it confirms those heretofore held with

doubt, the reader will naturally be startled to inquire, what is the degree of credibility to be ascribed to the historical beliefs and conclusions which we receive upon the men and deeds of remoter times ; if upon those of the generation just past, in all the flood of light in which they stand before us, hardly an opinion can be expressed that may not be plausibly disputed ? Certainly the effects of the perspective of time upon character and events can nowhere be better studied than in this diary ; containing, as it does, the most complete picture now in existence of the public life of our nation, in the era out of which it has just emerged. Its most eminent characteristic is its absolute candor. The name of John Quincy Adams is a synonym for truthfulness. We have before us the precise operations of his own mind ; the impressions made upon him by what he saw and heard, the motives and reasons of his own acts and words. In these records, we see the men and events amid which his life was spent, as he saw them ; and we incline to believe that no other writer in all literature has left us so large a contribution to the history of his age, which is at the same time so free from a suspicion of any conscious inaccuracy.

As a biography, the value of these memoirs is proportioned to the character and life of Mr. Adams, who occupied a conspicuous place in the public service of the United States for a longer time, than any other statesman in our history. They will be widely read ; and will greatly add to the just esteem in which he is already held. His career is marked by few of the brilliant incidents which have given luster to the lives of many warriors and of some statesmen ; most of his achievements were such as, singly, might attract no notice from superficial students of the times ; but for the union in one life of great qualities of mind and heart, with a persistent purpose to devote them to his country's welfare, and with continuous opportunities to make this purpose felt upon a scale worthy of a lofty ambition, we must look long and far to find it paralleled. John Quincy Adams was born in 1767 : was a political writer of influence in 1791—and represented the United States in important missions to Europe under the Presidency of Washington ; yet he lived to be a power in forming public opinion in the great controversy of which our civil war was the solution ; and men who are still in their prime are thrilled by the remembrance of his voice, raised in indignant denunciation of oppression, and in prophetic warnings of its approaching fall. During fifty-three years he was continually employed in administering important public trusts, or in legislation. His mind and character are interesting studies of themselves ; but the interest they inspire is intensified in

every period of his life, by the momentous events in which he took part, and the historical characters among whom he served.

His education was not one which can be called thorough, by the standards of the present day. In no branch of literature or science did he possess the comprehensive and accurate knowledge which constitutes a scholar. But his memory was singularly retentive and his habits of thought were clear and precise; on every subject in which a judgment was required from him, he patiently gathered the information he could reach, and strove to examine it with candor until his convictions were established, and his reasons for them clear. Though a desultory reader, yet his instinctive rejection of worthless books, and his persistent habit of saving, from his busiest days, hours for intellectual culture, served him so well that he earned and bore for thirty years the name of the best informed man in Washington. He aspired to be a poet, but he was deficient in imagination; his taste was the product of culture, not the gift of genius; and his enthusiasms were wholly moral, not artistic. Of nature he was sometimes a curious observer; but its phenomena scarcely appealed in him to any faculty but curiosity. His literary criticisms, which are frequent and careful, are of value mainly for their sincerity, and as exhibiting the movements of his own mind. He occupied the chair of rhetoric and oratory in Harvard College for a short time, and published an earnest study upon eloquence in a book, "believed," says his editor, "to be the only elaborate work on the subject yet produced in America," and of which he writes in his diary:

"These lectures are the measure of my power, moral and intellectual. In the composition of them I spared no labor, and omitted no exertion of which I was capable. I shall never, unless by some special favor of Heaven, accomplish any work of higher elevation or more extensive compass" (ii. 148).

Yet the book is forgotten; and we must find elsewhere his claims to our admiring remembrance. It is as a republican statesman that he fills a high place in the regard of posterity. In this character, his portrait will be one of the most conspicuous in the historical gallery of our country; but it is not yet drawn, and only after the publication of these memoirs is completed will it be possible to draw it satisfactorily. Enough is before us to show that he was a greater man, and a greater power in the nation, than the popular mind has hitherto recognized in him; and that, of some of the rarest and highest virtues of statesmanship, he was the latest conspicuous example in our history.

The personal character of John Quincy Adams was most positive;

he was self-reliant, independent, and naturally irritable and quarrelsome. He was accustomed from childhood to intellectual society; and while yet a boy, was made secretary to important embassies in St. Petersburg and Paris. Thus trained in social life and diplomacy, the two great schools of rigid self-control, his temper had every possible advantage of discipline. But it always continued to be a terror to those around him, and to himself. The task of his life was to hold it in check; and thus it became the main-spring of his powers. From his cradle taught to love his country first, and indentifying that country, in his love, with the struggle of liberty against oppression and wrong, he threw all the energies of his nature into its service, and was too ready to regard opposition to his views and aims as war upon patriotism and truth. His early diplomatic training made him beyond measure suspicious of the motives of others, and harsh in his judgments upon them. The following passage from his diary is impressive, because it is evidently the result of self-examination, and sums up many painful experiences of his own:

"Suspicion itself is as apt to be deceived as credulity. Suspicion is frequently nothing more than self-deception. Whenever a man resorts to suspicion to account for the conduct of others, his belief is governed more by his wishes than by his judgment. He suspects what he wishes. Of various possible causes of the same effect, he selects that which in other respects best suits his interests or his passions. Suspicion, too, is apt to delude by wearing the mask of sagacity." (v. 74).

Perhaps few men have left on record more illustrations of these truths, from their own history, than Mr. Adams. They are to be found continually in his minutes of his conversations with other diplomatists. An "old friend," Mr. Hammond, a British Under-Secretary of State, asks how he likes his lodgings in London, and whether they are not too noisy; suggesting that a more private place might be found. The diary inquires "Does he wish to have facilities for keeping spies over me, greater than my present lodgings give him, or does he fear I *shall* change, and by advising me to it, think it will deter me from changing?" (i. 146).

When the same gentleman inquires whether he has seen Drury Lane Theater, and thinks it handsome, Mr. Adams suspects that a letter to his mother, in which he had mentioned the theater, may have been intercepted. In recording the differences of opinion between himself and his colleagues in the Senate, in the commission of 1814 for negotiating a peace, and in the cabinet of Monroe, he almost uniformly ascribes their conduct to unworthy motives; elaborately seeking for circumstances to confirm suspicions which it would

have been nobler not to have entertained. Of a debate in the Senate in 1804, he writes, "The workings of this question upon the minds and hearts of these men opened them to observation as much as if they had had the window in the breast" (i. 293); and he carried this assumption of the general selfishness, cunning, and malignity of men so far that it must have impaired his own peace and comfort more than his usefulness. The result is that his diary is full of reflections on the character and conduct of public men, many of which seem cruel, many unjust; some of which are materially corrected by later entries, showing that Mr. Adams himself lived to reverse or revise them; while some, and perhaps not the least startling of all, will be found real and useful contributions to the iconoclasm of historical truth. This unamiable side of his character it was that made him the loneliest, throughout his career, of all our great men. Yet not this alone; for if he lacked something in real generosity toward associates, he was wholly free from that spurious generosity which sets personal alliances in the place of fidelity to principle; and which, in his time as it is in ours, was a power in political life. While still a young man, Mr. Adams, distinguished himself as the most capable of all the public men of America, in the development and practice of the new principles of diplomacy, which the United States had introduced into the European system; those of the school of which John Adams may be regarded as the founder, which substitute directness for intrigue, and regulate the intercourse of governments by the highest standard of honor known in the private life of gentlemen. Just before his retirement from the presidency, Washington wrote to John Adams, his successor, "If my wishes would be of any avail, they should go to you in a *strong hope* that you will not withhold merited promotion from Mr. John Adams, because he is your son. For . . . I give it as my decided opinion, that Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character we have abroad, and that there remains no doubt in my mind that he will prove himself to be the ablest of our diplomatic corps" (i. 193).

During five years of service in the Senate of the United States, 1803 to 1808, his growth as a legislator may be traced, as the editor remarks, from the beginning, when "his course appears to meet but slighting notice, to its close, when he is put to the front in almost every position of responsibility" (i. 249). Throughout this period, all the characteristics we have before remarked in the man appear in full force, and with them a rapid ripening of his powers. His genius for opposition, his incapacity to be managed, his almost uniform place

in a minority, his habitual protest against the motives of the majority, and his growing influence and fame, are the features of this period. Eight years, 1809 to 1817, were spent in the diplomatic service, first at St. Petersburg, then in negotiating at Ghent the peace with Great Britain, and afterward at London; and the diary of these years shows still a steady progress in self-culture, a persistent energy in working out the plan of making the most of his own capacities. The fifth and sixth volumes contain the annals of service for eight years as Secretary of State, under Mr. Monroe's presidency; a period of our history hitherto among the least understood, on which this publication throws most valuable light. During these years, and especially throughout Monroe's second term, the administration was weakened and disgraced by the half-disguised enmities of its members, and by their intrigues for the succession. Here the highest qualities of Mr. Adam's character were severely tested, and he was not found wanting. Superior to the personal and petty struggle for advancement in which all around him seemed to be engaged, he kept his course resolutely, if not serenely; and under all the temptations of example and of apparent interest, refused to stoop to the arts either of the courtier or of the demagogue. To his eminent services in his official work, history awards just credit; but the ascendancy which he gained at Washington at this time, by the force of his character, and the profound confidence in his integrity and patriotism felt by all parties, were the true causes of his elevation to the presidency, and to these our written annals have not as yet rendered full justice.

Extracts that would fairly illustrate the variety and fullness of these memoirs, in their relations to the history of both continents, would far exceed our limits. To the general reader, the most interesting passages are doubtless the sketches of the character of eminent public men, which are very numerous, and drawn with as much ability as asperity. The admirers of Jefferson, Randolph, Crawford, Calhoun, Clinton, Clay, Webster, Jackson, Harrison, Scott, and many others to whom merit or accident has given prominence in our political history, will here find the weaknesses of their favorites unsparingly exposed, if not fiercely exaggerated; but will admit that the memoirs enable us better to understand these men and their times. Many of the great names of Europe, too, come before us here in a somewhat new aspect; and the records of personal intercourse with such men as Alexander I., Lafayette, Erskine, Castlereagh, Jeremy Bentham, De Maistre, George IV. (as Regent), and others, taken down at the time by an intelligent associate, are full of interest. The observations on

current events, however, lack vividness ; and even when in the center and stir of the greatest revolutions, Mr. Adams gives us no adequate account of what he saw. The diary at St. Petersburg during the French invasion, and at Paris in the Hundred Days, is disappointing. The later volumes, containing the annals of the last stormy year of Mr. Adam's presidency, and of his long service in the House of Representatives, are eagerly awaited.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

With Notes and Comments. By Rev. Lyman Abbott. Volume 1, Matthew and Mark. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1875.

IT might seem as if the thing least needed just now was a new commentary on the New Testament. But Mr. Abbott's work, by its excellence and its fidelity to the design which its author has set before him, has successfully vindicated its right to existence. It is intended as a help to Christian workers who have not themselves the scholarship necessary for the study or appreciation of those expositions which deal especially with the Greek text, and so there is nothing in it which the merely English reader can not understand. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that it is not up to the standard of modern requirements on the score of scholarship. Mr. Abbott gives evidence throughout that he is well acquainted with the grammar of the original language, and that he has carefully studied the works of the ablest critics who have preceded him in this well-trodden field. He would not himself lay claim to originality, but he shows everywhere independence. He calls no man master, but subjects every passage to an investigation of his own, happy if, in the result, he agrees with others, yet not so completely under the influence of great names as not to allow himself, on good grounds, to differ from their views.

The special features of the work are the suggestive headings which he gives to the various paragraphs as they pass under his review ; and the occasional dissertations which he makes on some of the more difficult sections. The former are always stimulating, though sometimes their very brevity makes them a little obscure, and we could have wished that in his expositions he had kept these pregnant hints of his own more constantly before his mind. The latter are always able, and if, in spite of the force which they undeniably possess, we are now and then unconvinced by them, they compel us to recon-

sider our position, and give a good and satisfactory reason for retaining it.

Mr. Abbott has come to his work thoroughly furnished. His labors on the "Life of Christ," and in the preparation of the "Dictionary of Religious Knowledge," have stored his mind with ample materials for such a commentary as this ; and those who wish to know, in simple and comprehensive style, what are the latest views in reference to disputed passages or interpretations, will be sure to discover them here. So far as we have been able to examine the volume, we think that every difficulty is fairly faced, and that the candor of the author is equal to his ability.

The Prolegomena present, within a manageable compass and in a clear style, the salient points of those subjects which are generally treated of under the head of Introduction. In the main we are disposed to agree with him in the views which he presents, but, in reference to inspiration, he has hardly shown his usual caution and penetration. In giving up the theory of verbal dictation—which, by the way we are not aware that any author of importance now holds—it seems to us that he has done so in such a way as to place even the "plenary" theory in danger. It is doubtless true that the Spirit made use of the men as men, and therefore that the words that they spoke and wrote have the stamp of their own individuality, as well as of his divinity. But we should like to see the question fairly faced and answered, whether there is no other way in which the Holy Spirit could affect the words of those whom he inspired, than of verbal dictation. Had inspiration any thing to do with the words? and if so, what? It seems to us that if it had nothing to do with the words at all, then we degrade the book which contains their words, to the level of an ordinary volume ; while if the words were affected in some way short of being really dictated, it is well to recognize that, and seek to define it. Mr. Abbott would hold with us, if we judge his language right, that there was some effect produced by inspiration, upon the words of those who were inspired, but the tendency of much that he has said is to shake confidence even in the plenary theory. We are sure that this was far from his intention, and we recommend a careful revision of that section of his prolegomena. We are aware that for much that he has said, our author has the countenance of Dean Alford, but we have always felt that the learned Dean was, on this subject, far less satisfactory than the keen-sighted Ellicott.

We had almost forgotten to mention that the volume is illustrated by pictorial representations of Eastern life and manners. The cuts

are admirably done, and the pictures are really illustrations, that is to say, they throw light on the matters which they are intended to explain.

The work promises to be as great an advance on that of Albert Barnes, as that of Mr. Barnes, for popular utility at least, was in advance of his predecessors, and we heartily commend it to the large, and, we are happy to believe, rapidly increasing class of laymen who are interested in the study of the sacred writings, not only for personal edification, but for the sake of giving instruction to others.

PSALMS AND HYMNS AND SPIRITUAL SONGS.

*Compiled and Edited by Rev. Charles S. Robinson, D.D. New York :
A. S. Barnes & Co. 1875.*

DR. ROBINSON is a pioneer in the production of that peculiar style of books of praise which are now coming into such universal favor. Taking the "Plymouth Collection" as his partial guide and model, he prepared, fifteen years ago, "the Songs of the Church."

The success of this work encouraged its compiler to produce the larger and more complete "Songs for the Sanctuary," which has had a popularity unsurpassed by any competitor. Without the aid of any "board of publication," or the indorsement of any ecclesiastical body, it has sung its way into thousands of congregations from Maine to Mexico. We have even been greeted by its familiar face in the chapels of Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Rome. Any ordinary ambition might have been satisfied with having furnished their service of song to such a multitude of God's people. But with the restless energy characteristic of the man, Dr. Robinson has struck out once more in a new direction and in some respects it is the best stroke of all.

The chief characteristic of his latest volume is that it contains the *Psalms* entire, and arranged by themselves at the beginning of the book. This will be a welcome sight to thousands of old-fashioned Christians. There is many a Presbyterian of Scotch-Irish extraction who sympathizes with Dr. Guthrie's old Highland woman, when she said, "Nane o' your novelties for me ; I want Dawvid's psalms, and naething but Dawvid's *tunes* too." Of these matchless psalms, which never weary or wear out, Dr. Robinson has given us mainly the unrivalled versions by Isaac Watts. But he has also drawn liberally from

the Scotch collection. Spurgeon—who is skillful in making a song as well as a sermon—contributes two translations. Bonar's "I was a wandering sheep" is introduced as a rendering of the third verse of the Twenty-third Psalm. This is very appropriate; but if Bonar himself were to attempt to introduce this one, or any other, of his own hymns, into his own strait-laced church in Edinburgh, he would be pronounced a "wandering sheep," and would stand a good chance of being cast out of the "fold." Of this shepherd-psalm Dr. Robinson has inserted no less than ten different versions. On the whole his arrangement of the sacred lyrics, which are drawn from the Psalter, is an exceedingly happy one. It could not be easily improved.

Four-fifths of the volume is devoted to "Hymns and Spiritual Songs." We opened this part of the work at random, and the very first page that we turned to contains that popular piece, sung at Mr. Moody's vast revival meetings, "I hear thy welcome voice." On the opposite page is another one of Mr. Sankey's favorites, "All to Christ I owe." Looking a little farther on, we came across Mrs. Hawks' beautiful "I need Thee every hour," and Miss Fanny Crosby's "Pass me not, oh, gentle Saviour." On the same page is Mrs. Elizabeth Codner's touching hymn, "Lord, I hear of showers of blessing," which has been sung in so many an assemblage of wrestling souls. This is capital, we said to ourselves—this is up to the times. Here are the old songs of Zion, old enough to suit a Covenantanter. Here, too, are the new hymns, fresh enough to stir the heart and satisfy the taste of Mr. Moody or Pearsall Smith. This feature of the work will give it a wide acceptance. It is a thoroughly catholic collection, meeting every variety of taste and spiritual appetite; it is equally suited to the little prayer-meeting and the great congregation.

Several of the hymns are quite new to us. Among these are two graceful sacramental pieces, composed by the Rev. A. Robarts Wolfe. We are glad that Dr. Robinson's modesty did not forbid the insertion of his own excellent hymn, "Saviour, I follow on." The man who can coin so bright and sweet an issue need not be afraid to try again. We have heard a great assemblage sing it to the tune of "Bethany" with deep emotion.

Among the newer pieces are Mrs. Cousin's plaintive lines on "Immanuel's Land," which were read to the gifted James Hamilton on his dying bed. They are worthy to stand alongside of Faber's "O, Paradise," and Bernard's magnificent "Jerusalem the Golden." Several hymns, which chime in with the conception of a higher Christian life, as held by many of God's people, are to be found scattered

through the volume ; but none of the new-comers are permitted to elbow out the standard favorites by Toplady, Wesley, Cowper, and Watts, which will be sung in the days of the millennium.

Of criticisms on Dr. Robinson's admirable collection we have but few to offer. He has not given house-room to several of our "pets." That might have necessitated too big a volume. He has changed some tunes from his "Songs of the Sanctuary," and made no improvement thereby. He gives Miss Elliott as the author of "With tearful eyes I look around," while Professor Schaff and other good authorities attribute it to Rev. Hugh White. We think that Schaff and Roundell Palmer are right as to the authorship. There are a few hymns that we wish Dr. Robinson had quietly dropped out. One of them is that bundle of contradictions, by Rev. James Proctor, which begins with "*nothing* either great or small, remains for me to *do*." In a verse following there is an appeal to a "toiling one" to "*work* for Him with cheerful heart," etc. We submit that to "work" when a man has "nothing to do" is worse than nonsense. The hymn aims to honor Christ's complete atonement, but it is a bungling failure. But these diminutive flies do not affect the delicious savor of this pot of ointment which our brother Robinson has so skillfully prepared. This book of Psalms and Spiritual Songs will be sung by thousands of happy voices long after its honored compiler has struck his new song in glory.

T. L. C.

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THE MIDDLE STATES. A Hand-book for Travelers. A Guide to the Chief Cities and Popular Resorts of the Middle States. With the Northern Frontier, from Niagara Falls to Montreal. Also, Baltimore, Washington, and Northern Virginia. With Maps and Plans. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

THE MARITIME PROVINCES. A Hand-book for Travelers. A Guide to the Chief Cities, Coasts, and Islands of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, with the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal ; also Newfoundland and the Labrador Coast. With Maps and Plans. Boston : James R. Osgood & Co. 1875.

THE STORY OF MY LIFE. By Hans Christian Andersen. New York : Hurd & Houghton. 1871.

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- POLITICAL ECONOMY. ITS CHARACTER AND LOGICAL METHOD. By J. E. Cairnes, LL.D. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.
- INSECTIVEROUS PLANTS. By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S., etc. With Illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875.
- THIS WORLD AND THE NEXT. A Dramatic Poem. By Myles Macphail. London: A. Hall & Co. 1874.
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- THE REASONABLENESS OF FAITH. By A. J. Symington. London: Houlston & Sons.
- THE WAY WE LIVE NOW. A Novel. By Anthony Trollope. With Illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1875.
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- HISTORY OF CO-OPERATION IN ENGLAND. ITS LITERATURE AND ADVOCATES. By George Jacob Holyoak. Vol. I. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1875.
- DEMOSTHENES ON THE CROWN. By Martin L. D'Ooge, Ph. D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1875.
- SHAKESPEARE DIVERSIONS. By F. Jacox. London: Daldy, Isbister & Co; New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1875.
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[All books received will be duly acknowledged, and as many as possible reviewed.]

INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND AUTHORS.

VOLUME TWO, 1875.

A.	PAGE		PAGE
Adams, John Quincy, Memoirs of. Charles Francis Adams. Vol. I.-VII. Review of.	852	Contraction. Its Effect on Trade and on Debtors.....	255, 256
Adullam, Cave of.....	509	Contraction, Arbitrary <i>vs.</i> Voluntary.....	268
Africa, Heart of. Travels and Adventures from 1868 to 1871. Rev. Dr. George Schweinfurth. Review of.....	112	Colors Essential in Painting.....	295
Agriculture of Prussia from 1816 to 1875. Alexander Delmar.....	339	Cornwallis, Kinahan. "The New York Gold Room.".....	173
American Constitution in 1787 and 1866. Henry Reed, Esq.....	604	"The New York Stock Exchange.".....	818
Angelo, Michael, Centennial of. Angelo de Gubernatis.....	763	Colebrooke, Rev. H. T. His Life. Review of.	709
Antarah. An Arabic Poem.....	655	Coppée, Henry, LL.D., "Freeman's Norman Conquest".....	433
Arabic Prize Poem, an Ancient. Prof. E. H. Palmer.....	651	Company Column (Prussian) and Objections to Code, International, United States Committee on.....	308
Arbitration, Geneva.....	33	Congress, International Law. Brussels Meeting, 1873; Geneva Meeting, 1874.....	36, 38
Arkansas Contested Election Case, 1874.....	73	Cooley, Hon. T. M. "Guarantee of Republican Government in the United States"....	57
Art Education, Practical Value of.....	642	Condillacism.....	530
Ashes, Liebig's Analysis of.....	26	Crusaders, Traces of, in Palestine.....	496
Assyrian Discoveries. George Smith. Review of.....	567	Currency, The. Expansionists and Resumptionists.....	250
Atoms. What We Know of them.....	97	Curtius, Prof. Ernst, Berlin University. "The Excavation of Olympia.".....	840
		Curtius, Ernst, Müller and Mommsen. R. P. Keep.....	745
B.			
Baird, Spencer F. Birds of North America....	127	D.	
Béranger, Estimate of.....	138	Deaf Mutism. E. M. Gallaudet.....	471
Bésant, Walter, M.A., London. His French Humorists, and Survey of Palestine....	135, 488	De Gubernatis, Angelo, LL.D. "The University System in Italy".....	44
Birds, North American, History of. Spencer F. Baird. Review of.....	127	"Centennial of Michael Angelo.".....	763
Brain, A. The Building of. E. H. Clark. Review of.....	426	Delmar, Alexander. "The Agriculture of Prussia".....	339
		Deutsch, Emanuel, Literary Remains of, etc. Review of.....	419
C.		Descartes, Grand Merit of.....	95
Canticles, The.....	201	D'Istria, Princes Dora, Florence. "French Literature under the First Empire".....	513
Canada, The Old Régime in. J. Parkman. Review of.....	705	Drone, E. S. "Industrial Art Education in the United States".....	636
Cause, A Final.....	102		
Centennial, American. Lessons Taught at Vienna, and Plan of.....	1-24	E.	
Chateaubriand.....	517	Earth, The, as Modified by Human Action. G. P. Marsh. Review of.....	120
Chase, Salmon Portland. E. S. Hamlin, Esq..	662	Economy of People and States (<i>Economia dei Popoli degli Stati</i>). Prof. Fedele Lampertico. Review of.....	147
Christianity, Arguments for.....	229	Education in Industrial Arts.....	636
Christianity and Science. A. P. Peabody. Review of.....	707		
Church, The Holy Eastern. Neale's History of. Review of.....	700		
Citizenship, Qualifications for.....	633		

	PAGE		PAGE
Education, Italian, History of. (<i>Storia della Pedagogia Italiana</i> .) Emanuel D. Celesia. Review of.....	142	Italian Education. Celesia's History of. Review of.....	142
Energy, Conservation of, and Correlation of Physical Forces.....	96	Italian Universities. Number, Character, Curriculum, Professors, Salaries, etc.....	44
England. Powers Invested in the King.....	373		
		J.	
F.		Job, Book of. A Didactic Drama.....	201
Force, Sum of, Political and Actual.....	97		
Fourier and Fourierism.....	527	K.	
Franco-Prussian War, Military Results.....	302	Keep, Robert P. "Ernst Curtius, Müller, and Mommsen.".....	745
Franklin, Benjamin, Autobiography of. Edited by John Bigelow. Review of.....	692		
Freeman, Edward A., D. C. L., LL.D., England. "Difficulties of Republicanism in Europe".....	371	L.	
Critical and Biographical Sketch of.....	433	La Fontaine, Character of.....	137
French Republics. Their Right to the Name.....	380	Lampertico, Professor Fedele, on "Economy of Peoples and States." Review of.....	141
French Literature under the First Empire. Princess Dora D'Istria.....	511	Law, International, Lectures on. P. S. Mancini, Professor in the University of Rome, etc. Review of.....	141
Froude, James Anthony. "The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century." Review of.....	117	Laws and Types.....	105
		Law of Nations, Reform and Codification of... 32	
G.		Liebig, Baron. His Life and Career.....	25
Gallaudet, E. M. "Deaf Mutism".....	471	Life.....	106
God, A Personal.....	108	Life Insurance. Prof. Simon Newcomb.....	353
Gold, Accumulation of.....	253	Livingstone, David, Last Journals of. Horace Walker. Review of.....	570
Gold Room, The New York, History of.....	173	Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, and His Writings. Ray Palmer.....	721
Government, American Theory of. Choate... 62		Louisiana Case, 1872-3.....	72
Greece, Modern Writers on, and Her Antique Remains. G. W. Leyburn, D.D., Greece.....	317		
Greece, List of Authors and Works Concerning.....	430	M.	
Greenbacks, Funding of.....	252	Madison on Rights of States.....	60
Griswold's Criticisms of Poe, Injustice of.....	153	Man, Recent Origin of.....	414
Guizot, Sketch and Works of.....	532	Manufactures and the Currency.....	259
		Marsh, Hon. George P. "The Earth, as Modified by Human Action." Review of.....	129
H.		McCosh, Rev. James, D. D. "Ideas in Nature Overlooked by Dr. Tyndall.".....	88
Hamerton, Philip Gilbert. "Practical Work of Painting".....	289	Madame de Stael.....	525
Hamlin, E. S. "Salmon Portland Chase".... 662		Matteucci, Carlo, and the Italy of His Day. Nicomede Bianchi. Review of.....	142
Harmony, Universal.....	105	McCulloch. His Financial Scheme.....	267
Harold, Defeat and Death of.....	445	Miles, Rev. James B., D. D. "Association for Reform and Codification of Law of Nations.".....	32
Hart, James M. "Vienna and the Centennial." 7		Mill, John Stuart, as a Religious Philosopher. President Noah Porter.....	540
Hebrew Poetry.....	187, 203	Miracles. Raising of Lazarus.....	399
History of the United States, Bancroft's. Vol. VI. Review of.....	405	Miracles, Rejection of.....	223
Humorists, French. Twelfth to Nineteenth Century. Walter Bésant, M.A. Review of.....	135	Messiah, The, According to the Hebrews. (Il Messia secondo gli Ebrei.) David Castelli. Review of.....	130
		Mohammed and Mohammedanism. R. Bosworth Smith. Review of.....	719
I.		Mommsen, Sketch of.....	745
India in Some of its Social and Political Aspects. A. Phillips, Esq.....	454	Money Problem, The.....	247
Ingram, John H., London. "Edgar Allan Poe".....	145	Moses, Song of.....	195
Industrial Art Education in the United States. E. S. Drone.....	636	Moslem Work in Palestine.....	495
International Law.....	32	Mythology, Religious. Its Demand on Faith. Mechanics, Analytical. W. H. C. Bartlett. Review of.....	125
Ireland, The English in, in the Eighteenth Century. Review of Froude on.....	117	Mind in Man.....	109
Ireland, Misrule in.....	120	Mineral Matter. Its effect on Vegetable Life.....	107
Isaiah as a Poet.....	200	Montaigne. Was He a Christian?.....	137
		Müller, Sketch of.....	745

N.	PAGE
Newcomb, Prof. Simon, U. S. Naval Obs. "Life Insurance.".....	353
New Testament, Poetry of.....	187
New Testament, The. With Notes and Com- ments. Rev. Lyman Abbott. Vol. I. Mat- thew and Mark. Review of.....	858
Norman Conquest, Freeman's, Coppée's Re- view of.....	433
Nutrition, Liebig's Discoveries Concerning..	31

O.	PAGE
Old Testament, Poetry of.....	187
Old Testament, Fables of.....	200
Olympia, The Excavation of. Prof. Ernst Curtius.....	840
Oriental and Linguistic Studies. W. D. Whit- ney. Review of.....	286

P.	PAGE
Painting, Practical Work of. Philip Gilbert Hamerton, London.....	289
Palestine, Survey of. Walter Bésant.....	488
Palgrave on the Koran.....	425
Palmer, Prof. E. H. "An Ancient Arabic Prize Poem.".....	651
Palmer, Rev. Ray, D. D. "Henry Wads- worth Longfellow," etc.....	721
Parker, Theodore, Biography of. O. B. Froth- ingham. Review of.....	716
Patria ed Amore. Poems of Laura Beatrice Oliva Mancini. Review of.....	140
Petrarch, Francesco, on University Degrees..	44
Philadelphia and the Centennial.....	1-24
Phillips, A., Esq., Calcutta, India. "India: Its Social and Political Aspects.".....	454
Philosophy, Influence of, on Poetry.....	94
Philosophy in Sicily. (Storia della Filosofia in Sicilia.) Vincenzo di Giovanni. Review of.	143
Philosophy, Schools of; Ionian, Pythagorian, Eleatic, etc.....	91
Philosophy, Scottish. McCosh. Review of...	283
Physiology, Mental. Carpenter. Review of..	277
Poe, Edgar Allan. Life, Character, etc. John H. Ingram, London, England.....	145
Poetry, Hebrew.....	187
"Greek and Roman Compared with He- brew.".....	190
"Hebrew, Divisions of.".....	194
"Lamentations of Jeremiah as an Elegy."	196
Pompeii e le sue Rovine. Pier Ambrogio Curti. Review of.....	141
Porter, Noah, LL.D., President Yale College. "John Stuart Mill as a Religious Philoso- pher.".....	540
Protestant Revolution. Riccotti. Vol. I. Re- view of.....	143
Proverbs of the Bible, Superiority of.....	198
Prussian Agriculture.....	339
Prussian Company Column. Brev.-Maj.-Gen. Emory Upton, U. S. A.....	302
Psalms and Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Rev. Charles S. Robinson, D.D. Review of....	860
Pygmyes, African.....	114

Q.	PAGE
Queen Mary. Alfred Tennyson. Review of..	701

R.	PAGE
Rabelais, Defence of.....	136
Railways, Progress and Power of.....	625
Realism. Its Effect on Belief.....	223
Realism of Nineteenth Century.....	225
Reed, Henry. "Modern Spiritualism.".....	204
"American Constitution in 1787 and 1866."	604
Recent Origin of Man. James C. Southall. Review of.....	414
Regaldi, Guiseppe, Poems of. Review of....	144
Religion. Natural and Revealed.....	225
Religion, Revealed. Its Authority.....	239
Religion and Science, Conflict between. Dra- per's History of. Review of.....	711
Republicanism in Europe, Difficulties of. Freeman.....	371
Roma durante Il Consilio Vaticano. Pomponio Leto. Review of.....	139
Rousseau.....	523
Rubens. Principle of Coloring.....	289

S.	PAGE
Saint Simon, Duc de.....	526
Samson, Tomb of.....	507
Schaff, Dr. Philip. "Hebrew Poetry.".....	187
Science, Spiritual, as Related to the Natural and Supernatural.....	209
Sclopis, Count, on Arbitration.....	32
Scottish Philosophy. McCosh. Review of....	283
Sicilian Philosophy. Review of.....	143
Sherman, General, and His Memoirs.....	779
Singers and Songs of the Liberal Faith. A. P. Putnam. Review of.....	428
States, Guarantee of Order in. Views of Madi- son, Choate, Sumner, etc.....	57
Smith, Dr. R. Payne, Dean of Canterbury. "The Supernatural as Evidence.".....	222
Spiritualism, Modern.....	204
Spiritualism, Pure, Error of.....	279
Spiritualists in the United States, Number of..	206
States under the Constitution.....	604, 622
Steam and Electricity, Influence of. T. B. Thurber.....	623
Stock Exchange, The New York. Kinahan Cornwallis.....	818
Studies, Literary. (Studii Literarii.) Giosuè Carducci. Review of.....	138
Supernatural, The, as Evidence.....	222, 248
Supernatural Religion. The Reality of Divine Revelation, etc. Review of.....	397
Survival of the Fittest, McCosh on.....	101
Swedenborg and Spiritualism.....	214
Switzerland. Character of its Government, 377, 388	
Symington, Andrew James. "Charles Tenny- son Turner.".....	577

T.	PAGE
Technology and Science, Schools of.....	638
Tennyson, Charles (Turner).....	577
Thorwaldsen. Life and Times. Eugène Plon. Review of.....	427

	PAGE	V.	PAGE
Thurber, F. B. "Influence of Steam and Electricity.".....	623	Venetian and Flemish Painting.....	300
Titian, Tintoretto, and Paul Veronese. Methods in Painting Compared.....	298	Vermilion. First Use in Painting.....	294
Troy and its Remains. Henry Schliemann. Review of.....	573	Veronese, Paul. His Method in Painting.....	296
Turner, Charles (Tennyson). A. J. Symington, Glasgow.....	577	Vienna Exposition and the American Centennial. James M. Hart.....	1
Tyndall, Dr., Belfast. Address Reviewed by Dr. McCosh.....	88		
		W.	
U.		Walker, Amasa, LL.D. "The Money Problem.".....	249
Union of States, Security for.....	60	Walker, Francis A. "Statistical Atlas of United States. Review of.....	131
United States, Walker's Statistical Atlas of....	702	Wallace, Alfred R., F.R.S. His "Defense of Modern Spiritualism" Reviewed.....	204
University System in Italy, The. Angelo de Gubernatis, LL.D.....	44	Wall Street, Speculations in.....	173, 186
Upton, Brevet Maj.-Gen., U. S. A. "The Prussian Company Column.".....	302	Whitney, Prof. W. D. "Oriental and Linguistic Studies." Review of.....	286
		William of Normandy.....	446
		Wood Notes and Church Bells. Rev. Richard Wilton, M. A. Review of.....	561
		Wright, Elizur, on Life Insurance.....	365

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2
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